

# TOWARDS FREEDOM

Documents on the  
movement for  
independence in India

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1943-1944

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Part 1

The documents in this volume depict the political and social ferment in the Indian subcontinent between 1943 and 1944 which were the most critical years of World War II. Though the Congress had been immobilized after August 1942 by the widescale arrests of its leaders, the Raj found its credibility steadily weakened and its legitimacy repeatedly challenged. The suppression of popular unrest by the misuse of wartime emergency rules was sharply criticized by the judiciary. Journalists mounted a united stand against censorship. There was heightened consciousness and organizational activity among the peasants, the working class and the student community.

The documents in this volume highlight the activist role of judges in restraining the executive; the confidential reports on growing militant Hindu communalism and the indifference of officials to the ominous growth of communalized political parties. Here for the first time is published evidence given in camera to the Famine Commission in 1944. The political commitment of cultural organizations, artists and photographers is also graphically illustrated.

# ; FREEDOM

Sarvepalli Gopal  
Basudev Chatterji



# Towards Freedom

Documents on the Movement for Independence in India  
1943-1944

## PART I

*Edited by*

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# General Editor's Preface<sup>\*</sup>

The end of British empire in India clearly ranks amongst the outstanding events of twentieth century history. Indian independence gave a major stimulus to a substantial widening and a potentially revolutionary deepening of the democratic idea: it set in motion a process of social, political and economic empowerment of tens of millions within India which has yet to realize its full potential; it also triggered a process of decolonization in Asia and Africa which completely transformed the world community in the second half of this century.

The development of the movement for independence in India was multifaceted and labyrinthine; arguably, nowhere else in the colonial world were there themes of such contradictory richness played out. The most striking of the several special features that marked the nationalist movement in India was its attempt to deal with the great social plurality and heterogeneity which existed within the country. These posed before the nationalists problems of immense complexity in the period before 1947, and more particularly in the climacteric decade, 1937–47. Indeed the challenge of drawing together a diverse society like India into a militant and yet nonviolent movement against alien domination called for ideological and organizational creativity of an order rarely witnessed in history. The task of generating unity within Indian society was made even more difficult by the fact that British rule had, over the years, organized itself by sharpening and redefining these diversities in terms of broad, abstract and homogenized categories and divisions, especially of religious communities. Traditional political organization, informed by the hard facts of life and the value of coexistence of distinctivenesses, cut across the many fault lines in Indian society. Increasingly under British rule, politics came to follow these fault lines, above all the Hindu-Muslim divide, turning it into a conflict of apparently irreconcilable solidarities. In the end, the nationalist movement was not successful in realising its objectives in full measure, and the history of India's struggle for freedom in the decade 1937–47 became simultaneously the history of the break-up of British India into the two sovereign states of India and Pakistan in August 1947.

The *Towards Freedom* volumes, each one of which has been edited by a scholar of distinction, bring together historical materials relating to the period 1937–47 from a wide variety of sources—official records, private and organisational papers, newspapers and other contemporary publications—available within the country. The editors of particular volumes have guided the research teams provided by the Indian Council of Historical Research and the National Archives of India in collecting the materials, and then selected and organised the documents around themes and focal points emerging from them. While the editors have enjoyed considerable freedom in shaping their volumes, one common aim of the series has been to avoid an exclusive preoccupation with 'high politics' and they have attempted to present, within the limits set by the sources, documents relating to the activities, attitudes and ideas of the diverse classes and sections of Indian society, all of which contributed to the attainment of Indian independence with partition. Although some of the volumes contain documents drawn from regional language sources, a fully comprehensive selection from these sources merits a separate project.

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\* I am grateful to Dr Basudev Chatterji for the first draft of this preface.



The present volumes cover the period from January 1943 to December 1944. They document the various trends and tendencies which constituted the Indian body-politic in the aftermath of the 'Quit India' movement. The popular revolt of 1942, by far the most serious threat to British rule since 1857, was provoked by the especially hostile and contemptuous attitude of the Raj towards Indian nationalism since the beginning of the second world war. From early 1939, the Government had armed itself with a set of emergency powers to tighten its grip over the realm and bend India to imperial purposes. In September, the Viceroy had dragged India into the war without consulting any representative opinion, and had promulgated ordinances designed to prevent any political obstruction to the raising of armies and the mobilization of industrial resources for the prosecution of the war. Despite this effrontery, the Congress, which had repeatedly expressed its complete disapproval of the ideology and practice of fascism and Nazism, offered its cooperation if the Government made a clear declaration that after the War a Constituent Assembly elected by universal franchise would decide the political structure of an independent India, and if, in the interim, some form of a genuine responsible Government at the Centre was installed. These terms, formulated by Jawaharlal Nehru after overriding those who wished to extend unquestioned support to Britain and the left-wing which urged militant anti-government actions to take advantage of Britain's difficulties, were imperiously rejected by Lamlithgow.

As the tempo of the war mounted, Congress's conditions became more accommodating but to little effect. Even in early 1942 after the defences of the empire had crumbled in Malaya, Singapore and Burma and Japan began to knock on India's gates, British efforts to rally Indian support through the Cripps' mission ended up more as a gesture to satisfy the Labour members in the war Cabinet and opinion in the United States than a genuine attempt to resolve the Indian problem. Instead they consistently championed sectional interests as a counter weight to Congress and, in particular, placed their faith in the Muslim League as their main prop. The result was a general hardening of public opinion.

Behind Britain's obduracy lay an eagerness to provoke the Congress into an open confrontation and then to strike at once with all its wartime military and legal might to destroy it as an organization. For, in the few years preceding the war, despite the influence of many attenuating circumstances and internal tensions between the left and the right, the Congress had emerged as a locus of political authority matching the colonial state and seemed well poised, in time, to replace the Raj. Meanwhile, popular anti-British feeling was aggravated by rampant inflation, black marketing and food scarcity, the ill treatment and discriminations faced by thousands of Indian evacuees from Burma, the behaviour of foreign soldiers towards the local population, and the imposition of the 'boat denial' policy in Bengal which was deeply resented by the people who viewed the war as their conqueror's not their own. By the middle of 1942, the Raj was clearly sitting on an unexploded mine in India, and it exploded within a few hours of the arrest of Congress leaders after they had passed the 'Quit India' resolution. The scale and intensity of the popular revolt was far more than the British had bargained for. But they struck hard and with desperate vigour to crush the revolt. With the help of over 57 battalions of troops, the Government unleashed a reign of terror and by the end of 1942, the Raj had broken the back of the revolt.

But as these volumes show, the next two years of apparent quiescence were marked by various forms of protests which hindered British attempts to consolidate their position. The underground resistance by left-wing Congress workers and sympathisers—especially in Eastern UP and Bihar—continued until 1944. The volumes document their activities as well as the

developments in the 'liberated areas' in Satara in Maharashtra and Tamluk in Bengal, where secret parallel governments maintained some kind of existence till as late as 1944-5. At the same time, there was widespread resentment against police and military excesses and against the treatment meted out to prisoners (whose number exceeded 90 thousand by the end of 1943). Inside the prisons, there were protests in the form of hunger strikes and attempts at jail breaking. Government effort, driven by fear of recrudescence of troubles, concentrated on hounding underground activists and their possible supporters, and on establishing the responsibility of the Congress and, in particular, of Gandhi, for the destructive violence since August 1942. Gandhi cogently denied Government's charges, demanded proof 'which should correspond to the canons of English jurisprudence', failing which, on 10 February he went on a fast as 'an appeal to the Highest Tribunal for justice'. This sparked off intense country wide agitation for his unconditional release; three Indian members resigned from the Viceroy's Council, and in England Bernard Shaw deplored the imprisonment of Gandhi as 'the stupidest blunder the Government has let itself be landed in by its right wing of incurable diehards', and suggested that the King should release him 'unconditionally as an act of grace unconnected with policy, and apologize to him for the mental defectiveness of his Cabinet'. But neither the lack of proof nor the public protests curbed the Government's smear campaign. The effects of this however were counter productive.

Meantime, rising prices, the acute food shortage, and the accompanying corruption and black marketeering which the war had brought in its trail were made worse by Churchill cutting down the shipping of supplies to India in order to sustain Britain's campaign in North Africa; and the famine in Bengal, building up since 1942, assumed terrible proportions by the middle of 1943. Government mismanagement aggravated its ravages and provoked despair and intense dislike for the Raj among the populace. British negligence towards the victims of starvation and the consequent epidemic diseases came in for sharp criticism from various quarters in the press and in the Central and provincial legislatures, while its incessant punitive measures against political suspects under the infinitely malleable Defence of India Rules were successfully challenged in the law courts. All of these discredited the Raj considerably and weakened the loyalty of quite a few Indian civil servants who by now constituted nearly half of the imperial 'steel frame'. There were signs of disaffection even within the army. Throughout these oppressive years, despite Government efforts to muzzle it in various ways, the press in India played a central role in keeping alive the national will for freedom. That will received a psychological boost when Subhas Bose's Indian National Army appeared on the borders of Assam for a few months in 1944. For however erroneous the INA soldiers might have been in their political and military judgment, in popular perception they were inspired by the noblest motives, and their impact on the patriotic imagination was revealed by the massive demonstrations all over India when the British sought to put them on trial.

By far the most negative development during 1943-4 from the nationalist point of view was the rapid growth of the Muslim League and the parallel spread of Hindu communalism led by the Hindu Mahasabha and its paramilitary adjunct, the RSS. The Constitution of 1935, devised by the British to diffuse Indian nationalism, had reactivated the League. It had widened the franchise and Jinnah saw in this an opportunity to rally the vastly increased Muslim electorate and to take on the mantle of leadership of Muslims throughout the subcontinent. In the elections of 1937, however, the League performed dismally in the Muslim majority

\* Quoted in D.G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, 6 (1953, 1969), p. 201.

provinces while its gains in the Hindu majority provinces, especially in the United Provinces were nothing compared to the overwhelming success of the Congress. Flushed with its electoral victories, Congress was in no mood to entertain the League's hopes of a share of office in UP, unless the latter was willing to be absorbed in its ranks. Instead, Congress believed, under Nehru's inspiration, that a bold programme of Muslim 'mass contact' and a policy of agrarian and social reform would encourage the Muslims in towns and villages to think on economic and anti-imperialist lines and shun the communalist appeal.

But undaunted by these developments, Jinnah redoubled his efforts to make the League the only voice of Muslim India and to get the British to accept his claim. He built up the organization of his party at the provincial and district levels, and in the absence of any concrete political demands, launched a full blooded communal programme based on a bitter denunciation of the Congress as a 'Hindu', 'fascist' body whose ministries were trying to create 'class bitterness' and, with the help of a few Muslim 'traitors', were out to destroy the minority community. Although the charges against the Congress carried little conviction, the cry of 'Islam in danger' whipped up considerable support in the UP for the League and spread to other Hindu majority provinces. This success was aided by the failure of the Congress ministries to curb a number of Hindu-Muslim riots, their inability to implement quickly radical social programmes through 'mass contact', and by a spurt in the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS in some provinces. Meanwhile, Jinnah had been able to get at least the formal adherence to the League of the premiers of Punjab and Bengal, the Unionist Sikandar Hayat Khan and the Krishak Praja leader, Fazlul Haq. This had been made possible mainly because of the latter's stake in thwarting any possibility of a Congress Government at the Centre; they were not, however, ready to brook any interference by the League in the affairs of their provinces. Nevertheless, on the eve of the war, Jinnah was in a position to make overtures to the British that if they 'protected' the Muslims in the provinces, the League would protect the British at the Centre.

As the war crisis built up strengthening the League appeared to the British as the best strategy to perpetuate their rule in India and they took up Jinnah's offer in earnest. Linlithgow was happy when, at the beginning of the war, Congress attempts to formulate a joint approach with the League for an immediate advance to responsible government failed. Thereafter, he systematically discouraged all efforts by provincial Muslim leaders such as Sikandar Hayat Khan to weaken Jinnah's leadership. After his assurance in October 1939 that no further political concessions would be made without giving due weight to Muslim interests, Linlithgow pressed Jinnah urgently to come up with a 'constructive policy' and 'publish' it. The result was the Lahore resolution of March 1940, which demanded that the Muslim majority areas in the north-western and eastern parts of India be 'grouped to constitute "Independent States", in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign'. This was quickly followed by Linlithgow's declaration in August that there could be no transfer of power to 'any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life'.

Although the Lahore resolution had not mentioned 'Pakistan', the term, which had been around for some time, quickly attached itself to it. Despite repeated protestations by the League leadership that the connotation of 'Pakistan' was still the same as it had been in the 1930's, that is, a confederation of Indian States—indeed the leaders of the Punjab and Bengal seemed determined to reject any other construction of its meaning—the vague and undefined slogan caught on rapidly among various sections of Muslims in the country, especially (and ironically)

in provinces where they were in a minority. By the time Cripps came to India, the British seemed ready to concede the demand for a separate state if the Muslim-majority provinces wanted it, making the gulf between the Congress and the League almost unbridgeable. And soon after the incarceration of Congressmen in August 1942, League ministries were installed in Assam and Sind with British help. In the latter case, the pro-Congress premier Allah Baksh was dismissed by the Governor for renouncing his official honours, and his successor joined the League as he entered office. In the NWFP, anti-Congress feeling was worked up, according to Governor Cunningham's own admission, by intensive propaganda on the part of his officials and in May 1943, he appointed Aurangzeb Khan of the League as his premier. But the two biggest Muslim-majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal still gave Jinnah a lot of trouble. In Bengal, the volatile Fazlul Haq had become increasingly critical of Jinnah and in December 1941, had formed a new coalition, this time with the Hindu Mahasabha. Here the ministry was forced to resign by the Governor at the behest of the European M.L.A.s and a League led coalition under Nazimuddin took charge. In Punjab, however, Khizar Hayat Tiwana, Sikandar's successor after his death in December 1942, resisted the League's advance until 1945.

But these gains at the top, achieved through British patronage, were still capricious, as the fall of the League ministries in Bengal and the NWFP in early 1945 were to show. What was more ominous, as these volumes document, was the increasing force of the cry of 'Islam in Danger' and the demand for 'Pakistan', now being vigorously amplified by the League's newly formed volunteer corps, the 'Muslim Guards' to match the exclusivism of the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS who were summoning a groundswell of Hindu communalism in various provinces of the country. The 'Pakistan' slogan might have started as no more than a battle-cry by the leaders at the top to secure leverage against the Congress, but by 1943-4 it had begun to gather powerful support from below even in the Muslim-majority provinces, through zealous religious appeal in Punjab and a radical agrarian programme in Bengal. The Raj was aware of the long-term dangers of these developments for the polity of India, and many officials wanted to check the activities of the RSS and the Muslim Guards which had disturbing similarities with European fascist groups. But, carried away by their desire to keep the Congress at bay, the British did little to curb them since communal strife by pitting Indian against Indian provided a justification for continued British presence in India.

The other political organizations out in the open whose activities have been documented in these volumes were the Communist Party of India and its rival, M.N. Roy's Radical Democratic Party. The communists had long been persecuted by the British as 'Bolshevik' agents of an international conspiracy to turn the world upside down, and in 1934 their party had been banned under the old 'seditious association' Act of 1908. Thereafter, following the new 'united front' strategy, they continued their activities by tying up with the Socialists and ex-terrorist and revolutionary nationalists within the Congress. This approach served them well since now they gained greater access to the nationalist mainstream and grew in strength and influence in various parts of the country. In fact, by the late 1930s, they clearly dominated the trade unions and Kisan Sabhas, had attracted a large number of students into their All India Students Federation, and had begun to cause alarm among the Congress Socialist leadership by taking over many of their local units. Staunch advocates of militant anti-imperialism and social revolution, they were in the forefront of the left-wing demand for anti-British actions when the war started. The Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1939 had enabled the Indian communists to combine their 'internationalist' support for the Soviet Union with their hostility to Britain's 'imperialist war'. During 1940-1, many of their leaders and cadres were arrested



for 'anti-war activities' under the Defence of India Rules while quite a few had gone into hiding. But in June 1941 Germany attacked the Soviet Union and the Comintern called for full support to all those who were fighting the 'peoples war' against fascism.

In December 1941, the Indian Communists accepted the Comintern line and offered their assistance to Britain's war effort without linking it to a demand for Indian independence (which, however, they still reiterated). From April onwards, a number of communists were released before the British formally removed the ban on their party in July, 1941; in August they opposed the 'Quit India' revolution and then went on to support the League's communal demand for Pakistan as an essentially democratic expression of multi-national consciousness. All this damned them as 'treacherous' 'fifth-columnists' in the eyes of many nationalists, especially the left-wingers, for many years to come.

By removing the ban on the CPI, the British had hoped to manipulate its anti-fascist propaganda to bolster its own against the Congress policy, as well as to utilize communist influence among the peasantry and the working class to keep their disaffection in check so as not to impede the efficient conduct of the war. Yet as the Government of India's Home Department records for 1942 show, there were grave misgivings among many British officials, especially in the provinces, about the new policy of allowing freedom of action to the communists. In April 1942, for example, the Central Intelligence Bureau found that the propaganda against the Axis powers by the recently released communists was 'unfortunately combined with almost equally vindictive criticism of the Government of India', and concluded that their 'dual policy of professed resistance to the Axis powers and practical opposition to British "imperialism" in India . . . would almost certainly lead to hindrance rather than help' in the war effort.<sup>\*</sup> Provincial governments repeatedly expressed their nervousness about the 'real' intentions of the communists which, according to some, were to infiltrate into the war-time civil defence organisations and obtain training in the use of arms. During the August revolt, while the party publicly declared that violent destructions in India would only benefit the Japanese, it vehemently denounced government for the brutality with which it suppressed the revolt. More than this, according to Intelligence reports, its official 'people's war' line had not prevented many of its members from taking active part in the disturbances and in the 'anti-repression' agitations in various parts of the country, and a large number of them, who wondered if the ban had actually been lifted, were arrested.

During 1943–4, as the documents included in these volumes show, communist activities and propaganda did not quite justify the Government's hopes of turning them into an effective make weight to the Congress. Their propaganda, from the British point of view, was only good like the curate's egg, in parts. They were critical of the Congress Socialists' arguments in favour of the 1942 actions, and severe in their condemnation of Bose and his INA, but they castigated the Government for blaming the Congress for the disturbances of August 1942 without establishing any charge except that the Congress was 'a patriotic organization demanding a National Government to defend a country' and argued that in attacking the Congress the Government had 'attacked the major anti-Axis force in the country'. [*People's War*, 14 March 1943] All this was accompanied by vigorous criticism of the Government's repressive measures, its army and civil administration and the utter mismanagement of famine relief and food policy.

<sup>\*</sup> Quoted in Sanjoy Bhattacharya, 'The Colonial State and the Communist Party of India, 1942–45: A Reappraisal', *South Asia Research*, 15, 1, Spring 1995. A selection from the Government of India's Home Department files on Communist activities during 1942 are to appear in the *Towards Freedom* volume covering that year.

Officials increasingly debated how long they were to tolerate such propaganda; but the activities of the communists among the workers and peasants were still considered valuable in maintaining 'order' during the war. Even here the rank and file combined their efforts to implement the leadership's decision not to hinder war production with support for the militant demands of their colleagues arising out of economic misery. By 1944, many provincial governments expressed serious doubts about the usefulness of the CPI to the war effort and they often banned their anti-Government processions and 'Independence Day' rallies, and arrested 'trouble-makers'. Meanwhile, the CPI took the opportunity offered by the Government to increase its membership four fold and more and the AITUC doubled its strength between 1942-4. Its local units distinguished themselves through efficient and dedicated work for famine relief. The Indian Peoples' Theatre Association and other fronts, which attracted a large number of intellectuals and artists, pioneered cultural activities using folk forms to reach out to people with their anti-imperialist views and to raise funds for the victims of famine. Through these activities, the communists were able to reduce some of the unpopularity they had acquired since 1942. But their 'Peoples' War' line cost them support within their All India Students' Federation when a group of students broke away to form the Indian Students' Congress, while their pro-Muslim League stance prevented them from regaining their credit with nationalist opinion of every kind, and even created tensions with the Kisan leader Swami Sahajanand.

The other anti-fascist group led by M.N. Roy, organized as the Radical Democratic Party since December 1940, had from the start offered unconditional support to Britain's war. In 1941 they had formed the Indian Federation of Workers—a breakaway from the communist dominated AITUC, encouraged by Government subsidies—and throughout these years they carried out propaganda against the Congress and Gandhi, and supported 'Pakistan'. But they were substantially less influential than the communists, and at any rate the Government never forgot their previous anti-British credentials and kept them under close watch.

The war and famine of these years brought much wretchedness for the masses, but they also provided unprecedented opportunities for business groups who made super profits through speculative hoarding and the black market. Meanwhile, war time demand and the disruption of imports into India gave a major fillip to Indian industrialists. Already in the 1930s they had made substantial advances by substituting traditional imports with their own goods when under the impact of the Great Slump the old system of Indo-British trade and financial settlements had come to be reformulated within an imperial autarky on the basis of new industrial complementarities under a system of mutual preferences. The British had also hoped—and they had reasonably good grounds for doing so in the special international and domestic circumstances of the 1930s—that the new system of 'imperial economic cooperation' would encourage Indian businessmen towards a greater political accommodation with the Raj. But in this they were ultimately disappointed. From the middle of the 1930s, looking at the trends within the Congress and its emergence as a major contender for state power, Indian businessmen had begun to shed many of their differences of political opinion and attitude towards it and by the end of the 1930s, with Congress in office in the provinces, they had developed close links with it, and used their considerable influence to strengthen its right-wing. In 1938, in order to keep on the right side of the Congress they had withdrawn from the ongoing negotiations for an Indo-British trade agreement, and India was retained within Britain's autarky through Viceregal certification.

The war years consolidated business links with the Congress. Encouraged by the flagging economic and political strength of Britain within and outside India, their support for Indian

independence became stronger, and stimulated by the stupendous profits, black and white, they began to lay great plans for post-war economic development through foreign collaboration unencumbered by political artificialities, and at the same time to accommodate themselves within the Congress rhetoric of 'national planning'. But from the British point of view the war had underlined the need to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards them. Most immediately the British needed their industrial goods for the war. But they also needed their goodwill for the future security of metropolitan and expatriate interests in India, and their support for retaining the framework of 'imperial economic cooperation' within which India's long-term dependence on advanced economies could be turned to Britain's advantage. Above all, Indian businessmen were a substantial force in favour of moderation and negotiated settlement of political and economic issues, and the British needed to harness this force especially over the question of India's post war disposition of the sterling balances of over £ 1000 million which had accumulated in London due to the war, and had turned Britain from a creditor to a debtor country.

Overall, the documents in these volumes point to the overriding fact that by the end of 1944 the Raj was in a substantially weaker position than it had been in 1939. Spurred on by a powerful bloc of diehard imperialists passionately intent upon saving the empire in India, the Raj had crushed the popular revolt of 1942 with a heavy hand, but in the end it had lost its moral legitimacy. Thereafter all efforts to reconstruct its hold over the realm were rendered ineffective, and ruling by brute force was not a real option for a war enfeebled Britain in a changed international environment. By late 1944, sober British opinion could clearly see that economic and political wisdom lay in negotiating a settlement with nationalist India with the aim of securing India as a friendly partner in the British Commonwealth. But meanwhile, in its desperate bid to counter the force of Indian nationalism, the Raj had helped to muster up the sinister spirit of communal hate and passion, and soon a blood-dimmed tide was loosed upon the land.

*S. Gopal*

# Editor's Introduction

In a volume of documents about the movement for freedom during two critical years of Second World War it is useful to remind ourselves of the structure of the imperial polity prevailing in the subcontinent. The editor of the previous volume has used the term 'legal authoritarianism' to describe it.<sup>1</sup> The imperial constitution designed in 1935 (the Government of India Act) had no intention of transferring power, but was drafted to retain control over British India and the princely States in a new form. Through the Governor-General, Britain was to control foreign policy and defence for an indefinite future, and exercise influence over Indian monetary and commercial policy. The concessions that were made aimed at conciliating sections of the Indian capitalist classes and the rural elite, and deflect pan-Indian nationalism by encouraging the absorption of political energies by establishing 'provincial autonomy'. With the outbreak of war in September 1939, this polity was modified by an extra set of special powers vested in the Governor General which were embodied in the Defence of India Rules and various Ordinances passed from time to time (these are listed in detail later where we discuss the documents selected for Chapter III).

The devolution of authority under provincial autonomy continued to exist, but the supervision, direction and control by the Central Government over the provincial units became more rigorous. In the six Provinces administered under Section 93 of the Government of India Act by the Governor and his advisers, there was greater scope for coordinated action by the Centre and the Provinces against the opponents of the Raj. To be sure nearly fifty per cent of the imperial bureaucracy by this time were Indians, but that did not necessarily weaken the imperial clout: many Indian officers were ultra-loyal to the Raj, many who were nationalists at heart considered the 'Quit India' Movement a wrong decision during a war against Fascism and many others discreetly concealed their nationalist inclinations for the sake of their careers. However, in some cases, Indian members of the bureaucracy were not sub-servient. In Chapter VII we have documents illustrating their Congress sympathies. Apart from these exceptional cases, it is instructive to note instances where the minutes by Indian officials urged restraint and sobriety whereas those of British officials were alarmist and vindictive.

In the four Provinces not governed by Section 93 of the Government of India Act, leaders of the political parties other than the Congress held ministerial office. They opposed the 'Quit India' Resolution and supported the War effort but at the same time they were anxious to ensure the security of their political bases. In such situations, the Viceroy's and the Governor's directions did not always have a smooth passage. At the beginning of this period we notice a confused political pattern in Bengal, where the Progressive Coalition Ministry of Fazlul Haq was perpetually at loggerhead with the Governor Sir John Herbert,\* who had been partial (since December 1941) to the legislature party of the Muslim League under Nazimuddin.\* He managed to secure Haq's resignation and installed Nazimuddin as Chief Minister on 13th April 1943.<sup>2</sup>

The material in this volume is from non-Governmental as well as Governmental sources (Archives of the Central and Provincial Governments and the Princely States). For the years 1943 and 1944, the Congress leaders were in jail and the revolutionary left-wing elements in the Congress were trying to remain underground. So it is difficult to get printed or manuscript



records of the activities with which the latter were associated. The Editorial Committee's policy has been to select sources as near the event as possible—this had ruled out the use of extracts from memoirs, autobiographies and oral testimonies. Of course, some records of these radical groups have surfaced in the Government Archives as enclosures to police reports of raids on their hideouts. However, these fragments may not give the fullest account of the underground political activities of these years. Most surviving participants in these activities whom we interviewed admitted that they always destroyed documents lest they fell into the hands of the police. Such non-governmental sources which were available to us for scrutiny were the records and private papers of institutions and people who were able to avoid the seizure of their papers by the police.

The Governmental records on the other hand provide details of all the political groups whom the Raj put in prison or was trying to do so and why it deemed them to be dangerous. The legitimacy of the Raj and its capacity for survival were being undermined by threats from different quarters in various ways. The large component of governmental records in this volume have been chosen to highlight this process. The documents depict Indian dissatisfaction with imperial rule and the tactics employed by different Indian groups to weaken its foundations and diminish its credibility.

All documents are arranged chronologically within each chapter, each of which examines a particular theme. When a specific event in a document refers to some other episode cited in other documents which, for chronological reasons, have been placed some pages before or after the first document, a cross-reference is given in the footnotes; similar cross-references have been given for documents which are distributed on thematic grounds in different Chapters, but which have a temporal or spatial proximity to each other. There is a lot of overlap between one chapter and another. Chapter V and VI (on the C.P.I. and the Radical Democratic Party) could be usefully read with Chapters IX and X (Peasant Struggles and Working Class Struggles), for obvious reasons. Government records contain a lot of routine and repetitive material—these have been omitted, and the gaps indicated). Although the titles of the theme-based Chapters are mostly self-explanatory, some terms need a little clarification. The term 'nationalist' is used for all political parties (Congress and the various left-wing groups operating under its broad umbrella) whose aim was to replace British paramountcy in the subcontinent with a pan Indian political structure which envisaged equal citizenship of people of all castes and creeds. Admittedly, in working towards this goal, the leadership of those parties had, in the past, often betrayed weaknesses, which were exploited by the imperial power, but it can be said unhesitatingly that none of these parties aimed to replace British rule in the entire subcontinent with the exclusive dominance of one religious community. The term communal or regional is used for organisations aiming at territorial separatism for Muslim-majority provinces (like the Muslim League with its 'Pakistan' slogan), or claiming special privileges and constitutional safeguards for specific castes and religious sects (like the Dravida Kazhagam in Madras or the Akali Dal in the Punjab, or the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha). I have used the term 'pseudo-nationalist' to describe militant organisations like the R.S.S. Their political programme not only aimed to rid the subcontinent of every vestige of British rule, but also to eliminate its Muslim inhabitants and establish the dominance of persons following Hindu religious practices. (It did not occur to these pseudo-nationalists that their programme and activities were helping the Muslim League to justify the Pakistan demand and the British Raj to encourage the latter). The material on regional, communal separatist and pseudo-nationalist forces overlap with each other, and so that has all been put together in one Chapter (Ch. XVIII).

The first Chapter gathers together, under three sub-sections, documents connected with the repercussions of the movement of August 1942. A great part of the machinery of the colonial state was devoted to suppressing what in Linlithgow's words was 'the most formidable uprising since 1857' (III, 13).

Ch. I, Sub-section A, contains records of violent methods of protest against the institutions and installations of the Raj, accounts of the activities of left-wing revolutionary groups within the Congress like the Congress Socialist Party, and also of symbolic activities which were frowned upon by the authorities (like the observation of 26th January as Independence Day). Evidence about leaders of the 'Forward Bloc' are partly included in this section and partly in Chapter XVI (the INA and its allies in India). Violent protests also included acts of indiscipline in jails and jail-breaking. Areas where the government had few 'loyal' supporters to help maintain law and order invited punishment by collective fines. Reports of these have mostly been included in this section.

Also included are accounts of developments in areas which liberated themselves from British authority like the Tamluk Sub-division in Midnapore district, Satara in Bombay Presidency and parts of Bihar (IA, 61-3). In some cases the 'criminal' activities recorded in such documents show clear evidence of peasant protest against rack-renting by landlords. In such cases a cross-reference has been given to Chapter IX (Peasant Movements).

The title of the Sub-section B of Ch. I (strong counter measures) is self-explanatory. Once the Raj decided that the Congress was its main enemy and the instigator of all the violent outbreaks it reacted with all the resources at its disposal to annihilate the Congress as an institution. Under Provincial Autonomy the British bureaucracy had shared power with the leaders of this party. In view of that, some of the steps taken by the Raj caused concern even within the imperial hierarchy. The documents illustrating the officials' argument about using licensing policy to wage economic warfare against the Congress (I (B), 5, 9, 10, 14, 18, 22 and all sources with File Ref. 3/17/43 - Poll (I)) are illustrative of this contradiction. Some other aspects of this contradiction come out in the relationship between the Raj and the Indian business elite, many of whom were nationalists and sympathizers or supporters of the Congress. These are more fully illustrated in the documents in Chapter XII.

Other evidence of the anti-Congress syndrome of the bureaucracy is to be found in the instructions to provinces forbidding the taking of the Independence Day pledge on 26th January (I (B) 7, 98, 100) and in the suspicion that institutions linked with Mahatma Gandhi's Constructive Programme — The All India Village Industries Association — were cover organisations to channel money to underground rebels (I (B) 39, 124-8;). This paranoia was counter productive — the Bengal Government lost a case against the A.I.S.A. (III, 239, 242). An Indian Judge in Assam upheld the appeal of a number of students convicted for taking the Independence Day Pledge (III, 38).

Chapter I (Section 'C') contains such documents of imperial counter — measures which can be described as 'repression with a human face'. Apart from the light they throw on aspects of colonial domination in these years, they illustrate a recurrent feature of the style of politics of the Congress, that of moderation, cheerful acceptance of prison life, good behaviour as security prisoners and creating the minimum difficulties for the government authorities, many of whom were their own compatriots. Such prisoners obtained release on parole when they heard of illness or death of near relatives and came back to prison after the parole period. Release on parole was not readily conceded; there was a great deal of discussion in official circles on this question (I (c), 24). Those applications were considered by the imperial authorities

more sympathetically than those of prisoners with a history-sheet of revolutionary activity in the past or direct or indirect association with the Forward Block or the Indian National Army. The contrast between the treatment of applications by H.V. Kamath, 'Sheel Bhadra Yajee' and members of Subhas Bose's family on the one hand (I (B) 111, 112, 127, 134 and I (A) 92, 163 and those by V.V. Giri, 'Brahmananda Reddy' and Mrs Pandit's daughters is instructive (I (C) 32-5, 38-9, 43-4, 50, 52, 73, 80, 82; Ch. XVII, 10).

The moderate leaders took Mahatma Gandhi's 'Constructive Programme' seriously. After their release they tried in many places to recreate institutional structures for their activities, keeping out communists, and other 'undesirable' leftists like the Radical Democratic Party. This was the beginning of the process of re-inducting the Congress into the framework of the constitutional politics of the Raj. Habituated as they were to ruling through Ordinances and Defence of India Rules, it took some time for the bureaucracy at the district level to recognize the feelers thrown out by the moderate leaders; in Madras Presidency divergent approaches of local district magistrates had to be reconciled by a general directive by the Chief Secretary of the Province (I (C) 46, 48, 49, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63).

The press played an important role in this period in undermining confidence in the omnipotence of the Raj, both by its news coverage and by editorials. The Government reacted with a variety of counter measures of which the following have been illustrated by some of the documents selected.

As the supply of paper and newsprint became scarce due to the war, the government had the powers to regulate the quota of paper that different newspapers were entitled to. This power was used to punish newspapers of whose general line the government disapproved, and to encourage those sponsored by some pro-War left-wing groups like the Bolshevik Party of India and the Radical Democratic Party (Chapter II, 36, 37, 39, 40 and 92). The denial of government advertisements to 'errant' newspapers was another technique (II, 7 and 17) and there were less subtle methods of an order to pre-censor news (II, 6, 26, 63, 67, 84, 88, 90, 93, 94, 99 and 132), restrictions on the use of banner headlines (II, 18 and 26), and raids on newspaper premises (II, 28 and 66).

The editors and journalists showed remarkable independence of spirit. The year 1943 began with the journalistic world visibly upset over the fast by Prof. Bhansali to protest against police counter-measures against nationalist rebels in Chimur (II, 3, 5, 8-12, 13, 14). In the first week of January some newspapers refused to publish the New Years Honours list, earning government displeasure as a result (II, 13). In protest there was a one-day *hartal* by newspapers on 7th January (II, 16). Cutting across racial barriers, both European and Indian owned newspapers took a principled stand on this issue, as is illustrated by the complaint of the Bengal Governor to the Viceroy about the *Calcutta Statesman* (II, 19 and 23).

The Communist Party had benefited from the lenient policy of the Government towards them and towards the import of hitherto-banned Communist literature (II.4 and 24). Their newspapers nevertheless felt outraged, and protested about the attack on press liberties (II, 29), but tempered their language upon government advice. Mohan Kumaramangalam deleted some sentences which had offended the government from the draft of an editorial called 'Massacre of Press Liberties' (II, 29).

The hyper-sensitivity of the Europeans in the police force is illustrated by the furore over two cartoons — one on Leopold Amery Vs. Mahatma Gandhi and the other comparing Churchill and Stalin as war leaders — published by the Tamil Paper *Ananda Vikatan* (II, 35, 38 and 42).

Hardly had the agitation over Bhansali's fast abated, when the government became worried as to how to handle news about Mahatma Gandhi's impending fast in mid-February (II, 25-7). The lesson that the authorities drew from this episode was that a blanket-ban on any reporting of Gandhi's health during the fast should have been done to avoid political excitement. By the middle of the year, this was the agreement between the provincial and the Central Governments when they were apprehensive of Gandhi going on fast once again on the anniversary of the 'Quit India' resolution (II, 58-60).

By the middle of 1943, famine was ravaging Bengal, a tragedy which the government did very little to avert, and accounts of which it tried to censor, going to the length of ordering pre-censorship (II, 84-5 and 89-91). By the end of the year, it succeeded in suppressing the violent elements of the 1942 rebels, but the circular ordering that Congress propaganda, and the publication of the annual Independence Day pledge of 26th January were to be curbed indicated a lack of confidence<sup>3</sup> (II, 99). The members of the C.L.A. grilled the government on this issue on 26th February, 1944 (III, 179). A year before, shortly after Gandhi's fast, the legislators had attacked the government for its treatment of the Press (II, 30). This criticism, as we see from the documents, did not then seem to have had much effect. Questions and resolutions in the Assembly, however, did have some effect in 1944 in softening government policy. They should be read in conjunction with judgements of the higher law courts many of which, during 1943, looked askance at the way the bureaucracy was administering the country and interpreting the Defence of India rules. That is why the succeeding chapter documents the history of the battle in the courts.

In the period we are dealing with, many Indians had joined the Bar and the Bench in Indian provinces although many key positions were held by British legal experts. This did not necessarily mean that the fraternity of the judiciary was irreparably breached by the strains and stresses of war; across the racial divide the members of the Bar and Bench in India often spoke a common language drawing on British, Commonwealth and Indian legal precedents and principles of natural justice.

We have seen that against the background of the 'Quit India' movement the bureaucracy, with the full support of the Viceroy, was inclined to take severe punitive measures against political suspects (I-B). This was done under the sanction of the Defence of India Rules (promulgated at the outbreak of the War) and various special Ordinances issued by the Viceroy since 1940 (The Defence of India Rule No. 26 gave wide powers to the executive to detain people without trial as 'security prisoners'. Ordinance II of 1942 (Special Criminal Courts Ordinance) set up, for offences committed after 20th August 1942, Special Courts where the police could secure the trial of offenders speedily. There was restricted scope for appeal from these Courts, and on occasions the authorities applied the Ordinance retrospectively).

Fortunately, the other law courts were not superseded, and the Central Legislative Assembly continued to function, along with provincial assemblies (in provinces not operating under Section 93 of the Government of India Act). The courts and the assemblies were the fora where, even during the War, when many notable leaders were in prison, a space was available for opponents of the regime to question the punitive measures taken by the Raj. The successful use of every weapon in the legal armoury available to the nationalists is one chapter in the history of the freedom movement which required to be recorded.

Between April 1943 and October 1944 the Raj was repeatedly arraigned before the Courts on a number of issues – the validity of D.I.R. 26 and the connected question of the right of Habeas Corpus, the non-observance of the principle of natural justice '*audi alteram partem*'



('hear the other side'), the constitutional validity of Ordinance II of 1942 which had set up Special Criminal Courts, and the violation of the Criminal Procedure Code by the detention of suspects, for purposes of interrogation, under police custody for an indefinite period. In Chapter III the chronological arrangement of the documents interweaves pronouncements from the judicial authorities with proceedings of the legislative assembly and with minutes and letters of senior members of the bureaucracy. This enables us to assess the effects of the judgements and the Assembly proceedings on the action of the bureaucracy. The latter kept the law officers of the government busy working out sophisticated legal counter-measures to the reverses it was suffering in the courts. It was characteristic of 'legal authoritarianism' that while planning these counter-measures, the government gave greater weight to measures justifiable in terms of civil jurisprudence than to pleas of military necessity. Admittedly, the initial reaction of Additional Secretary 'Tottenham' to the observation of Chief justice Sir Harold Derbyshire' (Calcutta High Court) about 'audi alterum partem' was to imperfectly recall 'Salus public suprema lex' (III, 57)<sup>4</sup> but the Indian law member Sir Asoka Roy' (chosen by Linlithgow' himself a few months earlier) supported Derbyshire (III, 101). In this situation, it is not surprising that Home Member Sir Reginald Maxwell' resisted the pressure of the Army department to put D.I.R. 26 beyond the purview of the Courts (III, 57 and 74). (The military authorities were kept satisfied by a separate Ordinance).<sup>5</sup>

D.I.R. 26 had been badly mauled in the Federal Court on 22nd April 1943 when a bench consisting of Chief Justice Sir Maurice Gwyer, 'Justices Zafrullah Khan' and Varadachariar' in course of hearing an appeal from Bombay declared that this rule went beyond the rule-making powers of the Central Government (III, 27).<sup>6</sup> Five weeks later a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court gave a verdict against the Home Secretary of Bengal in a case involving the arrest and detention of the labour leader Shibnath Banerji' under D.I.R. 26 (III, 33). The very next day, in the Federal Court, New Delhi, Ordinance 2 of 1942 was declared *ultra vires* by the two Indian judges of the Bench Varadachariar and Zafrullah Khan --- Justice Rowland dissenting (III, 34).

This blow to the Ordinance was not unexpected. Many Indian and some British judges had been expressing doubts about some of its features. While a full Bench of the Allahabad High Court the previous November had called the Ordinance 'intra vires', Justice Bajpai' had dissented and criticised its restriction of the right of appeal (III, 2). The same month Justice Fazl Ali' of Patna High Court had objected to the use of the Ordinance retrospectively while conceding the constitutional validity of the Ordinance (III, 3). Justice Fazl Ali also constituted a Special Bench of the Patna High Court which heard on April 1943 many applications arising out of convictions by Special Magistrates under this Ordinance, and regretfully concluded that the High Court could exercise no supervisory powers over cases which had been within the jurisdiction of the Special Magistrates (III, 24). A month before, in a Full Bench of the Allahabad High Court a British judge (James Allsop' J.) declared that all that the High Court could do (and by implication, should do) was to declare whether a Special Criminal Court under the Ordinance had been properly constituted in terms of that ordinance (III, 16). Finally, in a dissenting judgement on 21st April Justice A.N. Sen' of the Calcutta High Court had declared the Ordinance itself *ultra vires* (III, 26).

The setting aside of the Ordinance II of 1942 by the Federal Court irritated the Central Government as well as many local governments (III, 59 & 90). Many provincial judges released on bail people arrested under the impugned Ordinance (III, 63) and political prisoners in Bihar were reported to be jubilant (III, 41).

The appeal of the Central Government to the Privy Council against this verdict was not decided till 6th Nov. 1944 (III, 254). In the last four months of 1943 the government of India busied itself with the drafting of a new Ordinance which would side-step the objections raised by the courts about D.I.R. 26 (III, 79 and 86). The Bengal government repeatedly requested the Government of India to do so, as it felt that its position had been weakened by two judgements between mid-July and the end of August. In the former by a majority opinion, the Chief Justice dissenting, the Home Secretary was deemed guilty of 'Contempt of Court' by the Calcutta High Court for allowing the police to invoke Regulation III of 1818 and rearrest within the High Court premises nine detenus whom the court had released under Section 491 of the Criminal Procedure Code. They included Niharendu Datta-Mazumdar, a left-wing labour leader who was also a barrister and a member of the provincial assembly (III, 47).<sup>7</sup> Six weeks later the government lost its appeal to the Federal Court in the case involving trade union leader Shibnath Banerji mentioned earlier. The Federal Court took Bengal to task for its defective procedure (III, 83).

To avoid further embarrassment in the Courts the Bengal government transferred to Delhi as Central Government security prisoners many political suspects whom they found difficult to prosecute in Bengal Courts and, in some cases, made a virtue of necessity by releasing a few of them (III, 55, 58, 61, 65, 68, 72, 75, 106).

The Bengal government's apprehensions that all detenus would succeed in challenging their detention under D.I.R. 26 and that Regulation III of 1818 would no longer be available to it as an instrument of coercion made an impact on the Central Government (III, 85). The Central Government was hard at work on the drafting of another Ordinance, the paper work for which took three months and a half (III, 101, 105, 108, 110, 112, 114, 117, 119, 123, 126, 138, 141).

The Centre, however, could not oblige Bengal in its final plea (supported by the Governor) that the promulgation of the new Ordinance should take place before the middle of December 1943, to forestall a number of Habeas Corpus petitions pending in the Calcutta High Court (III, 122, 125, 127, 128). The Ordinance, after being scrutinized three times in the Viceroy's Council was issued on 15th January, 1944 (III, 145). In the final drafting stage the official's notings on the duration of the period of detention and related questions show that the criticisms voiced in the Central Legislative Assembly were beginning to have an impact on the official mind (III, 130, 133, 153). On the same day as the new Ordinance (Ordinance III of 1944) was issued, another Ordinance was promulgated to satisfy the military authorities as Ordinance IV of 1944 (Military Safety and Power of Detention) (III, 144 & 145).<sup>8</sup>

In the same period while the Imperial Government was battling with these challenges from the Courts, it was held back from endorsing the overzealous efforts of the Punjab government to make the whole of British India adopt the technique of 'scientific interrogation' which it practised on detenus in the Lahore Fort. The Punjab point of view at first appealed to the Home Department. Ultimately the government had to beat a retreat when questions arose in the Assembly about the treatment of detenus in the Lahore Fort and the Lahore High Court commented adversely on the withholding of petitions of prisoners to the Court. The Government of India distanced itself from the Punjab Government on this matter, although the latter remained incorrigible. (III, 151-5, 161-5, 168, 171). Although Tottenham admitted in so many words that members of the Congress Working Committee were not easily malleable and were impervious to such pressures (III, 62), the approval of the D.I.B. and the military authorities carried weight with Maxwell (III, 62, 73, 86). However, little support came from the provinces, where the stand of Orissa was that public opinion would not approve of it (III, 116), and even

the redoubtable Governor of U.P., Sir Maurice Hallett,' expressed profound shock at Punjab's suggestion (III, 96).

The fear of being caught on the wrong foot on a legal plane had also played a part in the Central Government's retreat from its plans of economic warfare against the Congress. In these documents, compiled in Ch. I Sec. B, it will be noticed that it was the note given in mid-October 1943 by an Indian officer of the Labour Department (D.L. Mazumdar, I.C.S.) which prompted the government to abandon the plan (I (B), 88).<sup>9</sup> This note was considered by the Home Department precisely at the time when it was preoccupied with the difficulties the law courts were creating.

Towards the end of 1944 the government scored a victory by having the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council uphold its appeal against the Federal Court judgement (III, 254), but the reaction in the Indian press, as was to be expected, was very unfavourable (III, 256). In any case in the prolonged time-lag between the Federal Court judgement and the Privy Council decision, many Indian political activists had managed to escape the rigors of detention as security prisoners and the rules governing their conditions had been made less strict.

Left wing groups who had developed a base among the working classes and the peasantry in the decade before the war and who were anti-Fascist in their world outlook developed a different style of political struggle — a style in sharp contrast to the struggles led by different sections of Congressmen in pursuance of the resolution of 8 August 1942. As the two Chapters with documents on the C.P.I. and the Radical Democratic Party show, both groups in their distinctive ways viewed their political activity as being part of an anti-imperial movement connected with a world wide anti-Fascist struggle. Their pro-War stance was appreciated by the government which gave them some facilities denied to other political groups. The government remained, nevertheless, apprehensive of the potential of these organisations for 'mischief' and kept their activities under close surveillance. These groups tried to develop political consciousness and communal understanding while working on the labour front, for famine relief, or in the peasant movement. The documents are selected to illustrate two processes — firstly, the assessment by these parties of their relationship with other political groups, their own version of how they remained anti-imperialist when other anti-imperialist groups were in prison; and secondly, whether the different levels of Governmental authority approved their actions and propaganda methods and regarded them as helpful collaborators of the Raj. Minutes of Central Government officials like Olver, Tottenham and Maxwell show significant variations and so do those of the Bihar Government and the provincial Superintendents of Police in the Madras Presidency. The Raj was never fully at ease with the removal of the ban on the C.P.I. which continued to criticise the administration for its handling of civil defence, famine relief, and a number of other issues. As one compares the material on the C.P.I. and the R.D.P. one is forced to the conclusion that the latter acted more as a supplicant for the favours of the Raj and as a group hostile to the Congress than did the former.

The Government did not release all leading Communist Party activists immediately after the ban on them was lifted. The reasons were clearly set forth in the Home Department branch notings of 5 February 1944 (V, 99) — although by the beginning of 1944 most of those kept in prison as hostages had been released. The Government evidently realized by then that despite the 'offensive' nature of some Communist propaganda (V, 47-50, 57, 79), assistance in the labour front and the anti-hoarding drive was of great value to it when almost all other non-communal parties had ranged themselves against the Raj. By the autumn of 1943 apprehension is revealed clearly in the official minutes associated with the long argument

between the Central Government and the Bihar government. The latter looked to the landowning classes for political support and did not relish the Central Government's suggestion that the Communist Party of India should have access to the bureaucracy in return for its cooperation (V, 73-6). Bihar considered *'People's War'* to be unsuitable reading material for security prisoners (II, 108).

In Bengal, a Muslim majority province where a Muslim League Ministry replaced Fazlul Haq's ministry in April 1943, the Communist Party of India cast itself in a supportive role to the ruling party. In the aftermath of the political crisis of April 1943, a very revealing self-assessment of the party's position comes out in the letter of Somnath Lahiri to P.C. Joshi (V, 54) on 17 June. The party was confident of establishing a firm control on the trade unions of major public utility undertakings in Calcutta. This development worried Viceroy Linlithgow, until officials pointed out that during war the party was not likely to incite labour against the war effort (V, 58, 59, 63, 66).

Many of the documents illustrate the contradictions into which the party propagandists enmeshed themselves in trying to oppose both British imperialism and also the Congress radicals who were involved in the '42 movement. A circular issued on 26 July 1943 (V, 60) in anticipation of the anniversary of the 'Quit India Resolution', showed that the maximum venom in C.P.I. propaganda was reserved for the Forward Bloc and the I.N.A.; the Congress Nationalist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party being also attacked for propagating 'left nationalist muck'. Almost every page had an attack on Subhas Bose. In varying degrees all these groups were called Fifth Columnists (F.C. for short) in party propaganda or letters between party members. The manifesto issued by Communist Party of India headquarters for 26 January 1944 went to the length of putting the blame for the Bengal famine on the political activities of the other parties. It is not surprising that two senior Government of India officials of the Home Department (Vishnu Sahay and Richard Tottenham) found the manifesto to be useful from their point of view and criticised the Sind government for banning it (V, 96, 98). The documents in Ch. VIII show that among the peasantry and in famine relief work, the C.P.I. played a very active role against obstruction from the speculators, hoarders and an inefficient bureaucracy. This manifesto for 26 January reflected its anguish at the situation in the country, although its tone was offensive to the other parties.

At the same time, the C.P.I. was trying not to burn its boats as far as its relations with the Congress was concerned. In the 26 July manifesto it admitted having faced difficulties in the twelve months after 9th August 1942 for its hyper-critical attitude to those who disagreed with it. The Intelligence Branch of the Government of India observed towards the latter half of 1943, that the lifting of the ban on the C.P.I. had given it a chance to operate in the political space hitherto dominated by the Congress, but it had no prospects of replacing the latter as a major political force (V, 56). That was why it tried to keep the lines of communication open with Congressmen who have not plunged into the militant activities of 1942, (e.g. Som Nath Lahiri's approach to Kiran Sankar Roy) (V, 54), and its propaganda advocated an understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League (V, 82, official notings etc.).

The Radical Democratic Party had a number of features in common with the C.P.I. Both supported the anti-fascist war and were in the good books of the government. As a result both spread their influence in the trade Union world and tried to use that influence for supporting legitimate economic demands of the workers that did not hinder war production, and both came out in favour of the 'Pakistan idea' justifying it by the theory of national 'self-determination'. The contrast lay in their style of dealing with the British Raj and their

evaluation of the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi as elements in the Indian political scene. The R.D.P. was somewhat contemptuous and dismissive of Congress and Gandhi, praised British democracy and gave the impression of being a supplicant for Government favour, while the C.P.I. propaganda had praise only for the Soviet Union and Britain was painted as an imperialist power (VI, 30, 31, 36).

In the long run, this indifference to the virtues of Western democracy helped the C.P.I. after the War to re-establish its anti-imperialist credentials among the working-classes. During these years the R.D.P. was its main competitor. The documents in chapter IX when read with those in Chapter V show the success of the C.P.I. in capturing the All-India Kisan Sabha. However, its political propaganda among the A.I.K.S., and its support of the Pakistan demand (XVIII, 42) created tension between it and the veteran Kisan leader Sahajanand Saraswati who was sceptical of the possibility of a Congress-League coalition Government (XVIII, 46, IX, 131, also see V 80, 81).

The war took its toll in human terms in eastern India, especially in Bengal. The Bengal Famine of 1943 resulted in the death of 1,873,749 people.<sup>10</sup> A social disaster of such staggering proportions and the way the imperial administration tried to cope with the problem sharply brought out the different perspectives from which Indian political parties and different social classes looked at the colonial state. A lot of contemporary material is to be found in the Famine Inquiry Commission's *Report on Bengal*, which was ready for publication at the beginning of 1945. The unpublished minutes of evidence, given *in camera* between mid-July and end October 1944, have also survived in a unique collection, among the papers of Sir Maulal Nanavati, one of the member of the Commission, in the National Archives of India.

In organizing data about the famine with the purposes of this volume in mind our chapterisation has been guided by the following consideration. In individual chapters dealing with the peasant movement, the business communities and the working-class movement, we have placed material illustrating how the famine affected these classes and influenced their assessment of the political situation. All evidence that the trading communities and Industrial houses of India had indulged in speculative hoarding and pushed up prices has been included in Ch. XII on the Business classes. Many members of this class were nationalists with Congress sympathies. These documents reveal the fissures in the self-image of all-India solidarity of all classes that nationalist political leaders liked to believe in. Similarly, the nexus between the Muslim League and certain business houses favoured by it as 'purchasing agents' (Ispahani & Co., for example) has been entered in Ch. XII, with a cross-reference to Ch. XVIII. The residual material on the famine has gone to Ch. VIII. Most of it illustrates the government's handling (or mishandling) of the crisis from the last months of 1942 onward.

The documents speak for themselves on issues like food procurement methods, methods of famine relief, the relative merits of measures taken on popular initiative and by government agencies. In the famine relief work, the C.P.I. showed its most constructive face, and this work undoubtedly helped it to consolidate its base among the working class in Calcutta and the peasantry in Bengal. We should, however, observe that ever since 1942 it was the policy of the government (and the European business community in the Bengal Chamber of Commerce) to ensure food supply to Calcutta for the priority classes (which included factory workers engaged in War production), even if it resulted in depriving rural Bengal. So in trying to ensure a fair deal for the urban worker the C.P.I. did not have to fight an indifferent administration. Its main positive contribution lay in playing the role of an alert watchdog over the efficient disbursement of relief work in Calcutta.

The literature on the famine, especially polemical documents on inadequate assistance from the government of India and other provinces show that there was an economic element in the growth of separatist sentiment in the Muslim-majority province of Bengal. Where the evidence clearly points in this direction we have included it in Ch. XVIII.

Whatever the success of the C.P.I. in this period in famine relief or consolidating its base among the organized working-class, it was counterbalanced by its reverses in the student movements. The political circular of the C.P.I. in Bengal at the end of July 1943 mentioned that the party was facing its 'toughest battle' on the student front. (V, 60). This was true on an all-India scale in these two years. The significant development in this area was the split in the Communist-dominated All-India Students Federation, and the emergence of the Indian Students Congress as an institution. This development was the culmination of the organizing efforts of students in different parts of the country, assisted by sympathetic journalists and newspapers.

Overt subversive activity in which students were involved had taken place in the campus of the Benares Hindu University, where an aircraft had been blown up (I (A), 43, 47). In course of 1943 there is less evidence of such actions, because suspected students had been put in jail, but there is evidence that in the battle for the minds of young students, nationalists who rejected the 'Peoples War' propaganda of the C.P.I. were gaining the upper hand. A Bengal document issued by this party (XI, 12) betrayed its concern. In Madras Presidency the initiative was taken by nationalist students from Travancore and Cochin, to create a South Indian Students Organisation (XI, 20-4, 31, 32). Meetings to commemorate significant personalities of India and processions and demonstrations were the form of public protest against the Raj that this organisation encouraged. In most such meetings sharp criticism was made of the C.P.I. for staying aloof from the 1942 movement (XI, 51, 54, 55). Some enterprising youths from this body got in touch with like-minded persons in other parts of the country, and convened a gathering in late April – early May 1943, which gave an institutional shape to their aspirations (XI, 43-5).

Journalists associated with the *Indian Express*, the *Hitavada* group of newspapers in Nagpur, the *Free Press Journal* and *Hind Praja* of Bombay assisted the leaders of the fledgling Indian Students Congress in its enterprises. In course of 1944 the political activity mainly took the form of organizing youth brigades like the Rashtriya Seva Dal which would be ready to act as a volunteer group to help the Congress leaders when they were released and to explain by their propaganda that in their perception the war effort of the British government was mainly an imperialist war.

The mental horizon of the average politically minded Indian student was unlikely to include the defence of the Soviet Union, at a time when his own country was under foreign domination and had been made to involve itself in a costly war. Just as the nationalist students broke away from the Students Federation and started their separate organisation, so did communally-minded Hindu and Muslim students. A few months before the foundation of the Indian Students Congress an All-India Hindu Students Federation was founded at Amritsar (XI, 26). The Muslim Students Federation had its separate existence and held meetings in the Punjab and Bengal (XI, 46; XVIII, 124). These developments required on our part an investigation into the sources which throw light on the strength of communal politics in these years.

Indians who had a fractured vision of independence identified themselves with communal or regional or pseudo-nationalist parties like the Muslim League, the Akalis, the D.K. in Madras, the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. (XVIII). With the exception of the first, none

of these groups shared power with the imperial administration during these years; the documents selected about these groups show how the League was able to control the levers of power at the provincial level (especially in Bengal and Sind) and how Hindu communalism (especially the militant R.S.S.) was growing in some parts of the country, taking advantage of the political vacuum created by the arrest of all Congress leaders. It is to the credit of two Indian officials of the Home Department (Vishnu Sahay and G. Ahmed) that they warned the government about the ominous long-term consequences of not controlling para-military communal organisations like the R.S.S. and the Muslim National Guards (XVIII, 122, 131).

The Government was slow in acting on their suggestions (XVIII, 100-3, 110, 120-2, 132, 139, 140, 147-50, 157-9), probably because the Muslim National Guards were not disowned by the Muslim League, a party in power in Bengal and Sind; instances of the bias of these provincial governments in favour of the Muslim National Guards can be seen from some of the documents (XVIII, 72, 76, 78, 79, 84, 86, 100, 120).

The R.S.S. was growing strong in areas inhabited by Marathi-speaking people, and the excellent report on its position at the end of 1942, prepared by the government of the Central Provinces, show that its social base was primarily among middle and lower middle class professionals and that by and large it had kept itself aloof from the activities of 1942 and after (XVIII, 61 (enclosures), 69-71).

No propaganda or warning relating to the R.S.S. or the Muslim National Guards is to be found in the documents on the C.P.I. and R.D.P. that we have scrutinized, except for one odd letter from the Radical Democratic labour leader Jamnadas Mehta,<sup>7</sup> asking the Central Government to permit R.S.S. memberships among government servants (XVIII, 123). This was probably due to the pro-Muslim League stance that these parties had taken. Except in so far as their championship of 'Muslim self-determination (to justify Pakistan) acted as a counter-weight to the pseudo-nationalist Hindu definition of Indian nationalism (preached by the R.S.S.) the role of these parties in fighting Hindu communalism was negligible. The imperial bureaucracy in Bengal considered Communism to be a greater threat than communalism, and at the end of 1944 the Divisional Commissioners decided to encourage the Muslim League to counter Communist activity (V, 151).

Indeed, ever since Fazlul Haq was manoeuvred out of office by Governor Herbert, the Muslim League was the favourite party of the imperial administration. In this context it is significant that nationalism, cutting across communal barriers, won a symbolic victory by getting the 'Independence Pledge' of 26 January passed as an adjournment motion from a Congress member in one of the few areas where elected representatives could air their views - the Calcutta Corporation under a Muslim mayor. This happened despite the dissent of the member representing European interests (I (B), 103, 114). Unfortunately, this did not mark a beginning of the Congress base widening beyond the Hindu electorate. Within six weeks we get reports that before the election to the Calcutta Corporation the Congress had reached an understanding with the Hindu Mahasabha, and that Fazlul Haq was to draw up the names of Muslim League candidates (XVIII, 111, 135).

As the year 1944 drew to an end, the prospects of success for an early end to British rule in India were none too hopeful. Against its enemies, the Raj had not come out victorious in projecting a favourable image in various spheres, whether in the Courts or through the media, or by durable alliances with sections of the Indian political elites. On the contrary, the Cripps proposal with its promise of an immediate step towards self-government just after the war still remained the declared policy of Britain. That the bureaucracy was beginning to feel unsure

is reflected in the following extract from the Bihar Government's fortnightly report for the first half of April 1943. (Government of Bihar, Political Department, Special Section, dated 20 April 1943). 'But the common people are coming to believe more and more that the end of the war, accompanied by Swaraj, will bring relief. This belief is becoming very widespread and is being supported by almost all pro-government speakers and speakers to further the war effort, who have to combat Japanese promises of Swaraj and do so by pointing out that Swaraj has been promised by Great Britain to India as soon as the war is over. In fact, in war propaganda, we are inevitably living on the future to some extent.'

However, the visible signs of declining standards of public life, caused by war and inflation, the intolerance and intransigence shown in the militant postures taken by the R.S.S. and the Muslim National Guards were not happy auguries for the future.

Six long years of war had weakened the metropolis of the British empire, but for the inhabitants of its biggest colony, the final stretch of the road to independence was to be arduous, and the subsequent task of consolidating national unity equally so.

*Partha Sarathi Gupta*

1. Bipan Chandra, *Indian National Movement: The Long term Dynamics* (New Delhi, 1988), p. 18
2. On Haq's dismissal, See Ch. XVIII, Docs No. 6-10.
3. Six months earlier, an Indian district judge in Sylhet, Assam, had quashed the conviction of some youths by an Indian district magistrate for saluting the Congress flag on 26 January (Ch. III, No. 38)
4. Tottenham's marginal note in his own hand in the file reads 'Salus populi ulmo ex', and is afterwards crossed out.
5. Military Safety (Powers of detention) Ordinance, 1944 (Ordinance No. IV of 1944), *Gazette of India Extra-Ordinary*, Jan. 15, 1944, pp. 21-2. This was not applicable to residents of British India, and dealt with people entering British India from territories occupied by the Japanese.
6. D.I.R. 26 enabled the Central or Provincial Governments to pass executive orders to detain a person or extern him for his normal place of work or from his residence in the interests of the defence of India or public safety.
7. Section 491, of the Cr. Proc. Code, occurs in the chapter on 'Direction of the nature of a *Habeas Corpus*'. It said that any High Court, whenever it thought fit, could direct that a person within the limits of its appellate Criminal Jurisdiction could be brought before the Court to be dealt with according to law. This section, however, did not apply to people detained under Bengal State Prisoners Regulation of 1818, and similar regulations passed in the other presidencies in the days of the East India Company. For the Viceroy's reactions to this Calcutta High Court judgement, see T.O.P., IV, No. 18, para. 22.
8. See Note 5 above.
9. The significance of Mazumdar's note is discussed in the introduction to Ch. VII
10. Famine Inquiry Commission, *Report on Bengal*, Part II, Ch. I, para. 1.

A \* sign after a name indicates that a brief biographical note on the person is to be found in the biographical appendix



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# List of Abbreviations

A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
A.I.H.S.	All India Hindu Sabha (often used as an alternative to All India Hindu Mahasabha)
A.I.K.S.	All India Kisan Sabha
A.I.N.E.C.	All India Newspaper Editors' Conference
A.I.R.	All India Reporter (authorized report of Court cases) <i>or</i> All India Radio
A.I.S.A.	All India Spinners Association
A.I.T.U.C.	All India Traders Union Congress
A.I.V.I.A.	All India Village Industries Association
A.P.I.	Associated Press of India
A.P.R.A.	Andhra Pradesh Ryots Association
B.H.U.	Benares Hindu University
B.L.A.	Bengal Legislature Assembly
B.P.C.C.	Bengal Provincial Congress Committee
B.P.K.S.	Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha
B.R.	Bengal Revolutionary
B.S.A.	Bihar State Archives
C.B.R.	Central Board of Revenue
C.D.C.	Calcutta District Committee
C.I.O.	Criminal Investigating Officer
C.K.C.	Central Kisan Council
C.L.A.	Central Legislative Assembly
C.P.	Central Provinces
C.P.A.	Chief Press Adviser
C.P.I.	Communist Party of India
C.S.	Chief Secretary
C.S.P.	Congress Socialist Party
D.C.	Deputy Commissioner
D.C.P.	Deputy Commissioner of Police
D.I.B.	Director, Intelligence Bureau
D.I.G.	Deputy Inspector General (of Police)
D.I.R.	Defence of India Rules
D.M.	District Magistrate (also shortened as Dt. Magte)
D.M.I.	Director of Military Intelligence
D.S.P.	Deputy Superintendent of Police
E.C.C.I.	Executive Committee of the Communist International
E.H. & L.	Education, Health and Lands department of the Government of India.

F.C.	Fifth Columnist (frequently used in Communist documents referring to sympathizers of the I.N.A.)
G.H.Q.	General Head Quarters
G.O.I.	Government of India
G.S.Branch	General Staff Branch
H.C.M.	Honourable Chief Minister
H.M.	Honourable Member (of the Viceroy's Council) or, Honourable Minister (in a provincial government)
H.S.R.A.	Hindustan Socialist Republican Army
H.Q.	Head Quarters
I.A.C	Internal Affairs Committee
I.B.	Intelligence Bureau
I.C.O	Indian Commissioned Officer
I.F.L.	Indian Federation of Labour
I.G.P.	Inspector General of Police
II	Independent India (Paper edited by M.N. Roy)
I.I.L.	Indian Independence League (set up by Rash Behari Bose in South East Asia)
I.N.A	Indian National Army (of Subhas Bose)
I.P.T.A.	Indian People's Theatrical Association
I.S.C.	Indian Students Congress
I.Y.P.	Indulal Yagnik Papers
J.I.F	Japanese Indian Forces (a term used by British Officers for the Indian National Army)
J.S	Joint Secretary
J.Y	Jana Yuddha (Bengali weekly published by the C.P.I.)
K. & J. Hills	Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Modern Meghalaya)
M.L.N.G.	Muslim League National Guards
M.M.P.	Mounted Military Police
M.P.S.R	Madhya Pradesh Secretarial Records
N.A.I.	National Archives of India
N.C.O	Non-Commissioned Officer
N.M.M.I.	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
N.S.O.	National Students Organisation
P.A.C	Press Advisory Committee
P.U.C.	Paper under consideration [used in Govt. files]
P.W.	Prosecution Witness. (In reports of lawsuits), or People's War. (In C.P.I. documents referring to its weekly organ.)
P.K.S	Provincial Kisan Sabha
P.S.V	Private Secretary to the Viceroy
R.I.A.S.C.	Royal Indian Army Service Corps
R.S.D	Rashtriya Seva Dal

R.S.P.	Revolutionary Socialist Party
R.S.S.	Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh
R.T.C.	Round Table Conference (of 1930-32)
S.A.Dal	Shiromani Akali Dal
S.G.G.	Secretary to Governor General
S.G.P.C.	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
S.I.	Sub Inspector (of Police)
S.P.	Security Prisoner or (depending on context) Superintendent of Police
T.N.A.	Tamil Nadu State Archives (Madras)
T.O.P.	'Transfer of Power' series of volumes edited by P.N.S. Mansergh & P. Moon
U.P.A.	United Press Agency
U.P.I.	United Press of India
U.S.	Under Secretary
V.C.O.	Viceroy's Commissioned Officer.

*A Note on the Styling of References*

1. Home Department – Political Branch Files of the N.A.I. are styled as Home Poll (I)
2. References to document taken from volumes in the series from *Transfer of Power* edited by P.N.S. Mansergh and Penderel Moon are simply indicated by the word *Transfer of Power* followed by volume number.
3. References to Secret Files in the Under Secretary's Safe in the Government of Madras are styled as U.S. Files.

A general index has not been given for the following reasons: the chapters are arranged thematically; at the end of the introduction to each chapter, other documents in other chapters which are also relevant have been listed; finally, a detailed Calendar of Documents with page references is provided below, between pp. xxxv and clviii – Ed.

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1. Vivian Bose (III, 5, 37, 247, 249, 250)  
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2. S.M. Bose (III No. 228)  
[Courtesy: Karuna Sankar Roy]
3. A.N. Sen (III, 26, 33, 45)  
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4. R.C. Mitter (III, 33, 47)  
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5. A. Kisan demonstration in Midnapore, Bengal  
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6. Gandhi and Jinnah during the Gandhi-Jinnah talks [NMML]

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# Calendar of Documents

## PART I

### I. Aftermath of Quit India Movement

#### (A) Violent Rebellion

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	Early Jan. 43	Jayaprakash Narayan's appeal to all freedom fighters	<i>Towards Struggle</i> by J.P., pp. 19-27	1
2.	2.1.43	A.V. Askwith, Chief Commissioner of Delhi to Richard Tottenham regarding a prisoner on hunger strike	File No. 3/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	5
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5.	5.1.43	Official Notings regarding hunger strikes in prison	File No. 3/32/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	9
6.	6.1.43	Richard Tottenham to A.V. Askwith - Regarding hunger strike in prison	File No. 3/32/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	10
7.	13.1.43	Y.A. Godbole, Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar, to the District Officers - Independence Day celebrations	File No. 21/1943 Govt. of Bihar Pol (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	11
8.	16.1.43	Political situation in Bengal	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i>	11
9.	18.1.43	List of Records seized from the house of G. Bairava Subramaniam of Nerkuppai on 14.12.1942	File G.O. No. 2 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 [TNA]	12
10.	18.1.43	Discovery of bombs and explosives - Delhi situation report	File No. 3/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	13
11.	19.1.43	Prejudicial Document seized by the Government (Translation of the Circular No. 1 of All India Congress Committee)	File G.O. No. 2 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 [TNA]	14
12.	20.1.43	Political agitation in Madura - Case of Chellappa Iyer	File G.O. No. 2 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 [TNA]	17
13.	24.1.43	Report of a Police Inspector from United Provinces on sabotage cases	File No. 13/2/43 Off. I.G.P. [UP State Archives]	19
14.	25.1.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy on the escape of Jayaprakash Narayan from Hazari Bagh Jail	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	20
15.	25.1.43	Richard Tottenham to A.V. Askwith, Commissioner of Delhi	File No. 3/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	23



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18	2.2.43	Complaints from the public regarding offences committed by the Congress in Bengal	File No. 3/13/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	26
19	4.2.43	Government of Bombay to Govt. of India	File No. 3/8/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	27
20	8.2.43	Instructions to Revolutionaries: Revelations from Annaji Balkrishna Barve	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i> (1986), pp. 282-3	34
21.	10.2.43	Fortnightly Report on the Civil Disobedience movement, Sasaram subdivision	Freedom Movement File No. 35, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	35
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26.	17.2.43	Difference of ideology amongst Congress workers	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i> (1986), p. 282	40
27	18.2.43	Situation in Santal Parganas – Report on Civil Disobedience Movement	Freedom Movement File No. 92 Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	40
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29.	22.2.43	Sabotage activities in Bihar	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i> (1986), pp. 286 & 287	45
30	23.2.43	General Secretary, AIKS to the Provincial Secretaries AIKS – Repression and day to day work (extracts)	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22 [NMMI.]	45
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36.	10.3.43 to 23.3.43	District Magistrate, Madura to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras — (details of underground workers arrested in Madura)	File G.O. No. 867 — Pub. (Gen.) Dept 1943 [TNA]	50
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51.	17.6.43	Commissioner of Police, Calcutta to the Additional Secretary, Govt. of Bengal - Reg: Arrest of Babu Kishori Lal Datta	File No. W-554/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	88
52.	24.6.43	DIG of Police to the Additional Secretary, Govt. of Bengal - Reg: Arrest of R.K. Sen Gupta	File No. W-173/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	89
53.	25.6.43	Demonstration by students in Bengal	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i> (1986), pp. 316, 317-19	90
54.	28.6.43	Intelligence Report on activities of Congress Socialist Party in Bihar	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i> (1986), pp. 319-20	92
55.	28.6.43	Government of Orissa, to the Government of India	File No. 3/31/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	93
56.	29.6.43	Army officers in league with rebels	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i> (1986), pp. 321-2	95
57.	29.6.43	Government of the United Provinces to all District Magistrates of United Province	File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	96
58.	2.7.43	Translation of an Oriya letter from Trilochan Senapati, Orissa leader, to Smt Jamini Mukherji	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i> (1986), pp. 322-5	98
59.	15.7.43	Governments of Bombay and Madras to the Government of India	File No. 3/69/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	100
60.	16.7.43	Activities of National Youth League	File No. 2/1944 US Files Govt. of Madras [TNA]	102
61.	16.7.43	Statement of a Congress detenu Ram Sevak Matraprasad Pandey giving certain secret information about the Congress underground organisation	File No. 3/70/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	104
62.	18.7.43	Commissioner, Bhagalpur to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar	Freedom Movement Files, File No. 91 (Bhagalpur) [Bihar State Archives]	110
63.	18/19.7.43	Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar to all Commissioners and to Chief of Police, Bihar: Revival of Congress disturbances	File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	113
64.	20.7.43 to 11.8.43	Correspondence between the Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana States and the Dewan - Revival of August Movement	File No. 50 (Pol.) Bharatpur Agency [Rajasthan State Archives]	115
65.	21.7.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 44/29/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	117
66.	23.7.43	I.G. of Police, Bihar to all Police Officers in the State	File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	121
67.	28.7.43	Government of India to All Provinces	File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	122
68.	31.7.43	Government of Central Provinces & Berar to the Government of India	File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	124

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69.	4.8.43	Government of Bengal to the Government of India – Revival of disturbances	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	125
70.	7.8.43	District Magistrate, Bellary to the Government of Madras	File No. 26/1944 US Files Govt. of Madras [TNA]	127
71.	16.8.43	Arrest of Trilochan Senapati	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i> (1986), p. 28	132
72.	18.8.43	Extracts from notes in Home Department File 3/31/42 – Poll (I) Part II, relating to 'Congress Responsibility for the August Disturbances'	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	132
73.	20.8.43	Government of United Provinces to the Government of India – Damage caused to an Aeroplane at the B.H.U.	File No. 3/14/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	133
74.	22.8.43	District Magistrate, Bhagalpur to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division	Freedom Movement Files, File No. 91 Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	134
75.	25.8.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	136
76.	30.8.43	Detention under DIR of K. Gopal alias Bijoy Kumar Singh	File No. 331/1943 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	137
77.	Sept. 43	To all fighters of freedom	<i>Towards Struggle</i> by J.P. (ed. Yusuf Meharally) pp. 28–53	138
78.	1.9.43	District Magistrate, Madura to the Government of Madras – Case of one Kasim Khan	File G.O. No. 2 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 [TNA]	151
79.	6.9.43	Official Notings in the Home Department on the definition of 'Congress Supporters' (extracts)	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	154
80.	18.9.43	Government of United Provinces to the Government of India	File No. 3/14/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	155
81.	18.9.43	Note of the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	155
82.	22.9.43	List of persons arrested in Bengal	File No. W-173/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	156
83.	4.11.43	Government of Bombay to the Government of India – Interrogation methods	File No. W-44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	160
84.	27.11.43	Government of North Western Frontier Province to the Government of India	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	169
85.	4.12.83 to 23.12.43	Official Notings on A.R. Khan and Nripen Ghosh (extracts)	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	171
86.	6.12.43	Detention Order on Radhika Kanta Datta	File No. W-678/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	172

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88	10.12.43	Supdt. of Police to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras - Banning of National Youth League	File No. 2/1944 - US Files Government of Madras [TNA]	175
89.	18.12.43	Instructions of the All India Satyagraha Council	File No. 6/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	182
90.	Dec. 1943	Bihar Police Administration Report on the atrocities committed by Congress workers	File No. 3/19/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	183
91	End of 43	Annual Report on volunteer organisations for the period from May 1943 (extracts)	File No. 93/44 Pol. & Mil. Dept Govt. of C.P. & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	186
92.	24.1.44	Official Notings on Forward Bloc prisoners (extracts)	File No. 44/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	188
93	27.1.44	Police Report on 'Independence Day Celebrations'	File No. 6/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	189
94	29.1.44 to 11.9.44	DIG, IB's report on Congress Movement in Midnapore	File No. 162/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	190
95.	3.2.44	Communication to Pannalal Mitra (Forward Bloc prisoner) and his representation	File No. 44/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	199
96	4.2.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/2/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	201
97	4.2.44	Communication to Sher Jung of the grounds of detention (F.B. Prisoner)	File No. 44/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	202
98	12.2.44	Communication to S.V. Ghate of the grounds of detention (F.B. Prisoner) followed by an Official Note	File No. 44/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	203
99	18.2.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras - Political Situation	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	204
100.	19.2.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from United Provinces	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	205
101	19.2.44 to 22.2.44	Official Notings on Amar Singh Bamral (extracts)	File No. 44/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	205
102	22.2.44	Government of India to the Govt of Punjab (Amar Singh Bamral)	File No. 44/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	206
103.	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	207
104	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	207
105.	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Assam	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	208

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107.	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	210
108.	3.3.44	Government of India to Government of Bengal	File No. 44/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	211
109.	18.3.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	212
110.	18.3.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	212
111.	18.3.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	213
112.	21.3.44 to 24.4.44	Inspector General of Police's Note on Shyamnandan Singh M.L.A.	File No. 440/1944 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	214
113.	23.3.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	217
114.	27.3.44	Govt. of India to the Govt. of Bengal regarding statistics of prisoners	File No. 18/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	217
115.	Second half of March 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	219
116.	4.4.44	Official Comments on the statistics of prisoners	File No. 18/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	220
117.	5.4.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	220
118.	First half of April 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Central Provinces and Berar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	221
119.	17.4.44	Government of United Provinces to the Govt. of India - B.H.U. Bomb Case	File No. 3/14/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	222
120.	20.4.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	224
121.	25.4.44	Govt. of United Provinces to the Govt. of India (B.H.U. Bomb Case)	File No. 3/14/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	226
122.	5.5.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	227
123.	8.5.44	D.M's (Raipur) Order on I.C. Shukla	File No. 141 Pol. & Mil Dept. Govt. of C.P. & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	228
124.	20.5.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	229
125.	21.5.44	Govt. of Bihar to the Govt. of Bengal - Case of Shyamnandan Singh	File No. 440/1944 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	230
126.	29.5.44	Government of India to Govt. of Bengal	File No. 281/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	231

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128	Second half of May 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	233
129	Second half of May 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from the United Provinces	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	235
130.	Second half of May 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	235
131	8.6.44	Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of Bihar - Shyamanandan's Case	File No. 440/1944 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	236
132.	16.6.44	Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar to Commissioner, Bhagalpur	File No. 542/1944 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	237
133	22.6.44	Government of India to all Provincial Govts	File No. 542/1944 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	239
134	23.6.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	242
135.	24.6.44	District Magistrate, Purnea to Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar (Reg. Saram Singh's Case)	File No. 95, Freedom Movement Files [Bihar State Archives]	242
136	24.6.44	Govt. of India to all Provincial Govts (statistics connected with Congress disturbances)	File G.O. No. 238 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	244
137.	26.6.44	District Magistrate, Bhagalpur to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar - (Saram Singh)	File No. 95, Freedom Movement Files [Bihar State Archives]	253
138	27.6.44	D.I.G. Patna to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar - (Regarding a pamphlet 'Congress Samachar')	File No. 540/44 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	258
139	27.6.44	I.B. Calcutta to Addl. Secretary, Bengal	File No. 316/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	263
140.	27.6.44 to 28.6.44	Official Notings (extracts) - Reg. All India Satyagraha Council	File No. 316/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	264
141	14.7.44	Superintendent of Police, Midnapore to the Inspector General of Police, Midnapore and to the Dt. Magistrate	File No. 416/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	265
142.	16.7.44	District Magistrate, Midnapore to Inspector General of Police Calcutta regarding 'Jatiya Sarkar'	File No. 416/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	271

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143.	22.7.44	Governor of Bengal to the Addl. Secretary, Govt. of Bengal (Terrorism in Tamruk)	File No. 416/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	273
144.	22.7.44 to 4.8.44	Official Notings (extracts) 'Jatiya Sarkar'	File No. 416/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	273
145.	24.7.44	Government of Bengal to the Government of India	File No. 18/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	276
146.	25.7.44	Statement of convictions and detentions	File No. 18/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	278
147.	28.7.44	Note of Intelligence Bureau (Home Department) regarding Congress Socialist Party	File No. 3/28/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	278
148.	31.7.44	Govt. of Bengal to Govt. of India - Reg. Amarendra Nath Ghosh	File No. 281/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	279
149.	5.8.44 to 17.8.44	Official Notings on 'Jatiya Sarkar' (extracts) (continuation of Doc. 144)	File No. 416/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	280
150.	14.8.44	Notification from Home Department - Govt. of Bengal	File No. 416/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	281
151.	26.8.44	Official Notings on All India Satyagraha Council (extracts)	File No. 316/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	282
152.	5.9.44 to 21.11.44	Official Notings (extracts) - Underground movements in Midnapore	File No. 416/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	283
153.	First half of Sep. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	284
154.	20.4.44	Extracts from evidence of Mr C.J. Minister, D.I.G., C.I.D., before Famine Enquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers - Vol. IV [NAI]	284
155.	26.9.44 to 10.10.44	Official Notings - Regarding Ram Manohar Lohia (extracts)	File No. 44/91/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	286
156.	Second half of Sep. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	288
157.	Second half of Sep. '44	Extracts from fortnightly Reports from Bihar	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	288
158.	2.10.44	Regarding forwarding a letter of Hiralal, father of R.M. Lohia to Ram Manohar Lohia (security prisoner)	File No. 44/91/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	289
159.	7.10.44	D.I.G. of Police to Addl. Secretary, Govt. of Bengal	File No. 416/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	290



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161.	20.11.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	291
162.	2.12.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	292
163.	9.12.44	Intelligence Bureau's Note on Sheel Bhadra Yajee - Forward Bloc prisoner	File No. 16/12/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	293
164.	14.12.44	Reports from I.G. of Police, Bengal on political situation in the Province	File No. 533/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	296

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2	31.12.42	The Commissioner of Burdwan to the Asstt. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal	File No. 501/42 - (XI) Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	300
3	7.1.43	District Magistrate, Midnapore to the Asstt. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal	File No. 501/42 - (XI) Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	301
4	11.1.43	Chief Secretary, Government of Madras to the Secretary, Govt. of India - Reg. interviews to security prisoners	File No. 44/6/42 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	302
5	14.1.43	Member, Board of Revenue to the Additional Secretary enclosing a letter from Madras on giving licences to Congress supporters (Economic warfare by means of licensing policy - henceforth 'Licensing Policy')	File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	303
6	15.1.43	Government of India to Chief Secretaries of all Provinces (Punishment specified for acts as sabotage etc.)	File No. 3/9/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	304
7	16.1.43	Govt. of India to all Provincial Governments - Regarding reciting of the Independence Day pledge	File No. 12(1)-P (S)/44 (3/3/43 - Home Poll (I)) [NAI]	306
8	16.1.43	Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar to all heads of districts	File No. 5/1943 Pol. (Spl) Dept. Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	307
9	19.1.43	Member Central Board of Revenue to Additional Secretary to Govt. of India	File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	309
10.	21.1.43 to 22.1.43	Official Notings on Licensing Policy (extracts)	File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	310

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12.	22.1.43	Chief Secretary, Government of Orissa to all District Magistrates and the Defence Commissioner and I.G. of Police – Release of prisoners	File No. 3/30/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	312
13.	23.1.43	Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to all District Officers and Commissioners of Police, Calcutta – Observance of 'Independence Day'	File No. 6/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	316
14.	26.1.43	Internal Affairs Committee on Licensing Policy (extracts from agenda)	File No. 3/17/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	318
15.	29.1.43	Extract from the proceedings of the 9th meeting of the I.A.C.C. held on 29.1.43 – Licensing Policy of the Govt. of Madras	File No. 3/17/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	319
16.	29.1.43	Official Notings	File No. 44/6/42 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	319
17.	5.2.43	M.S. Aney to Sir Homi Mody	M.S. Aney Papers, File No. 33 [NMML]	321
18.	17.2.43	Letter of the Government of Madras on granting of licenses	File No. 3/17/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	323
19.	20.2.43	Govt. of India to all Provincial Govts - Treatment of persons detained without trial	File No. 3/30/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	325
20.	22.2.43	Govt. of Madras to the Govt. of India -- Licensing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	326
21.	23.2.43	Governor of C.P. & Berar to the Viceroy (extracts) – Political situation in the State	File No. 4/3/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	328
22.	26.2.43	Government of India to the Govt. of Madras – Licensing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	330
23.	1.3.43	Note by Jenkins – Regarding giving contracts for certain jobs (extracts)	File No. 4/4/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	330
24.	3.3.43	Gandhi's denunciation of the recent violence	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i> (1986), p. 291	332
25.	7/8.3.43	Minutes of the meeting of the Security Conference (extracts)	File No. 111/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	332
26.	12.3.43	Extracts from Aney's reply to para 3 of Secretary of State's telegram – Releasing of unimportant prisoners	File No. 3/30/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	337
27.	19.3.43	Jagdish Prasad to M.S. Aney – Discussing the political solution	M.S. Aney Papers, File No. 19 [NMML]	337
28.	25.3.43	Resolution re-treatment of political prisoners and detenus	CIA Debates, Vol. II, 1943 [NMML]	340
29.	1.4.43	Letter to the Government of Madras – Licensing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	353

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31.	15.4.43	Government of Bengal to Government of India (security prisoners)	File No. 3/30/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	356
32.	15.4.43	The Chief Commissioner, Coorg to the Government of India	File No. 3/30/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	357
33.	Second half of April '43	Extracts from the Fortnightly Reports from C.P. & Berar and Bihar	File No. 3/30/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	358
34.	20.4.43	Government of Punjab to the Government of India -- (Release of prisoners)	File No. 3/30/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	359
35.	26.4.43	Asst. Secretary, the Govt. of Bengal to the District Magistrate, Midnapore	File No. 501/42 (XI) Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	360
36.	26.4.43	Government of Madras to the Govt. of India - Licencing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	361
37.	30.4.43	District Magistrate, Midnapore to the Commissioner, Burdwan division - (Realization of collective fines)	File No. 501/42 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	363
38.	1.5.43	Government of Bombay to the Government of India - Treatment of security prisoners	File No. 3/30/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	364
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49.	19.5.43	Extract from the express letter of Government of the C.P. and Berar – Reviewing cases of persons detained – (Political Dept.'s Letter No. C/329-357/conf.)	File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	373
50.	20.5.43	Govt. of North West Frontier Province to GOI – Reviewing cases of persons detained	File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	374
51.	21.5.43	Government of the Central Provinces and Berar to the Govt. of India (Political and Military Department)	File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	375
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62.	16.6.43	Govt. of C.P. & Berar to the Govt. of India – Licensing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	385
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70	12.7.43	Govt. of Bombay to Govt. of India – (Action against secondary organisations)	File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	400
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72	31.7.43	Govt. of Baluchistan to the Govt. of India – (Revival of disturbances)	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	403
73	18.8.43	Copy of Letter No. 737-Pr., dated the 4th August, 1943 from the Addl. Secy., Home Deptt. Govt. of Bengal to the Convenor, Provincial Press Advisory Committee, Bengal	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	404
74	11.8.43 to 26.8.43	District Magistrate, Madura (South India) to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras sending details of the prosecution of a few Congress volunteers for distributing prejudicial pamphlets	File G.O. No. 2 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [INA]	405
75	19.8.43	Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar to all District Officers – Licensing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	408
76	21.8.43	Govt. of Madras to the Govt. of India – Licensing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	409
77	23.8.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy – (Reg. revival of Disobedience Movement)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2336]	410
78	30.8.43	Govt. of India to the Govt. of Madras	File No. 12(15) – P(S)/43 [NAI]	412
79	2.9.43	Official Notings: Olver's comments on replies received from the provinces regarding Licensing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	415
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86.	1.10.43	Govt. of Sind to the Govt. of India – (Reg. Congress security prisoners)	File No. 44/37/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	429
87.	13.10.43	Central Board of Revenue's comments on the draft letter of the Govt. of India – Licensing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	430
88.	15/16 Oct. 1943	The comments of the Labour Department on the draft letter of the Government of India	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	431
89.	16.10.43	Angry comment on C.B.R.'s comments on the draft letter (Document 84) of the Govt. – Licensing Policy (extracts)	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	432
90.	17.10.43	Govt. of Bihar to the Govt. of India – (Action against secondary organisations)	File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	433
91.	19.10.43	Department of Information & Broadcasting commenting on the draft letter of the Govt. of India on Licensing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	435
92.	20.10.43	Department of Posts and Air Commenting on Govt. of India's draft letter on Licensing Policy	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	435
93.	23.10.43	Govt. of Punjab to the Govt. of India (Interrogation methods)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	438
94.	2.11.43	Official Notings on Licensing Policy (extracts)	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	439
95.	5/6 Nov. 1943	Further official discussion on Licensing Policy (extracts)	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	441
96.	8.11.43	Final letter to the Provinces (Licensing Policy)	File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	442
97.	23.12.43	Govt. of Punjab on interrogation methods (extracts)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	443
98.	13.1.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 22/31/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	444
99.	17.1.44	Chief Secretary, Govt. of Punjab to all Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab	File No. 33 H-Political Govt. of Punjab [Punjab State Archives]	445
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105	1.2.44	Statement of persons undergoing imprisonment	File No. 188 Pol. & Mil. Dept. Govt. of C.P. & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	457
106	7.2.44	Government of India to Govt. of Bengal	File No. 6/44 Govt. of Bengal of (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	458
107.	18.2.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	458
108	Second half of Feb '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	459
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111	25.3.44	H.V. Kamath's (security prisoner) representation	File No. 44/54/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	462
112.	10.4.44 to 25.4.44	Official Notings (extracts) – Tottenham's snide remarks on Kamath's representation (Document 111)	File No. 44/54/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	465
113	12.4.44	Govt. of India to the Secretary of States for India (London) (Statistics of convictions and detentions)	File No. 18/15/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	467
114	21.4.44	Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of India – (Reading of Independence Day's Pledge at the Calcutta Corporation	File No. 6/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	468
115	24.5.44	News item from the <i>Hindu</i>	File G.O. No. 1986 Pub. (Press) Dept. Govt. of Madras [TNA]	468
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124.	10.6.44	DIB's detailed notes on all India Satyagraha Council (dt 19.6.44.) (extracts)	File No. 4/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	475
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129.	26.7.44	Copy of the All India Satyagraha Council programme for August 9th 1944 recovered from the residence of Annada Prasad Choudhuri in Midnapore on 12.7.1944	File No. 3/28/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	483
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132.	11.8.44	Govt. of Bombay to the Govt. of India – Observance of second anniversary of the arrest of Congress leaders	File No. 3/28/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	485
133.	12.8.44	District Magistrate, Chilakalapudi to the Government of Madras	File No. 109/44 U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	491
134.	30.8.44 to 2.9.44	Correspondence between C.P. Govt. and Govt. of India regarding releasing H.V. Kamath (S.P.)	File No. 44/88/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	492
135.	1.11.44	Statement showing the number of persons undergoing imprisonment	File No. 188 Pol. & Mil. Dept. Govt. C.P. & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	493
136.	20.11.44	Meetings of the BPCC – A Report	File No. 561/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	494
137.	18.12.44	Police report on political situation in the Province (agenda for Commissioner's conference)	File No. 533/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	496



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2	15.2.43	Governor of Bengal to the Chief Minister, Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	499
3	16.2.43	Chief Minister, Bengal to the Governor of Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	500
4	8.5.43	Judicial Department's Notification to reduce overcrowding of prisoners	File No. 21/1943 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	503
5	18.3.43	Government of Bihar to all Commissioners and all District Officers -- Release of prisoners	File No. 21/1943 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	504
6	6.4.43	Secretary to Govt. of Bihar to the I.G. of prisons	File No. 21/1943 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	505
7	12.4.43	Official Noting regarding the case of Audikesavulu Naicker, a detenu in Central Jail, Vellore (extracts)	File G.O. No. 1278 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 [TNA]	506
8	17.4.43	Secretary, Govt. of Bihar to all Commissioners and District Officers - Remission of sentences	File No. 21/1943 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	508
9	22.4.43	Political agitation in Madura -- Case of K. Bhashyam	File G.O. No. 1192 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras [TNA]	509
10	25.4.43	Govt. of Central Provinces and Berar to the Government of India	File No. 3/39/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	511
11	29.4.43	Order of the Govt. of Bihar reg. release of prisoners	File No. 21/1943 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	513
12	6.5.43 to 17.6.43	Political agitation in Madura	File G.O. No. 2 (Pub.) Gen. Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 [TNA]	515
13	8.5.43	Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar to all District Officers, Bihar -- Release of political prisoners	File No. 21/1943 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	517
14	17.5.43 to 3.6.43	Official Notings regarding security prisoner Kalicharan Khanna (extracts)	File No. 327/43 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	518
15	27.5.43	Sisir Roy to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar (Publication of a booklet entitled 'Sabotage Movement and the Indian Bolsheviks' by the Labour Party of India)	File No. 221/1943 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	519
16	30.6.43	Political agitation in Madura case of Alagarsamy, Raju Pillai etc.	File G.O. No. 2 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 [TNA]	520

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17.	27.7.43	Resolution regarding treatment of political prisoners and detenus	CLA Debates – Vol. III, 1943 [NMML]	521
18.	23.8.43 to 28.8.43	Intelligence Bureau's note on Abdur Rahman Khan	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	560
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20.	3.9.43	Sisir Roy to Home Member	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	564
21.	22.9.43	Political agitation in Madura – Case of one Velusamy Pillai	File G.O. No. 2 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 [TNA]	567
22.	26.10.43	Sisir Roy, Gen. Secretary, Labour Party of India to the Home Member, GOI	File No. 12/1/43 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	571
23.	16.11.43	Political agitation in Madura	File G.O. No. 2 Pub (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 [TNA]	573
24.	22.11.43 to 3.12.43	Notes in the Home Dept. regarding release on parole (extracts)	File No. 44/37/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	577
25.	11.12.43	Political agitation in Madura	File G.O. No. 2 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 [TNA]	580
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27.	27.12.43	Government of India to Sisir Roy	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	584
28.	19.1.44	Home to Chief Commissioner, Delhi	File No. 44/91/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	585
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33.	30.3.44	Regarding – Petition from V.V. Giri Official Notings	G.O. No. 884 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	596
34.	30.3.44	Request for extension of parole from V.V. Giri	File G.O. No. 884 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	597

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37	4.5.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from the Central Provinces and Berar	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	599
38.	4.5.44	V.V. Giri's petition for further extension of parole	File G.O. No. 884 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	600
39	17.5.44	Case of V.V. Giri	File G.O. No. 884 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	601
40	First half of May 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from the United Provinces	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	601
41	First half of May 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	602
42	First half of May 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	604
43	27.5.44	Case of V.V. Giri	File G.O. No. 884 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	605
44.	31.5.44	Case of V.V. Giri	File G.O. No. 884 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	607
45	Second half of May 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	608
46	5.6.44	Banning of Congress meetings	File G.O. No. 1986 Pub. (Press) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	608
47.	9.6.44	H.P. Mody to Mahatma Gandhi	Mody Papers File No. 83 [NMML]	610
48	9.6.44	Madras Congress leaders' statement – News item in <i>Indian Express</i>	File G.O. No. 1986 Pub. (Press) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	612
49	9.6.44	Editorial in <i>The Free Press</i> banning of Congress meetings	File G.O. No. 1986 Pub. (Press) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	613
50.	12.6.44	Case of V.V. Giri	File G.O. No. 884 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	615
51.	19.6.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from United Provinces	File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	615
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53.	8.7.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras — Political situation	File No. 18/6/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	616
54.	8.7.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/6/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	617
55.	Second half of June 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/6/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	618
56.	18.7.44	Documents seized at 99/2 Ballygunj Place	File No. 479/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	619
57.	1.8.44	D.S.P. Guntur to Dt. Magistrate, Guntur	File No. 109/44 U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	623
58.	5.8.44	News item in <i>Liberator</i> — Ban on Congress meeting at Guntur	File No. 109/44 U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	624
59.	6.8.44	News item in <i>Indian Express</i> — Statement issued by Avinashilaingan Chettiar	File No. 109/44 U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	624
60.	7.8.44	News item in <i>Andhra Patrika</i>	File No. 109/44 U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	625
61.	9.8.44	News Item in <i>Hindustan Times</i>	File No. 3/28/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	625
62.	16.8.44	Govt. of India to all Provincial Governments -- (Examining detention orders)	File No. C85/276/44 Govt. of Bengal (IB. File) [Bengal State Archives]	626
63.	23.8.44	Memo issued to all Dt. Magistrates (regarding banning of Congress meetings)	File No. 109/44, US Files Govt. of Madras [TNA]	627
64.	First half of Sept. 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/9/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	628
65.	14.9.44	District Magistrate, Guntur to the Chief Secretary Govt. of Madras	File No. 109/44 US Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	629
66.	19.9.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/9/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	630
67.	Second half of Sept	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from the C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/9/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	630
68.	4.10.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Poona	File No. 18/9/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	630
69.	5.10.44	District Magistrate, Guntur to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras — Case of Brahmananda Reddy	File G.O. No. 2983 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	631
70.	14.10.44	Official Notings — Regarding release of security prisoners (extracts)	File No. 737/44 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	632
71.	First half of Nov.	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Central Provinces & Berar	File No. 18/11/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	634
72.	3.11.44	Mahatma Gandhi to Bardoloi	Bardoloi Papers, List No. 170. R.R. [NMML]	634
73.	8.11.44	District Magistrate, Guntur, to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras	File G.O. No. 2983 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	635

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<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
74	18.11.44 to 21.11.1944	Official Noting about the situation in Midnapur (extracts)	File No. 416/44 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	636
75	20.11.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	636
76	Second half of Nov. 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	638
77	18.11.44	Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of India	File No. 525/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	638
78	22.11.44	Official Noting on meetings of B.P.C. (extracts)	File No. 561/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	639
79	27.11.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	640
80	1.12.44	Case of Brahmananda Reddy	File G.O. No. 2983 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	641
81	7.12.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	642
82	11.12.44	Case of Brahmananda Reddy	File G.O. No. 2983 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	642
83	20.12.44	Govt. of India to all Provincial Govts - Revival of Congress disturbances	File No. 12(2) (S)/44 Dept. Pol Branch [NAI]	643

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<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	23.12.42	Telegram from the Government of Bombay to the Government of Madras	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	644
2	11.12.42	Press Communiqué issued by the Government of Central Provinces and Berar - Chimur Incidents	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	646
3	1.1.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> on Chimur Incidents	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	647
4	2.1.43	Cancellation of the 'General Communist Notification' issued on 10.9.1932	File No. 416/42 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	649
5	2.1.43	Information Officer to the Convener, Madras Press Advisory Committee Objecting to the news item published on Dr Bhansali in the <i>Indian Express</i> (Madras)	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	650
6	3.1.43	Pre-scrutiny of the news of disturbances -- Order on the <i>Hindustan Times</i> -- News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [Indian Council of World Affairs Library (ICWA)]	651

S.No.	Date	Documents	Source	Pg No.
7.	4.1.43	Order of the Government of Madras not to give government advertisements to certain news papers	File G.O. No. 12 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	651
8.	3.1.43	Editorials in <i>The Hindu</i> and <i>The Indian Express</i> , Madras Chimur Incidents	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	652
9.	4.1.43	Editorial in <i>The Free Press Journal</i> (daily newspaper in English) - Chimur Incidents	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	654
10.	4.1.43	Editorial in <i>Liberator</i> (weekly magazine in English) - Chimur Incidents	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	655
11.	4.1.43	Excerpts from <i>Dinamani</i> (daily newspaper in Tamil, Madras) - Chimur Incidents	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	657
12.	4.1.43	News item in <i>Andhra Prabha</i> (daily newspaper in Telugu, Madras) - Chimur Incidents	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	658
13.	5.1.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> - Withdrawal of Press facilities for not publishing honours list	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	658
14.	6.1.43	Excerpts from <i>Andhra Patrika</i> (daily newspaper in Telegu, Madras) - Chimur Incidents	G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	659
15.	7.1.43	Special Press Advisor, Government of Madras, to the Convener, Madras Advisory Committee - Chimur Incidents	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	660
16.	7.1.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> - One day hartal by news papers	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	661
17.	7.1.43	Government of Madras to the Government of India regarding stopping government advertisements to certain newspapers	File G.O. No. 12 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	661
18.	7.1.43	Proceedings of the meeting of the Madras Provincial Press Advisory Committee	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	662
19.	11.1.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy about the Press	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	663
20.	13.1.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> - Prof. Bhansali breaks fast	File G.O. No. 237 Pub. (Press) Dept. [TNA]	663
21.	16.1.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> - Censorship of Press messages	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	665
22.	24.1.43	Editorial in <i>People's War</i> (weekly magazine of the C.P.I.)	<i>People's War</i> [NMML]	665
23.	24.1.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	667
24.	1.2.43	P.C. Joshi, General Secretary, CPI to the Home Member	File No. 41/6/42 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	668

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25.	10.2.43	Gandhiji's Fast – Day by day report in to 26.2.43	Jayakar Collection [NAI]	669
26.	14.2.43	<i>Bharat Jyoti</i> – Excerpts		
		News item in <i>The Hindu</i> restriction on headlines of news on Gandhi's fast	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	670
27.	19.2.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	671
28.	28.2.43	News item <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	672
29.	7.3.43	Editorial in <i>People's War</i> – 'Stop Massacre of Press Liberties'	<i>People's War</i> – Vol. No. 35 [NMML]	672
30.	8.3.43	Governments attitude towards the Press in India (extracts from C.L.A. debates)	C.L.A. Debates – Vol. I, 1943 [NMML]	673
31.	13.3.43	Pre-censorship Order by the Government of Bengal on Sakti Press, Calcutta and Official Notings on it	File No. 150/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	679
32.	19.3.43	Intelligence Bureau's Circular on objectionable books	File No. 41/6/42 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	684
33.	22.3.43	Government of Bengal to the Government of India – Regarding a pamphlet on Midnapore	File No. 33/9/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	686
34.	30.3.43	Note on Nirmal Chandra Sen Gupta s/o Dr Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta (Ex-Vice-President of Bengal Workers Party) Calcutta	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	687
35.	4.4.43 to 5.4.43	Note about a cartoon that appeared in <i>Ananda Vikatan</i> (a weekly magazine in Tamil, Madras)	File G.O. No. 1571 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	687
36.	6.4.43 to 7.4.43	Official Notings – Nirmal Sen Gupta's plea for Soviet deputation (extracts)	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	390
37.	7.4.43 to 8.4.43	Official Notings regarding paper quota to Press (extracts)	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	691
38.	12.4.43	Legal opinion about the cartoons that appeared in <i>Ananda Vikatan</i>	File G.O. No. 1571 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	692
39.	14.4.43	Government of India to Nirmal Sen Gupta – Paper quota	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	693
40.	29.3.43 to 20.4.43	Official Notings regarding paper quota (extracts)	File No. 7/7/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	694
41.	28.4.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	696
42.	3.5.43	Official Notings on the explanation given by the Press Advisory Committee	File G.O. No. 1571 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	696
43.	4.5.43	Secretary, Government of Bombay to other Provincial Governments – Ban on the book ' <i>India Speaks</i> '	File G.O. No. 1342 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	698
44.	11.5.43	Editorial in <i>The Hindu</i> on the Press	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	699
45.	24.5.43	Legal opinion on Louis Fischer's speech	File G.O. No. 2761 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	

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46.	24.5.43	Report on a Tamil book entitled <i>Rashtrapati Subhas Chandra Bose</i> – Report	File G.O. No. 1741 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	702
47.	2.6.43	Note on the Congress propaganda machinery	File No. 3/47/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	704
48.	5.6.43	Comments in <i>Swadesamitran</i> and <i>Bharata Devi</i> about the ban on Louis Fischer's articles	File G.O. No. 2761 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	711
49.	10.6.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments – Use of wireless by security prisoners	File No. 44/37/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	712
50.	11.6.43	Note of the Superintendent of Police regarding the book <i>Rashtrapathi Subhas Chandra Bose</i>	File G.O. No. 1741 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	713
51.	26.6.43	An account of the book <i>Makkal Vayiril Adikkade</i> and the order declaring the book forfeit (12.7.43)	File G.O. No. 1741 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	714
52.	28.6.43	Government order declaring the books <i>S.C. Bose</i> and <i>Vanga Veeran</i> forfeit	File G.O. No. 1741 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	716
53.	28.6.43	Government of Assam to the Government of India – Police firing at Dhakiajuli	File No. 3/61/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	717
54.	July–Oct. 1943	Extract from 'Communist Survey' – Activities of the Press	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	718
55.	7.7.43	Police firing at Dhakiajuli	File No. 3/61/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	718
56.	15.7.43	News item from <i>The Hindu</i> – Reg. L. Fischers article	File G.O. No. 2761 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	719
57.	16.7.43	'Growing Rigours of Censorship' – Mr K. Srinivasan's criticism – Reply to Sir Sultans Ahmed's address	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	720
58.	19.7.43	Governor of Bihar to Viceroy -- Press control	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2385]	726
59.	20.7.43	Governor, the North-West Frontier Province to the Viceroy -- Press control if Gandhiji goes on fast	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2243]	727
60.	20.7.43	Governor of Central Provinces and Berar to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI]	728
61.	22.7.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> – Action against Delhi paper – Criticised	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	729
62.	22.7.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	730
63.	26.7.43	Censorship on Louis Fischer's writings and speeches – Debate in the Central Legislative Assembly (26 July to 25 August) and in the council reported in <i>The Hindu</i> dt 4.8.1943 (extracts)	File G.O. No. 2761 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	730



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<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
64.	4.8.43	Civil Secretariat, United Provinces (Press advice section) to all District Press Advisers, U.P. – Revival of August disturbances	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	733
65	10.8.43	Government of Orissa to the Government of Madras - Press control of the news item of cyclone and floods in Balasore	File G.O. No. 2739 Pub (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	735
66.	11.8.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> – Raid on <i>Hindustan Times</i> – Debate in the Legislative Assembly	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	736
67	11.8.43	Deputy Commissioner, Raipur to the Commissioner, Chhatisgarh Divn., Raipur – Reg. the arrest of a proprietor of printing press	File No. 259 Govt. the Pol. & Mil. Dept. Govt. of CP & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	736
68	12.8.43	Official Notings regarding Louis Fischer (extracts)	File G.O. No. 2761 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	738
69	16.8.43	Commissioner, Chhatisgarh Division to the Secretary, C.P. & Berar - Regarding <i>Agradoot</i>	File No. 259 Pol. & Mil. Dept. Govt. of CP & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	740
70	14/16.8.43	Resolution passed by the Madras Press Advisory Committee	File G.O. No. 2739 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	743
71.	17.8.43	Counsel for the Editor <i>Agradoot</i> to the Government of C.P. & Berar	File No. 259 Pol. & Mil Dept. Govt. of C.P. & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	745
72.	18.8.43	The C.P. Press Advisory Committee to the Provincial Press Adviser – Reg. <i>Agradoot</i>	File No. 259 Pol. & Mil Dept. Govt. of CP & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	746
73	20.8.43	Government of Assam to the Government of India police firing at Dhakajuli	File No. 3/61/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	747
74	25.8.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	748
75	26.8.43	Government of India to the Government of Bihar enclosing a list of pamphlets containing objectionable matter	File No. 33/33/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	748
76	3.9.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File G O No. 2761 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	750
77	11.9.43	New item in <i>The Hindu</i> on Louis Fischer	File G.O. No. 2761 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	752
78.	13.9.43	D.V. Tahmankar to C. Rajagopalachari	C. Rajagopalachari Papers [NAI – Acc. No. 1422]	753

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79.	15.9.43	Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar to the DIG of Police enclosing the letter of the Government of India dt 26.8.1943	File No. 123(1)/1943 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	754
80.	20.9.43	Resident, Madras States to Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer – Regarding Congress Propaganda	File No. 544/43 Govt. of Travancore [Kerala State Archives]	755
81.	22.9.43	DIG of Police, Bihar to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar – Reply to the letter of 15.9.1943	File No. 123(1)/1943 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	756
82.	24.9.43	The Viceroy of India to the Secretary of State, London	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 138	757
83.	7.10.43	Govt. of Bihar to the Govt. of India	File No. 123(1)/1943 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	757
84.	16.10.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> on Press pre-censorship	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	758
85.	16.10.43	Editorial in <i>The Hindu</i> about censorship orders on <i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	759
86.	20.10.43	Editorial in <i>The Hindu</i> – Ban on Bharati's Songs	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	761
87.	Late Oct	Memorandum of Department of Industries and Civil Supplies – (News print)	File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	762
88.	7.11.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> – Famine news	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	763
89.	9.11.43	Banning publication of Bengal Governor's order against the <i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i> – CLA debates	CLA Debates, Vol. IV, 1943 [NMML]	764
90.	10.11.43	Censorship on publication of news about famine in Bengal CLA debate (extracts)	CLA Debates, Vol. IV, 1943 [NMML]	766
91.	10.11.43	News item in <i>the Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	768
92.	15.11.43	DIG of Police Bihar to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar (that ' <i>Vanguard</i> ' may be allowed to be issued to security prisoners)	File No. 19/44 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	769
93.	30.11.43 to 4.12.43	Official Noting – Proposal to amend the Press Registration Act (extracts)	File No. 33/33/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	770
94.	1.12.43 to 24.1.43	Official Notings on Louis Fischer's book (extracts)	File No. 20/17/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	772
95.	2.12.43	Secretary, Govt. of Bihar to the Secretary, Bihar Journalist Association	File No. 88(25)/1943 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	775
96.	10.12.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments about Congress Propaganda	File No. 33/33/43 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	776
97.	25.12.43	Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bihar to the Secretary Bihar Journalist Association	File No. 88(25) Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	778
98.	7.1.44	Cartoon in <i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i> on the appointment of the Australian Casey as Governor	<i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i> [NMML]	779

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99.	20.1.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments Regarding publication of Independence Day Pledge	File No. 3/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	780
100.	21.1.44	Ban on the book <i>Lenin's Revolution of 1905</i>	File No. M603/44 II Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	781
101.	26.1.44	Circular of the Chief Press Adviser - Reg. Sarojini Naidu	File No. 29/1/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	782
102	26.1.44	Official Notings about Sarojini Naidu	File No. 29/1/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	784
103	26.1.44	Government of India to all the Provinces about Sarojini Naidu	File No. 29/1/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	785
104	27.1.44	Meeting of the Central Press Advisory Committee held at <i>The Statesman</i> office New Delhi at 6 p.m. on Wednesday January 26th 1944	File No. 29/1/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	786
105	29.1.44	Commissioner of the Patna Division to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar	File No. 1/1944 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	789
106	31.1.44	Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division to the Chief Secretary	File No. 1/1944 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	790
107.	First half of Feb 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	793
108	1.2.44	DIG of Police to the the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar	File No. 1/1944 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	794
109	4.2.44	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	795
110.	7.2.44	CLA Debates - Reg Notices served on <i>Hindustan Times</i> and <i>National Call</i> and the Notice served on Mrs Sarojini Naidu	CLA Debate - Vol. I, 1944 [NMML]	796
111	9.2.44	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	797
112.	16.2.44	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	798
113	17.2.44	Bengal Legislative Assembly Debates - 18th Session	BLA Debate 1944 [NMML]	798
114.	17.2.44	U.N. Sen of the Associated Press of India to Devadas Gandhi	Devadas Gandhi Papers [NMML]	800
115.	22.2.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments about Sarojini Naidu	File No. 29/1/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	801
116.	25.2.44	Asst. Secretary, Government of Bengal to the Under Secretary, Govt. of India - Soviet Union News to be supplied to jails	File No. M637A 1944 Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	802
117.	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	803
118.	4.3.44	Ban on Louis Fischers' book	File G.O. No. 892 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1944 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	804

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119.	6.3.44	Book entitled 'Manavarukku' (to students) forfeited	File G.O. No. 763 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1944 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	804
120.	15.3.44	Proscription of the book <i>Amavasya</i>	File G.O. No. 988 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	806
121.	18.3.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	807
122.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	807
123.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	808
124.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	808
125.	19.3.44	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	809
126.	22.3.44	Asst. Secretary, Bengal to I.G. of Police ( <i>Vanguard</i> (RDP News Paper) to be permitted to security prisoners)	File No. M637 A Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	809
127.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	810
128.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	810
129.	5.4.44	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	811
130.	15.4.44 to 26.4.44	Official Notings (reg. the pamphlet 'Economic Sabotage') (extracts)	File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	811
131.	23.4.44	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> - Debate in the House of Commons	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	813
132.	23.4.44	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	814
133.	27.4.44	<i>War Against the People</i> - Proscribed	File No. M603/44 II Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	814
134.	1.6.44	Ban on the books <i>Manavarakku</i> and <i>Bharat Jiwan</i>	File No. M603/44 II Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	815
135.	15.6.44	Assam bans one reel of the film - <i>Mission to Moscow</i>	File No. M603/44 II Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	816
136.	16.6.44	Bihar bans film <i>Dhiraj</i>	File No. M603/44 II Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	817
137.	17.6.44	<i>Revolution in India</i> found objectionable	File No. M603/44 II Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	817
138.	17.6.44	Editorial in <i>The Hindu</i> - Censorship methods exposed	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	818
139.	23.6.44	Editorial in <i>Hindustan Times</i> - <i>Harijan</i> Files	File No. 4/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	820

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140.	27.6.44	Pyarelal to Devadas Gandhi	Devadas Gandhi Papers [NMML]	822
141.	7.7.44	Government of India to Government of Bombay — <i>Haryana</i> Files	File No. 4/5/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	823
142.	15.7.44	<i>New Leader</i> to be detained	File No. M603/44 II Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	823
143.	1.8.44	Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India (extracts)	T.O.P., Vol. IV, Doc. 617	824
144.	10.8.44	Home Member (Francis Mudie) to Akbar Hydari, New Delhi	File No. 7/5/45 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	824
145.	17.8.44	Government of India to Secretary of State — (Reg. Drew Pearson's article)	T.O.P., Vol. IV, Doc. 661	826
146.	19.8.44	Ban on the book <i>Shahri Azadi</i>	File No. M603/44 II Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	827
147.	23.8.44	Unobjectionable Publications	File No. M603/44 II Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	827
148.	Second half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/9/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	828
149.	12.10.44	Home Secretary, A.A. Macdonald, Govt of Punjab to all Deputy Commissioners	File No. H-13 (Home) Govt. of Punjab [Punjab State Archives]	828
150.	28.10.44	Objectionable and unobjectionable publications	File No. M603/44 II Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	830
151.	8.11.44	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> — Government of India's attitude towards Drew Pearson	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	831
152.	First half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind	File No. 18/11/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	831
153.	23.11.44	Proscription of the book <i>Satyartha Parkash and Quran</i>	File No. M603/44 II Government of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	832

## PART II

### III Struggle in the Law Courts

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	26.10.42	Vishnu Prasad v. Emperor — Bennet, J.	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Oudh, pp. 41-4	834
2.	12.11.42	Salig Ram — (Applicant) v. Emperor [Iqbal Ahmad C.J., Collister and Bajpai J.J. Full Bench]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Allahabad, pp. 26-46	836
3.	20.11.42	Banwari Gope and others (Petitioners) v. Emperor [Harries C.J., Fazl Ali and Varma J.J. Full Bench]	AIR, Vol. 30, Patna, pp. 18-23	846

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
4.	After Sept. 1942	Police firing at Dhakiajuli (Assam)	File No. 3/61/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	849
5.	8.12.42	Prabhakar Kesheo Tare and others (Applicants) v. Emperor [Pollock and Vivian Bose J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1945. Nagpur, pp. 26-36	855
6.	18.12.42	Viceroy to the Governor of Bihar (extracts) (case of Ainsworth)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2190]	861
7.	4.1.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy (case of Ainsworth)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	862
7-A.	4.1.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy (case of Ainsworth)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	868
8.	16.1.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Bihar (case of Ainsworth)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	869
9.	25.1.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy (case of Ainsworth)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	870
10.	29.1.43	In reg. Dondapati Ellappa and others (Appellants) Mockett J.	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Madras, pp. 454-66	872
11.	29.1.43	Official Noting by the Additional Secretary, GOI	File No. 44/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	873
12.	4.2.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Bihar (case of Ainsworth)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	875
13.	4.2.43	Note by the Viceroy -- Treatment of security prisoner	File No. 44/6/42 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	876
14.	12.2.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy (case of Ainsworth)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	877
15.	4.3.43	Official Notings -- Reg. treatment of prisoners detained without trial (extracts)	File No. 44/6/42 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	881
16.	9.3.43	Emperor v. Parmanand Rai and others (Opposite Party) [Iqbal Ahmad C.J., Allsop, Bajpai, Mohd Ismail and Hamilton J.J. -- Full Bench]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Allahabad, pp. 233-8	882
17.	13.3.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy (case of Ainsworth)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	887
18.	29.3.43	Govt. of Sind to Govt. of India -- (Treatment of prisoners)	File No. 44/6/42 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	894
19.	30.3.43	Govt. of Bengal to Govt. of India -- (Treatment of prisoners)	File No. 44/6/42 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	895
20.	2.4.43	Official Notings regarding treatment of prisoners (extracts)	File No. 44/6/42 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	896
21.	4.4.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	896
22.	13.4.43	Representation by a security prisoner to the Govt. of Madras	File G.O. No. 1278 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	898
23.	14.4.43 to 25.4.43	Official Notings on interrogation methods (extracts)	File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	899
24.	20.4.43	Gopal Marwari and others -- Petitioners v. Emperor [Fazl Ali C.J., Manohar Lall and Meredith J.J. Special Bench]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Patna, pp. 245-78	901

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25.	26.4.43	Official Notings regarding detenu's privileges of letter writing etc. (extracts)	File No. 44/6/42 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	907
26.	21.4.43	Benoari Lal Sarma and others accused (petitioners) v. Emperor [Derbyshire C.J., Khundkar and Sen J.J., Special Bench]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Calcutta, pp. 289–318	908
27.	22.4.43	Keshav Talpade (Appellant) v. Emperor [Gwyer C.J., S. Varadachariar and Zafrullah Khan J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Federal Court, pp. 1–9	930
28.	24.4.43	Official Note on the Judgment in Talpade's case (extracts)	File No. 44/57/53 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	940
29.	30.4.43	Baldeo Das on behalf of Kamlapati Tewari – (Applicant) v. Emperor [Iqbal Ahmad C.J.]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Allahabad, pp. 331–4	941
30.	1.5.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 15/6/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	943
31.	31.5.43	Review of an article in <i>Janayuddha</i>	File No. SK 562/42 office of the D.C.P. (Spl. Br) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	945
32.	1.6.43	District Magistrate, West Godavari to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras – Security prisoners in Coastal Andhra	File No. 26/1944 U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	946
33.	3.6.43	Shib Nath Banerjee and others – (Petitioners) v. A.E. Porter and others – Opposite Party [Mitter, Khundkar and Sen J.J. Special Bench]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Calcutta, pp. 377–417	948
34.	4.6.43	Emperor v. Benoari Lal Sarma and others Respondents – Case No. 8 of 1943 [Varadachariar C.J., Zafrullah Khan and Rowland J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Calcutta, pp. 36–71	976
35.	11.6.43	Official Notings – Access to legal advice (extracts)	File No. 3/16/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	991
36.	14.6.43	Government of Punjab to the Government of India (Interrogations)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	994
37.	16.6.43	Government of Madras to the Government of India (interrogation of persons in custody)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	995
38.	21.6.43	District Judge, Assam, quashes a conviction in an appeal from Sylhet – (Congress flag hoisting permitted)	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	996
39.	22.6.43	Government of Central Provinces and Berar to the Government of India (reg. interrogation)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	997
40.	23.6.43	Government of Bihar to the Government of India (reg. interrogation)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	998
41.	23.6.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy (law and order situation and the effects of judgements)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2385]	999
42.	26.6.43	Government of Bengal to all District Officers	File No. W511/43 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1003

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43.	26.6.43	Commissioner of Police, Bengal to the Addl. Secretary, Govt. of Bengal	File No. W502/43 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1004
44.	6.7.43	Police firing at Dhakiajuli (Assam)	File No. 3/61/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1005
45.	12.7.43	Sushil Kumar Bose – Accused (Petitioner) v. Emperor [Derbyshire C.J., Khundkar and Sen J.J. Special Bench]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Calcutta, pp. 489-511	1005
46.	12.7.43	Commissioner of Delhi to the Secretary Government of India (reg. interrogation)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1011
47.	14.7.43	Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar and other Petitioners v. A.E. Porter and others (Opposite Party) [Derbyshire C.J., Mitter and Khundkar J.J. Special Bench]	AIR, Vol. 32, 1945, Calcutta, pp. 107-29	1012
48.	15.7.43 to 17.7.43	Official Notings reg. interrogation (extracts)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1034
49.	19.7.43 to 24.7.43	Official Notings reg. interrogation of prisoners (continuation of Doc. 48) (extracts)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1035
50.	20.7.43	Jailal Sahu and others (Petitioners) v. Emperor [Brough and Sinha J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Patna, pp. 346-52	1037
51.	20.7.43	The Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc.. No. 2385]	1044
52.	20.7.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc.. No. 2385]	1046
53.	21.7.43	Government of India to all provinces (treatment of security prisoners)	File No. 44/37/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1048
54.	24.7.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments (Anticipatory action for 9th August celebrations and the use of martial law)	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1051
55.	24.7.43	Government of Bengal to the Government of India (reg. Tapas Kumar Basu Mullick)	File No. W586/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1053
56.	25.7.43 to 23.9.43	Case of Rathnamamba	File No. 2/1944, US Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1054
57.	24.7.43 to 28.7.43	Official Notings (extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1056
58.	22.7.43	Case of Basu Deb Datta Roy	File No. W522/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1059
59.	28.7.43	Chief Commissioner, Delhi to the Secretary, Government of India (reg. setting up of special courts)	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1060
60.	30.7.43	Criminal Investigation Department to the Chief Secretary, Government of Madras (Rathnamamba's case)	File No. 2/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1062



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61.	30.7.43	Cypher telegram to the Government of India from Bengal regarding Basudeb Datta Roy	File No. W522/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1064
62.	30.7.43 to 31.7.43	Official Notings reg. interrogation methods (continuation of Docs 48 and 49) (extracts)	File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1064
63.	1.8.43	Chief Secretary Government of Bihar to the Govt. of India (revival of disorders)	File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1065
64.	4.8.43	Addl. Secretary, Government of Bengal to the Secretary, Government of India	File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1067
65.	4.8.43	Case of Jasoda Kumar Das Gupta	File No. W526/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1068
66.	5.8.43	Case of Jasoda Kumar Das Gupta (Transfer to Delhi)	File No. W526/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1069
67.	5.8.43	Official Notings (extracts) - Reg. Hari Sadhan Sen	File No. W502/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1070
68.	6.8.43	Case of Hari Sadhan Sen (contd.)	File No. W502/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1070
69.	9.8.43	Note on Kishori Lal Datta who wanted to be transferred to Delhi jail	File No. W554/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1071
70.	10.8.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments (Legal access to security prisoners)	File No. 44/37/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1072
71.	10.8.43	In regarding R. Subbarayan - Prisoner [Leach C.J., King and Lakshmana Rao J.J. Full Bench]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Madras, pp. 602-8	1074
72.	13.8.43	Government of Bengal to the Government of India (Case of Kishori Lal Datta)	File No. W554/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1082
73.	13.8.43 to 27.8.43	Official Notings (regarding interrogation) (extracts)	File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1083
74.	17.8.43 to 18.8.43	Official Notings on the desirability of Advisory Committees (extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1084
75.	19.8.43	Case of Hari Sadhan Sen	File No. W502/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1087
76.	20.8.43 to 9.9.43	Subject - Statement of cases involving the validity of ordinances	File No. 25/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1088
77.	21.8.43	Case of Jasoda Das Gupta	File No. 526/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1090
78.	24.8.43	Case of Tapas Kumar Basu Mullick	File No. W586/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1091

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79.	24.8.43 to 26.8.43	Official Notings regarding treatment of security prisoners (extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1091
80.	25.8.43	Case of Tapas Kumar Basu Mullick	File No. W586/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1098
81.	25.8.43 to 5.9.43	Access to legal advice for security prisoners	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1098
82.	27.8.43	Case of Hari Sadhan Sen	File No. W502/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1100
83.	31.8.43	Emperor v. Sibnath Banerjee and others Respondents [Spens C.J., Varadachariar and Zafrulla Khan J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Federal Court, pp. 75-85	1100
84.	1.9.43	Kantilal Mangaldas and others (Applicants) v. Emperor [Beaumont C.J., Lokur and Rajadhyaksha J.J. Full Bench]	AIR, Vol. 31, 1944, Bombay, pp. 121-4	1122
85.	1.9.43	Government of Bengal to the Government of India	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1126
86.	1.9.43 to 4.9.43	Army Department views on the judgements on DIR 26 (extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1127
87.	1.9.43	Nagpur High Court judgement (Provincial Government vs Madan Gopals' case)	File No. 3/16/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1130
88.	2.9.43	Item to be reported at the National Defence Council (extracts)	File No. 35/5/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1135
89.	2.9.43	Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India	File No. 44/71/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1136
90.	3.9.43	Secretary, Government of India (Defence) to the Secretary, Government of Bengal	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1138
91.	5.9.43	Official Notings - Maxwell disagrees with Cawthorn (Doc. 86) (extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1139
92.	8.9.43 to 10.9.43	Official Notings reg. treatment of security prisoners (extracts)	File No. 44/37/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1141
93.	10.9.43 to 22.10.43	Official Notings on legal advice and the right of the detenus to make representation (extracts)	File No. 44/32/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1142
94.	8.9.43	In reg. K.C. Subbanna's appeal. Mockett and Shahabuddin J.J.	AIR, Vol. 31, 1944, Madras, pp. 388-9	1144
95.	10.9.43	Case of Tapas Kumar Basu Mullick	File No. W586/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1146
96.	10.9.43	Governor of United Provinces to the Home Member (interrogation of security prisoner)	File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1146
97.	11.9.43	Case of one Sailendra Nath Kundu	File No. W511/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal States Archives]	1148
98.	17.9.43	Government of Punjab to the Government of India	File No. 3/16/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1149
99.	17.9.43	Government of Bombay to the Government of India	File No. 3/16/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1151

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100.	21.9.43	Kirti Narain Singh and others Appellants v. Emperor (Varma and Reuben J.J.)	AIR, Vol. 31, 1944, Patna, pp. 345-7	1152
101.	24.9.43	Law Member's Noting -- Reg. Derbyshire's judgement in contempt case (extract)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1155
102.	24.9.43 to 29.9.43	Official Notings -- Regarding case of Radha Kumar Roy	File No. W.563/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1156
103.	24.9.43 to 30.9.43	Official Notings -- Access to legal advisers for detenus (extracts)	File No. 3/16/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1157
104.	25.9.43	Government of India to the Government of Bombay	File No. 3/16/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1158
105.	28.9.43	Official Notings -- Maxwell accepts Asoka Roy's point about new ordinance (extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1159
106.	30.9.43	Case of Radha Kanta Roy	File No. W563/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1161
107.	2.10.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy	T.O.P., Vol. IV, Doc. 158	1162
108.	6.10.43 to 8.10.43	Official Noting -- Regarding the new ordinance (extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1162
109.	12.10.43	Madho Saran Singh and others (Appellants) v. Emperor [Iqbal Ahmad, C.J., Allsop and Bajpai J.J. - Full Bench]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Allahabad, pp. 379-93	1163
110.	19.10.43	Official Notings regarding new ordinance (extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1173
111.	21.10.43 to 26.10.43	Official Notings - Economic warfare against the Congress (extracts)	File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1174
112.	21.10.43 to 10.12.43	Official Notings -- K.Y. Bhandarkar informing dates of cases fixed for hearing (extracts)	File No. 25/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1176
113.	23.10.43	Government of Punjab to the Government of India -- Treatment of Security Prisoners	File No. 3/16/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1177
114.	26.10.43 to 29.10.43	Tottenham's memo for the Viceroy's council on the new ordinance (extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1179
115.	29.10.43 to 7.11.43	Official Notings -- Treatment of security prisoners (extracts)	File No. 44/37/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1182
116.	30.10.43	Govt. of Orissa to the Govt. of India (extracts)	File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1185
117.	10.11.43	Minutes of the Viceroy's Council's meeting (Extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1186
118.	11.11.43 to 22.11.43	Official Noting -- Treatment of security prisoners: Question in Assembly (extracts)	File No. 22/62/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1187
119.	12.11.43	Official Notings -- Maxwell's discussion with the Viceroy (extracts)	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1187
120.	12.11.43 & 14.11.43	Press speculations about DIR and ordinances	File No. 2/62/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1189
121.	15.11.43	C.L.A. question regarding detention rules (extracts)	File No. 2/62/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1190
122.	Middle of Nov. 43	Extracts from the proceedings of the Governors' conference, New Delhi, November 1943	File No. 44/57/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1191

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123.	16.11.43	Official Note – Ordinance to replace Defence Rule 26	File No. 44/57/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1192
124.	17.11.43	Press report on Government's decision to revise Detention Rules	File No. 22/62/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1194
125.	19.11.43	Deputy Private Secretary to the Viceroy to the Addl. Secretary Government of India	File No. 44/57/53 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1197
126.	25.11.43	Government of Assam to the Home Member, Government of India	File No. 44/57/53 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1197
127.	25.11.43 to 30.11.43	Official Notings (reg. the new ordinance) (extracts)	File No. 44/57/53 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1198
128.	26.11.43	Government of Bengal to the Government of India (new ordinance)	File No. 44/57/53 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1201
129.	26.11.43	New summary for His Excellency – Home Department	File No. 44/57/53 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1203
130.	30.11.43	R. Tottenham's Note on the maximum duration of interrogation of security prisoners	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1204
131.	12.43	Piarc Dusadh and others – Appellants v. Emperor (Spens C.J. Vaidachariar and Zafulla Khan J.J.)	AIR, Vol. 31, 1944, Federal Court, pp. 1–	1205
132.	3.12.43 to 7.12.43	Draft Proforma informing the grounds of detention to prisoners	File No. 44/57/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1225
133.	4.12.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 44/37/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1226
134.	11.12.43	Government of Madras to the Government of India (regarding new ordinance)	File No. 44/57/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1227
135.	11.12.43	Government of Bengal to the Government of India regarding new ordinance	File No. 44/57/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1229
136.	11.12.43	Judgement in the case of Ratnamamba	File No. 2/1944 U.S. Files Govt. of Madras [INA]	1230
137.	31.12.43	Government of India to the Government of Orissa (interrogation methods)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1233
138.	1.1.44	Official Notings regarding new ordinance (extracts)	File No. 44/57/53 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1234
139.	4.1.44	Official Noting regarding new ordinance (extracts)	File No. 44/57/53 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1237
140.	7.1.44 to 12.1.44	Official Notings regarding interrogation of prisoners (extracts)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1238
141.	8.1.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments (reg. new ordinance)	File No. 44/57/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1239
142.	10.1.44	Kamla Kant Azad v. Emperor (Auma and Shearer J.J.)	AIR, Vol. 31, 1944, Patna, pp. 354–68	1241
143.	12.1.44 to 24.2.44	News item in <i>The Search Light</i> (regarding judgement on <i>habeas corpus</i> application, and official comments and correspondence thereon)	File No. 25/11/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1256
144.	15.1.44	Press Note on Ordinance III of 1944	File No. 44/57/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1258
145.	15.1.44	Gazette of India extraordinary published by authority (Ordinance III of 1944)	File No. 44/57/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1259

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146.	22.1.44	PEditorial in <i>The Search Light</i> published in Patna	File No. 25/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1265
147.	26.1.44	Copy of the minutes of the proceedings of the meeting of the Calcutta Corporation	File No. 6/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1266
148.	27.1.44	Report in the <i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i> on Independence Day Pledge read out in the Calcutta Corporation	File No. 6/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1268
149.	28.1.44	Government of Assam to the Government of India (firing at Dhakiajuli)	File No. 3/61/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1269
150.	28.1.44	Government of India to the Government of Bengal (regarding the report in the <i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i> )	File No. 3/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1270
151.	28.1.44	Government of Punjab to the Government of India (treatment of security prisoners)	File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1271
152.	1.2.44	Official Note by Vishnu Sahay on Punjab Government's letter	File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1272
153.	2.2.44	Official Notings reg. C.L.A. questions about Forward Block prisoners (extracts)	File 22/18/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1272
154.	2.2.44	Government of India to the Government of Punjab	File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1274
155.	2.2.44 to 3.2.44	Official Notings - Treatment of detenus (continuation of Doc 153) (extracts)	File No. 22/18/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1275
156.	3.2.44	Government of India to Government of Bengal (extracts)	File No. 3/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1276
157.	5.2.44	Additional Secretary and Press Advisor, Government of Bengal to Government of India	File No. 3/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1277
158.	7.2.44	Official Comments of the Defence Department on Patna High Court judgement releasing some detenus	File No. 25/11/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1277
159.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/2/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1279
160.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1279
161.	7.2.44 to 10.2.44	Official Notings (continuation of Doc. 155) (extract)	File No. 22/18/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1280
162.	7.2.44 to 3.3.44	Official Notings regarding petitions of security prisoners (extracts)	File No. 44/37/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1281
163.	8.2.44	Government of Punjab to the Government of India (replies to the questions to be put up in the CLA)	File No. 22/18/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1283
164.	9.2.44 to 10.2.44	Official Notings on the letter received from Punjab (extracts)	File No. 22/18/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1285
165.	10.2.44	Government of India to the Government of Punjab (petitions of security prisoners)	File No. 44/37/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1287
166.	12.2.44 to 4.3.44	Official Notings	File No. 39/16/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1288

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167.	15.2.44 to 20.4.44	Official Notings reg. Independence Day pledge read at a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation	File No. 6/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1291
168.	16.2.44	Baldev Mitter Bijli and others (petitioners) v. Emperor [Harries C.J., Blacker and Munir J.J. Full Bench]	AIR, Vol. 31, 1944, Lahore, p. 142	1293
169.	16.2.44	Jatindra Gupta and others (petitioners) v. Emperor [Derbyshire C.J. and Lodge J.]	AIR, Vol. 31, 1944, Calcutta, p. 284	1296
170.	20.2.44	Report in <i>The Hindu</i> on the Calcutta High Court Judgement by C.J., Lodge J.	File No. 25/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1297
171.	21.2.44	Official Notings (extracts)	File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1298
172.	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P & Berar	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1298
173.	22.2.44	Intelligence Bureau enclosing political circulars issued by CPI on how to reply to Ordinance III	File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1299
174.	23.2.44	Government of Bombay to the Government of India (telegram) (whether security prisoners to be allowed interviews with their legal advisers)	File No. 44/32/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1301
175.	25.2.44	Government of Madras to the Government of India (whether security prisoners to be allowed interviews with their legal advisers)	File No. 44/32/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1301
176.	25.2.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 44/32/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1302
177.	25.2.44	Government of India to the Government of Bombay (interim reply Doc. 175)	File No. 44/32/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1303
178.	25.2.44	Official Notings (whether to let the detenus have legal advice in drafting replies to Government's show cause notice)	File No. 44/32/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1303
179.	26.2.44 to 22.3.44	Starred questions in the C.L.A. and the answers given by the Home Member (Independence Day Pledge)	File No. 22/31/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1305
180.	26.2.44 to 12.4.44	Extract from notes of the Defence Department reg. validity of Sec. 10 of Ord. III of 1944 (News item from <i>The Hindustan Times</i> quoted)	File No. 25/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1307
181.	28.2.44 to 2.3.44	Official Notings regarding legal advice to security prisoners (extracts)	File No. 4/32/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1310
182.	28.2.44	Government of India to the Government of Bombay (about C.P.I. circulars)	File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1311
183.	29.2.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 44/71/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1312
184.	29.2.44	Government of Bihar to the Government of India regarding interview of security prisoners	File No. 44/32/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1313

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185	1.3.44	Government of United Provinces to the Government of India regarding access to legal advice for security prisoners	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1314
186	2.3.44	Government of NWF Province to the Government of India (regarding access to legal advice for security prisoners)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1315
187	2.3.44	Government of Madras to the Government of India (regarding accession to legal advice for S.Ps)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1315
188	3.3.44	Government of Punjab to the Government of India	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1316
189	4.3.44	Government of India to the Government of Madras (forwarding petitions from security prisoners)	File No. 44/37/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1317
190	4.3.44	Government of India to the Government of Bengal	File No. 6/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1318
191	5.3.44	Government of Sind to the Government of India (regarding access to legal advice for S.Ps)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1318
192	7.3.44	Government of Central Provinces & Berar to the Government of India (regarding access to legal advice for S.Ps)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1319
193	7.3.44 to 8.3.44	Official Notings regarding access to legal advice for S.Ps (extracts)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1320
194	First half of March	Extract from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of March 1944	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1320
195	8.3.44	Government of Bengal to the Government of India (access to legal advice)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1321
196	8.3.44	Government of India to the Government of Madras (access to legal advice)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1322
197	8.3.44	Government of Assam to the Government of India (access to legal advice)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1323
198	9.3.44	Government of Orissa to the Government of India (regarding access to legal advice for S.Ps)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1323
199	14.3.44	Official Notings - Access to legal advice for S.Ps (extracts)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1324
200	16.3.44	Government of Central Provinces & Berar to the Government of India -- Access to legal advice	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1326
201	18.3.44	Government of India to the Government of CP & Berar	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1326
202	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of March 1944	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1327
203	21.3.44	Government of India to the Government of Bombay (final views of the government on access to legal advice for S.Ps)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1327
204	21.3.44	Government of India to all the provinces regarding access to legal advice for S.Ps	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1328

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205.	31.3.44	Government of Bihar to the Government of India (regarding petitions of security prisoners addressed to the High Court)	File No. 44/37/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1329
206.	1.4.44	Government of Madras to the Government of India (access to legal advice for S.Ps)	File No. 44/32/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1330
207.	1.4.44	Official Notings - Case of undertrial prisoners (extracts)	File G.O. No. 117 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1331
208.	3.4.44	Government of India to the Suptd of Police, Delhi (Krishna Nair's case)	File No. 22/61/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1332
209.	3.4.44	Government of India to the Government of Bihar (regarding the case Shibban Lal vs King Emperor)	File No. 401/1944 Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	1334
210.	4.4.44	The Chief Commissioner, Delhi to the Government of India (Krishna Nair's case)	File No. 22/61/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1335
211.	4.4.44	Official Notings (extracts) - (regarding Krishna Nair)	File No. 22/61/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1336
212.	5.4.44	Question in CLA regarding Krishna Nair	File No. 22/61/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1338
213.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of March 1944	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1339
214.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1339
215.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1340
216.	5.4.44	Government of Assam to the Government of India	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1340
217.	April 44	Summary of replies from the provinces	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1341
218.	6.4.44 to 14.4.44	Official Notings (extracts) - legal advice question)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1342
219.	12.4.44	Official Noting on the letter from Assam	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1344
220.	15.4.44	Government of India to the Government of Madras (access to legal advice)	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1345
221.	17.4.44 to 4.5.44	Official Notings on Baldev Mitters' case (extracts)	File No. 25/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1346
222.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1347
223.	21.4.44	Order of the Government of India amending the security prisoners order	File No. 44/32/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1347
224.	21.4.44	Keshav Gokhale v. Emperor [Stone C.J., Kania, Wadia, Divatia and Chagla J.J. Full Bench]	AIR, Vol. 32, 1945, Bombay, p. 212	1348
225.	22.4.44	Report in <i>The Hindustan Times</i> on Gokhales' case and Official Note on it	File No. 25/10/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1353
226.	25.4.44	Report in <i>The Hindustan Times</i> on the Lahore High Court Judgement	File No. 25/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1354
227.	25.4.44 to 26.4.44	Official Notings regarding four appeals to the Federal Court	File No. 25/7/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1355



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228.	2.5.44	Opinion of Advocate General (Bengal) about reading of the Independence Day Pledge	File No. 6/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1356
229	3.5.44	Political agitation in Trichinopoly district	File G.O. No. 281/44 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	1357
230.	3.5.44	Government of India to the Government of Bengal	File No. 4/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1358
231	10.5.44	Government of Bengal to the Government of India ('Independence Pledge' in the Calcutta Corporation)	File No. 3/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1358
232	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1359
233	23.5.44	Basanta Chandra Ghose and others (Appellants) v. Emperor [Spens C.J. Varadachariar and Zafrulla Khan, J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 31, 1944, Federal Court, pp. 86-94	1359
234.	25.5.44 to 30.5.44	Official Notings about the four appeals filed at the Federal Court (extracts)	File No. 25/7/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1362
235.	26.5.44	Sardul Singh Caveeshar's representation	File No. 44/52/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1364
236	8.6.44	Government of India to the Government of Bihar (Jaiprakash Narain's case - Reply of the Bihar Government is also appended with this document)	File No. 3/19/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1366
237	9.6.44 to 13.6.44	Official Notings - Legislative department notes on judgements relating to Ordinance III (extracts)	File No. 25/7/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1367
238	First half June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1369
239	20.6.44	Government of Bengal to the Government of India (regarding A.I.S.A.)	File No. 4/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1369
240.	Second half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/6/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1373
241	8.8.44	Government of Assam to the Government of India (Dhakiajuli case)	File No. 3/61/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1374
242.	23.8.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments (regarding A.I.S.A.)	File No. 4/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1375
243.	31.8.44	Government of Punjab to the Government of India (Caveeshar's case)	File No. 44/52/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1377
244	8.9.44	Government of India to the Government of Bengal	File No. 474/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1379
245	14.9.44 to 21.11.44	Official Notings regarding the continued detention of 4 men of the Army (Extracts)	File No. 39/16/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1380
246	Second half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1385
247	Second half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1386

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248. 23.9.44	Political agent, Eastern Rajputana state to the Dewan of Bundi – Congress disturbances	Memo/No. 1570 77P/42 [Rajasthan State Archives]	1386
249. 29.9.44	Vimlabai Deshpande w/o Purushottam Yeshwant Deshpande (Applicant) v. Emperor [Bose and Sen J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 32, Nagpur, p. 8	1387
250. End of Sept. 44	Tottenhams' affidavit -- Additional Secretary empowered to authenticate action	File No. 44/52/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1411
251. 2.10.44	Caveeshar's case	File No. 44/52/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1412
252. 9.10.44	Caveeshar's case (contd.)	File No. 44/52/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1416
253. 19.10.44	Saligram Singh and others Appellants – Petitioners v. Emperor [Varma and Meredith J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 32, 1945, Patna, p. 69	1417
254. 6.11.44	Emperor v. Benori Lal Sarma and others respondents [Lord Chancellor (Viscount Simon) Lords Roache, Porter and Goddard and Sir Madhavan Nair]	AIR, Vol. 32, 1945, Privy Council, p. 48	1418
255. 6.11.44	Balkrishna Narayan Saoji (Applicant) v. Col. N.S. Jatar, Inspector General of Prisons, C.P. Berar, Nagpur and another -- Opposite Party Bose and Sen J.J.	AIR, Vol. 32, 1945, Nagpur, p. 33	1424
256. 7.11.44	Government of Punjab to the Government of India – Caveeshars' Case	File No. 44/52/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1448
257. First half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1453
258. 15.11.44 to 17.11.44	Official Notings regarding Krishna Nair's case (extracts)	File No. 22/96/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1453
259. 17.11.44	Official Notings regarding Krishna Nair's case -- (continuation of E. c. 258) (extracts)	File No. 22/96/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1454
260. 21.11.44	CLA Questions -- Krishna Nair's case	File No. 22/96/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1455
261. Second half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1457
262. 16.12.44	official Noting on Ram Manohar Lohia's case (extracts)	File No. 44/91/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1457
263. 25.12.44	Caveeshar's case	File No. 44/52/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1458
264. 19.1.45	Basanta Chandra Ghose – Appellant v. Emperor [Sens C.J. Varadachariar and Zafrullah Khan J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 32, 1945, Federal Court, p. 18	1460
265. 30.1.45	Caveeshar's case	File No. 44/52/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1463
266. 10.4.45	Bajirao Yamanappa Hatgar and others Applicants v. Emperor [Chagla and Gajendragadkar J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 32, 1945, Bombay, p. 32	1466
267. 7.5.45	Laxman Prasad Sharma – Applicant v. U.P. Government and another – Opposite Party [Madeley and Misra J.J.]	AIR, Vol. 32, 1945, Oudh, p. 183	1470

## IV Gandhi's Charisma

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	6.2.43	Gandhi starts three week fast – News item in <i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2430]	1477
2.	10.2.43	Sir P. Thakurdas's appeal – News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1477
3.	11.2.43	Correspondence between Gandhiji and Tottenham (before the intended fast) published in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1478
4.	12.2.43	Reaction in Delhi on Gandhiji's fast and C. Rajagopalachari's appeal – News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1480
5.	12.2.43	Indian youth demonstrate – News item in the <i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI]	1482
6.	12.2.43	All-party leaders to urge unconditional release of Gandhi – News item in <i>Free Press Journal</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1482
7.	12.2.43	Sir S. Radhakrishnan's appeal – <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1483
8.	12.2.1943	Hindu Mahasabha's demand to release Gandhi – News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1484
9.	13.2.43	Dr G. L. Mehta's appeal to Viceroy 'unconditional release called for' – News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1484
10.	13.2.43	Mr Humayun Kabir's statement – News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1485
11.	13.2.43	Communist Party Committee to meet to discuss Mahatma Gandhi's fast – Report in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1486
12.	13.2.43	Bengal Hindu-Muslim unity association's appeal – Report in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1486
13.	13.2.43	Bengal Muslim M.L.C's statement report in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1486
14.	16.2.43	Gandhi's condition deteriorating – Report in the <i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI]	1487
15.	17.2.43	Government communique report in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1487
16.	18.2.43	Resignation of three members of the Viceroy's council – report in <i>The Hindu</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1488
17.	18.2.43	Sir Douglas Young, Chief Justice, Lahore to Laithwaite	Linlithgow Collection, [NAI – Acc. No. 2344]	1489
18.	19.2.43	C. Rajagopalachari to Sir Gilbert Laithwaite	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2344]	1490
19.	19.2.43	India's future will depend on Gandhi's release – News item in the <i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI]	1494
20.	20.2.43	Proceedings of the leaders' conference	File No. 19/6/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1495

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21.	20.2.43	Ram Krishna Dalmia to the President, leaders conference	File No. 19/6/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1500
22.	20.2.43	Chief Secretary, Govt. of Punjab to all Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab – (in case Gandhi dies)	File No. 68 (Confl) Govt. of Punjab [Punjab State Archives]	1502
23.	21.2.43	Editorial in <i>Independent India</i>	<i>Independent India</i> [NMML]	1504
24.	22.2.43	W.H.J. Christie to K.M. Munshi	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1508
25.	22.2.43	Report on Gandhi's fast in <i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2430]	1511
26.	22.2.43	Telegram from the Governor of CP & Berar	Linlithgow Collection [NAI]	1511
27.	23.2.43	Report on Gandhi's health in <i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI]	1512
28.	23/24.2.43	Governor of Central Provinces & Berar to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2200]	1512
29.	24.2.43	News item in <i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2430]	1514
30.	25.2.43	News item in <i>Daily worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2430]	1514
31.	26.2.43	Report on Gandhi's fast in <i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2430]	1515
32.	26.2.43	Report in the Indian situation in <i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2430]	1516
33.	27.2.43	Report on Gandhi's fast in <i>Daily Worker</i>	<i>Daily Worker</i> (London) [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2430]	1517
34.	1.3.43	Report on Gandhi's fast in <i>The Times of India</i>	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1517
35.	6.3.43	Devadas Gandhi on his visit to Gandhiji in jail	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1518
36.	9.3.43	Governor of CP & Berar to the Viceroy – Gandhiji's fast	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2200]	1519
37.	24.3.43	News items in <i>The Times of India</i> (dt 24, 25 and 27 of March 1943)	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1522
38.	22.4.43	Viceroy to the Governor of the Punjab	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2226]	1523
39.	Sometime in 1943–44	Extracts from <i>India since Cripps</i> by Horace Alexander	<i>India since Cripps</i> , 1944, pp. 65–9	1524
40.	3.5.44	Govt. of Bengal to all District Magistrates	File No. 220/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1527
41.	5.5.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1527
42.	9.5.44	Government of India to the Government of Bengal	File No. 220/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1528
43.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from CP & Berar	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1529

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
44	22.5.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madra -- release of Gandhiji	File No. 18/5/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1529
45	29.5.44	Government of Bengal to the Government of India	File No. 220/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1530
46	First half of Nov '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from the Government of CP & Berar	File No. 18/11/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1531

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<i>S.No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	3.1.43	Article in <i>People's War</i> on Kayyur Brothers	<i>People's War</i> (No. 26) [NMML]	1533
2.	4.1.43	Letter of Somnath Lahuri (member Communist Party of India) to the Editor, <i>Statesman</i>	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1534
3	4.1.43 to 7.1.43	Official Notings on A.R.P. Recruitment (extracts)	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1534
4	4.1.43	Petition of the wardens and messengers to the Controller of A.R.P.	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1535
5	5.1.43	Official Noting on A.R.P. recruitment (extracts)	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1535
6	5.1.43	Official Note on A.R.P. recruitment (extracts)	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1537
7	5.1.43	Senior Warden, A.R.P. to Staff Officer A.R.P.	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1538
8	5.1.43 to 7.1.43	Official Notings on A.R.P. (extracts)	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1539
9	8.1.43	Official Notings on A.R.P. recruitment (extracts)	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1541
10	13.1.43	An article from <i>Janayuddha</i> on A.R.P. recruitment	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1542
11	20.1.43 to 26.1.43	Official Notings on A.R.P. recruitment (extracts)	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1544
12	20.1.43	A.R.P. Controller to Joint Secretary -- Home Department	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1545
13.	21.1.43	Official Noting on <i>People's War</i> and Mr Gladyshev's <i>Messages to Russia</i> (extracts)	File No. 7/1/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1549

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
14.	23.1.43	News item in <i>Daily Worker</i> (London)	<i>Daily Worker</i> [NAI – MF Acc. No. 2430]	1550
15.	24.1.43	Official Note from A.R.P. Controller to the Joint Secretary – A.R.P. recruitment	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1551
16.	25.1.43	Olaf K. Caroe's views on Indian Leftists	File No. 7/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1553
17.	26.1.43	News item from <i>Daily Worker</i> (London)	<i>Daily Worker</i> [NAI – Acc. No. 2430]	1553
18.	30.1.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments regarding ban on Communist literature	File No. 55/1943 Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	1554
19.	30.1.43	Official Noting on A.R.P. recruitment (extracts)	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1557
20.	4.2.43 to 12.2.43	Official Notings regarding the Russian Journalist Gladyshev (extracts)	File No. 7/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1561
21.	10.2.43	Review of an article in <i>Janayuddha</i>	File No. 562/42 Office of the DCP Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1562
22.	10.2.43	Memorandum on A.R.P. to be submitted to the Govt. of Bengal by the C.P.I.	File No. W/8/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1563
23.	11.2.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> – Andhra Communist leaders plea to release Gandhiji	Jayakar Collection, File No. 527 [NAI]	1565
24.	15.2.43	Extracts from <i>People's War</i> – (Vol. 1, No. 43)	P.C. Joshi (ed.), <i>Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P.C. Joshi</i> (1945), pp. 52–5	1568
25.	19.2.43	News item in <i>Daily Worker</i> – (London)	<i>Daily Worker</i> [NAI – Acc. No. 2430]	1568
26.	19.2.43 to 25.3.43	Official Noting on A.R.P. recruitment (extracts)	File No. W/53/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1569
27.	23.2.43	General Secretary, AIKS to Provincial Secretaries	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22 [NMML]	1570
28.	23.2.43	Gen. Secy. AIKS to Prov. Secy.	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22 [NMML]	1570
29.	4.3.43	Suptd. of Police to Chief Secretary, Government of Madras	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 [TNA]	1572
30.	8.3.43 and 9.3.43	Minutes of the Security Conference held on (extracts)	File No. 111/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1572
31.	11.3.43 to 21.3.43	Official Noting regarding article in <i>People's War</i> (extracts)	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1573
32.	12.3.43 to 3.5.43	Official Notings regarding articles in <i>People's War</i> (extracts)	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1575

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
33	14.3.43	News item in <i>People's War</i>	<i>People's War</i> No. 36 [NMML]	1578
34	21.3.43	News item in <i>People's War</i>	<i>People's War</i> No. 36 [NMML]	1580
35	22.3.43	Review of a news item in <i>Janayuddha</i>	File No. SK 562/42 Office of the DSP Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1580
36	25.3.43	Govt. of Madras to the Govt. of India	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1581
37	25.3.43	Government of Bombay to the Government of Madras	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1582
38	27.3.43	Suptd. of Police to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras (regarding article in <i>People's War</i> )	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1583
39	28.3.43	Article in <i>People's War</i>	<i>People's War</i> No. 38 [NMML]	1583
40	5.4.43	Chief Secretary, Madras to the Supdt. of Police	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1585
41	8.4.43	Supdt. of Police to the Chief Secretary, Madras	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1586
42	10.4.43	Extract from an article in <i>Janasakti</i> (Tamil)	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1586
43	11.4.43	Article in <i>People's War</i>	<i>People's War</i> No. 40 [NMML]	1587
44	19.4.43	Review of an article in <i>Janayuddha</i>	File No. 562/42 Office of the DCP Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1592
45	20.4.43	Review of an article in <i>Janayuddha</i>	File No. 562/42 Office of the DCP Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1592
46	29.4.43	Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy of India	TOP, Vol. III, Doc. 678	1593
47	3.5.43	Leaflet entitled 'To the Travancore State Congressites' from the CPI	File No. 225/43/C.S. (Confdl) Sec. Govt. of Travancore [Kerala State Archives]	1594
48	7.5.43	Warning to be sent to the Editor of <i>Janasakti</i>	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1597
49	10.5.43	The Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India	Lirlithgow Collection [NAI]	1598
50	13.5.43	Government of Madras to the Government of India ( <i>People's War</i> )	File G.O. No. 889 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1598

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
51.	20.5.43	Government of India to the Government of Bombay	File G.O. No. 2214 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1599
52.	20.5.43	Government of Bengal to the Government of India regarding Labour Party of India	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1600
53.	26.5.43	Extract from <i>Janasakti</i> (Tamil)	File G.O. No. 2214 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1601
54.	17.6.43	Somnath Lahiri to P.C. Joshi (intercepted letter)	File No. SR/506/43, Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1602
55.	28.6.43	Muzaffar Ahmed to the Communist Party of India (CPI – Office) (an article in <i>People's War</i> )	File No. SR/506/43, Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1606
56.	July–Oct. '43	Communist Survey (July–October 1943) (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1609
57.	5.7.43	The Government of Madras to the Convener, Madras Press Advisory Committee	File G.O. No. 2214 Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1612
58.	7.7.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2336]	1612
59.	17.7.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2336]	1613
60.	26.7.43	Political circular issued by CPI	File No. SR/506/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1614
61.	Before Aug '43	C.P.I. Propaganda	File No. SR/506/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1620
62.	3.8.43	Question in the Council of states about Kayyur brothers	File No. 8/5/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1624
63.	25.8.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2336]	1625
64.	2.9.43	Notes in the Office of the Secretary, National Defence Council	File No. 35/5/43 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1629
65.	27.8.43 to 15.10.43	Official Notings on what Government's attitude should be towards Bolshevik Party (extracts)	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1631
66.	4.9.43	Tottenham to Laithwaite (on Jarvins' report)	File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1633
67.	9.9.43	Official Noting by G.C. Ryan (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1634
68.	17.9.43	Official Note by G.C. Ryan on parallels between the British and Indian Communists (17 Sept. 1943) comments by Olver (20 Sept. 1943)	File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1636
69.	20.9.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments (attitude of Government towards the Communist Party)	File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1639



<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
70.	27.9.43	Secretary, Malayalee Conference, Bombay to Secretary, Kisan Sabha, Calcutta	File No. SK528/43 Office of the DCP Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1645
71	30.9.43	Copy of Review of Communists activities in Madras Province for the quarter ending	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1645
72	15.10.43	Government of India to all Provincial Government's (on Bolshevik Party of India)	File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1647
73	21.10.43	Government of Bihar to the Government of India	File No. 7/ Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1648
74	27.10.43	Official Comment on Bihar Government's letter (Doc. 73) (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1650
75.	29.10.43	Official Comments on Bihar Government's letter (contd.)	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1652
76	30.10.43 to 20.11.43	Official Notings on Bihar Governments letter (contd.)	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1653
77	4.11.43 & 8.11.43	Resident, Madras States to the Diwan of Travancore enclosing a letter from a member of Tamil Nadu Communist Party of India	File No. 661/43 C.S. Confl. Dept Govt. of Travancore [Kerala State Archives]	1655
78	25.11.43	District Magistrate, Chittoor to the Government of Madras	File G.O. No. 1218 Pub (Gen.) Dept Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1658
79	23.12.43	Supdt. of Police to the Government of Madras	File G.O. No. 1218 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1659
80	5.1.44	Sahajanand Saraswati to Bankim Mukherji	File No. 511/44 Office of the DCP (Spl Br) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1660
81	9.1.44	S. Sahajanand Saraswati to Bankim Mukherji	File No. Sk 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1661
82.	12.1.44	'Communist Party's appeal for funds'	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1662
83	12.1.44	Bankim Mukherji to Sahajanand Saraswati	File No. 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1663
84	19.1.44 to 12.2.44	Official Notings on the arrest of Ring Leaders of the R.I.A.S.C. Mutiny in Egypt (extracts)	File No. 44/15/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1666
85.	18.1.44	D.I.G. of Police to the Government of Bengal (appointment to A.R.P.)	File No. 44/44 Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1668
86	First half of Jan. 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half January 1944	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1669

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
87.	21.4.44 to 1.2.44	Official Notings on release of S.V. Ghate (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1669
88.	22.1.44	Communist Propaganda	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1670
89.	24.1.44	Supdt. of Police, Madras to Dy. Commissioner of Police, Calcutta	File No. 511/44 Office of D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1672
90.	25.1.44 to 28.2.44	Official Notings regarding Communist Propaganda (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1673
91.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1674
92.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1674
93.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1675
94.	First half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1675
95.	1.2.44	Official Noting by G.C. Ryan (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1676
96.	4.2.44	Independence Day call from the C.P.I	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1677
97.	4.2.44	Official Note on the Communists' Independence Day call	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1681
98.	5.2.44	Official Notings regarding the Manifesto of the Communists	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1681
99.	5.2.44 to 10.2.44	Official Notings regarding release of Communist Prisoners (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1682
100.	7.2.44 to 8.4.44	Official Notings on Intelligence Chief Ryan's note (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1683
101.	15.2.44	Official Note on U.P.'s report of Communists' celebration of Independence Day	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1684
102.	15.2.44	Report of a meeting held on 15.2.1944 of the CPI at the Calcutta University	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1685
103.	16.2.44	Reg. Regarding Bolshevik Party of India	File No. SK511/44 Office of the DCP, Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1687
104.	18.2.44	Extract from the Minutes of the meeting of the official Representatives . . . 24th & 25th January 1944 at Lucknow, in connection with the Agenda of the 4th Standing Labour Committee meeting	File No. 7/23/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1688
105.	24.2.44	Circular Memorandum on prohibited literature	File G.O. No. 1218, Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1689
106.	26.2.44	Extracts from a Fortnightly Report on the political situation in Bengal	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1691

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
107.	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1692
108	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1692
109	10.3.44	Supdt. of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt. of Madras	File G.O. No. 1218 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Madras [TNA]	1693
110	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1694
111	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1694
112.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1695
113.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1695
114.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1696
115.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1696
116.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1697
117	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1697
118.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1697
119	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1698
120.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1698
121.	1.5.44	May Day Call of the Communists	P.C. Joshi (ed.), <i>Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi &amp; P.C. Joshi</i> (1945), pp. 55-61	1699
122.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1703
123.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1703
124.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1704
125.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1704

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
126.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1704
127.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Assam	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1705
128.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1705
129.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1706
130.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1706
131.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1707
132.	14.5.44	Editorial from <i>People's War</i>	P.C. Joshi (ed.), <i>Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi &amp; P.C. Joshi</i> (1945), pp. 61–3	1707
133.	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1709
134.	Second half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1709
135.	Second half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1709
136.	30.7.44	Mahatma Gandhi to P.C. Joshi	P.C. Joshi – (ed.), <i>Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi &amp; P.C. Joshi</i> (1945), pp. 17–22	1710
137.	6.8.44	News item in <i>The Hindu</i>	File No. 109/44 U.S. File Govt. of Madras [TNA]	1712
138.	21.8.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	TOP – Vol. IV, Doc. 669	1714
139.	2.9.44	Extracts from evidence from Mr Somnath Lahiri, Mr Bhowani Sen and Mr Bhupesh Gupta, of the Communist Party, before Famine Inquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	1715
140.	12.9.44	P.C. Joshi to Mahatma Gandhi	P.C. Joshi (ed.), <i>Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi, P.C. Joshi</i> (1945), pp. 22–36	1717
141.	First half of Sept '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1723
142.	Second half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1724

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
143	Second half of Sept '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1725
144	Second half of Sept '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1725
145	First half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1725
146	First half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1726
147	Second half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1726
148	Second half of Nov. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1727
149	Second half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1727
150	Second half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1728
151	21.12.44	Conclusions reached at the Commissioners' Conference, Bengal on the morning 20.12.1944	File No. 533/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1728

## VI Role of Radical Democratic Party

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	17.12.42	Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of India Publication of <i>Azad</i> forfeited	File No. 33/9/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1731
2	19.12.42	M.N. Roy to Reginald Maxwell - Suspension of the publication of the Bengali Daily <i>Azad</i>	File No. 33/9/42 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1732
3	16.2.43	M.N. Roy to Ram Singh - R.D.P. line on Gandhi's fast	M.N. Roy Papers - M.F. Roll No. 28 [NMML]	1733
4	14.3.43	Editorial in <i>Independent India</i> - 'A Definite View of the Economic Scene'	<i>Independent India</i> - Vol. 7, No. 11 [NMML]	1735
5	28.3.43	Editorial in <i>Independent India</i> (extracts)	<i>Independent India</i> - Vol. 7 No. 13 [NMML]	1737
6	6.4.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy (Telegram R, 6th April 1943)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2243]	1740
7	7.4.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Bihar	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	1740
8	9.4.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy - Reply to the letter dated 9.4.1943 (Doc. 7)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2385]	1741

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
9.	1.6.43	M.N. Roy to K.K. Sinha -- Jharia Conference	M.N. Roy Papers [NMML]	1742
10.	28.6.43	P.J. Griffiths to Roy - Regarding advertisements	M.N. Roy Papers [NMML]	1743
11.	6.7.43	M.N. Roy to V.B. Karnik -- Regarding articles for the weekly	M.N. Roy Papers -- M.F. Roll No. 43 [NMML]	1744
12.	17.7.43	A.K. Mukherjee to Roy -- Work by Royists	M.N. Roy Papers -- M.F. Roll No. 16 [NMML]	1745
13.	Aug. 43	Radical Democratic Party's Manifesto	M.N. Roy Papers M.F. Roll No. 14 [NMML]	1746
14.	10.8.43	V.B. Karnik to M.N. Roy	M.N. Roy Papers M.F. Roll No. 16 [NMML]	1750
15.	25.8.43	British India Corporation to M.N. Roy -- Regarding advertisements	M.N. Roy Papers -- M.F. Roll No. 28 [NMML]	1751
16.	26.9.43	Editorial in <i>Independent India</i>	<i>Independent India</i> Vol. 7, No. 38 [NMML]	1752
17.	1.1.44	Copy of a Special Branch Officer's Report sent to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar	File No. 23/1944 -- Home Poll (Spl) Bihar Govt. of [Bihar State Archives]	1756
18.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar -- Criticism of RDP	File No. 18/2/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1758
19.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa -- Efforts of RDP	File No. 18/2/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1758
20.	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal -- Sweepers on strike	File No. 18/3/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1759
21.	12.3.44	Editorial in <i>Independent India</i> -- 'Their Ambitions' (extracts)	<i>Independent India</i> -- Vol. 8, No. 10 [NMML]	1759
22.	26.3.44	Sheopuja Singh to Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar -- Regarding peoples' plan prepared by RDP	File No. 23/1944 -- Home Poll (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	1761
23.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay -- RDP meetings	File No. 18/4/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1762
24.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1762
25.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa -- RDP in Limelight	File No. 18/4/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1762
26.	2.4.44	Article in <i>Independent India</i>	<i>Independent India</i> -- Vol. 8, No. 13 [NMML]	1763
27.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/4/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1767
28.	17.4.44	M.N. Roy to V.B. Karnik -- Regarding the statement of Jamnadas Mehta	M.N. Roy Papers -- M.F. Roll No. 28 [NMML]	1767
29.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay -- RDP Conference in Bombay	File No. 18/5/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1768

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
30.	14.5.44	Article in <i>Independent India</i>	<i>Independent India</i> – Vol. 8, No. 32 [NMML]	1769
31.	4.6.44	Article in <i>Independent India</i>	<i>Independent India</i> – Vol. 8, No. 35 [NMML]	1773
32	14.6.44	Secretary, Bihar committee of RDP to the Government of Bihar asking for financial help for the Hindi weekly <i>Janata</i>	File No. 23/44 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	1775
33.	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Poona	File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1776
34.	Second half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1777
35	Second half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1777
36.	16.7.44	Article in <i>Independent India</i>	<i>Independent India</i> – Vol. 8, No. 41 [NMML]	1777
37	24.8.44	J.J. Hutton, Dept. of Planning and Development, to M.N. Roy – Reconstruction programme	M.N. Roy Papers – M.F. Roll No. 14 [NMML]	1779
38	First half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1779
29.	First half of Sept '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1780

## VII Civil Servants with Nationalist Sympathies

<i>S No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	30.1.43 to 31.1.43	Views of H.V.R. Iyengar and C.H. Bristow of Bombay Government on Congress secret broadcast	File No. 3/44/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1782
2	5.3.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy (extracts)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2385]	1784
3	3.5.43	Governor of C.P. & Berar to the Viceroy – Regarding the ICS officers	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2200]	1785
4	7.5.43	Judgement in R.C. Pollard's Case	Private Papers of S.K. Gupta, Calcutta	1786
5	8.5.43	News item in <i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i> on R.C. Pollard's case	<i>A.B. Patrika</i> , Vol. LXXV, No. 124	1794
6	9.8.43	Government of India to the Government of Bombay – Regarding grants to AISA-AIVIA	File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1795
7.	24.8.43	Judgement of Justice Lodge in the Pollard case: R.C. Pollard – Accused v. Satya Gopal Mazumdar [Derbyshire C.J., Khundkar and Lodge J.J. – Special Bench]	AIR, Vol. 30, 1943, Calcutta, p. 594	1796

8.	21.9.43	District Magistrate, Midnapore to the Additional Secretary, Government of Bengal	File No. W/545/43, Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1799
9.	23.9.43 to 19.10.43	Official Notings regarding setting up of Special Tribunals (extracts)	File No. W/545/43, Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1800
10.	19.10.43	Home Department, Calcutta to the District Magistrate, Midnapore – Regarding Special Tribunals	File No. W/545/43, Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1801
11.	1.11.43	Government of India to the Government of Bombay – Grants to AISA and AIVIA	File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1802
12.	16.11.43	Government of Bombay to the Government of India – Reply to the letter dated 1.11.1943 (Doc. 11)	File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1803
13.	26.11.43	Government of India to the Government of Bombay – Reply to the letter dt 16.11.1943 (Doc. 12)	File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1804
14.	17.12.43	Government of Bombay to the Government of India – Reply to the date 26.11.1943 (Doc. 13)	File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1805
15.	26.2.44	Inspection Note on the Hazaribagh Central Jail	File No. 19/44 Pol. (Spl) (Confidl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	1806
16.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay – Congress resolution not to help the Govt.	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1813
17.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1814
18.	27.5.44	Deputy Commissioner of Police to Addl. Secretary Govt. of Bengal	File No. C.S.55/276/44 – (I.B. File) Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1815

### VIII Food Situation

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	May '42– June '43	Regarding Boat Denial Policy	Extracts from Famine Inquiry Commission, Report on Bengal (compiled B.F. Nov. 1944–April 1945) (henceforth B.F. Report 1944–5) p. 27	1818
2.	Jan. '43	Procurement operations – Agency system	B.F. Report 1944–45, pp. 37–8, 85–6	1818
3.	Jan. '43	Note of the Intelligence Bureau about a leaflet <i>Free India</i>	File No. 3/19/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1821
4.	15.1.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat States	Crown Representative Records (Baroda and Gujarat State Agency) [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	1822



<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
5	29.1.43	Article in <i>Daily Worker</i> (London)	<i>Daily Worker</i> [NAI - M.F. Acc. No. 2430]	1822
6.	1.2.43	News item in <i>Daily Worker</i> (London)	<i>Daily Worker</i> [NAI - M.F. Acc. No. 2430]	1823
7	23.2.43	Sahajanand Saraswati, General Secretary to the Prov. Secy. - Govts' Control Policy of the Kisans, Reportage No. 3, 1942 (extracts)	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22 [NMML. - M.F. Acc. No. 2430 3]	1824
8	11.3.43	Food Drive	B.F. Report (1944-45), pp. 38-9, 55, 90	1825
9	March '43	Extracts from B.F. Report with dissenting paragraphs of Nanavati and Ramamurti	B.F. Report (1944-45), pp. 60-2, 101-2	1828
9A	March '43	Extracts from Afzal Hussains' Minute regarding Calcutta on the Bengal market	B.F. Report (1944-45), pp. 189-90	1832
10	15.3.43	Review of an article in <i>Janayuddha</i> dt 17.2.1943	File No. SK562/43 Office of Dy. Commr. of Police (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	1832
11	18.3.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy 18 March 1943	Lanlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 336]	1833
12	18.3.43	Sahajanand Saraswati to Provincial Secretaries Reportage No. 1 - 1943-4 (extracts)	I.Y.P., File No. 22 [NMML.]	1835
13	23.4.43	Maj Gen E. Wood, Addl Secretary, Government of India to L.G. Pinnell	H.B.L. Braund's Memo: Nanavati Papers, File No. 57/1944 [NMML]	1837
14	27.4.43	H B L. Braund to Maj Gen. E. Wood	H B L. Braund's Memo Nanavati Papers, File No 57/1944 [NMML.]	1839
15	End of April 1943	Extracts from Afzal Hussains' minute - Muslim League ministry and the famine	B.F. Report (1944-5), p. 195	1840
16	Beginning of May 1943	Free trade in eastern zone	B.F. Report (1944-5), pp. 50-1	1841
	6.5.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Lanlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	1842
18.	18.5.43	Free trade in eastern zone	B.F. Report (1944-5), pp. 93-4	1844
19	April-May 1943	Propaganda of the Centre and the Government of Bengal criticized	B.F. Report (1944-5), pp. 98-9	1845
20.	1.6.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Punjab	Lanlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2226]	1846
21.	6.6.43	Effect of free trade - Braund's memo	Braund's memo: File No. 57/1944 Nanavati Papers [NMML]	1847
22.	13.6.43	Article by Basudha Chakravarty in <i>Independent India</i> - 'Bengal Awaits Revolution'	<i>Independent India</i> - Vol. 7, No. 24 [NMML]	1854

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
23.	13.6.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Punjab	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2227]	1857
24.	2.7.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy (extracts)	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 27	1858
25.	10.7.43	Addl. Assistant Secretary, Government of Bengal to the Collector of Midnapore	B.F. Report (1944–5), p. 235	1860
26.	10.7.43	Observation on the letter (Doc. 25)	B.F. Report (1944–5), p. 99	1860
27.	12.7.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Punjab	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2227]	1861
28.	Beg. of Aug. 1943	Memorandum by Government of India – Food Department	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 93	1862
29.	4.8.43	The Viceroy to Secretary of State for India (extracts)	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 70	1865
30.	8.8.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 75	1866
31.	10.8.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 76	1867
32.	17.8.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Punjab	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2227]	1868
33.	21.8.43	News item in <i>Hitavada</i> (Nagpur)	<i>Hitavada</i> [NMMI.]	1871
34.	21.8.43	Government of India to the Government of Bengal	File No. 33/41/43 – Home Pol (I) [NAI]	1871
35.	21.8.43 to 7.9.43	Official Notings on Justice C.C. Biswas' speech (extracts)	File No. 33/41/43 – Home Pol (I) [NAI]	1872
36.	2.9.43	Government of Bengal to Government of India	File No. 33/41/43 Home Pol (I) [NAI]	1874
37.	2.9.43	Mr Christie to Mr Abell	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 95	1875
38.	4.9.43	Copy of a letter from Dr Rajendra Prasad to Mr P.R. Das	File No. 472/43 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	1876
39.	7.9.43	Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2227]	1877
40.	11/14.9.43	Viceroy to the Governor of Punjab	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2227]	1878
41.	15.9.43	Role of Annada Prasad Chowdhury and others	P.N. Chopra (ed.), <i>British Secret Documents</i> (1986), p. 33	1879
42.	16.9.43	Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2227]	1880
43.	30.9.43	Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2227]	1880
44.	2.10.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 158	1884
45.	22.10.43	I.G. of Prisons Bihar to the Secretary, Govt. of Bihar	File. No. 690/43 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	1887
46.	October '43	Destitutes in Calcutta and their relief measures	B.F. Report (1944–5), pp. 71–4	1889
47.	6.11.43	Speech of Bankim Mukherjee	File No. 755/43 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	1892

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
48.	10.11.43	Judgement by Chief Justice Derbyshire and Justice Lodge in profiteering cases	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1903
49	15.11.43	Motion regarding the food situation -- Debate in the Central Legislative Assembly	C.L.A. Debates, Vol. IV, 1943 [NMML]	1908
50.	Dec. 1943	Translation from a Bengali monthly magazine <i>Shanibarar Chitru</i> , Paus 1350	<i>Shanibarar Chitru</i> (Dec. 1943) p. 300	1955
51	4.12.43	Observations made by High Court regarding awarding of sentences in profiteering cases	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1955
52.	End of '43	Famine's effect on the rural poor (absence of violent protest)	B.F. Report (1944-5), pp. 67-8	1956
53	End of '43	Failure to introduce rationing in Calcutta	B.F. Report (1944-5), pp. 63, 94 & 104	1958
54.	End of 1943	Creation of the All India Save the Children's Committee	Annual Report, All India Women's Conference (17th Session)	1960
55.	6.1.44	Addl. Secretary Govt. of Bengal to all District Officers -- On evils of hoarding, profiteering and pilfering	File No. W/58/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1961
56	11.1.44	Minute of the War Cabinet meeting	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 320	1962
57	12.1.44	Secretary of State for India (London) to the Viceroy	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 322	1965
58	14 and 22nd Jan. 1944	Anti communists against <i>Aman</i> procurement scheme	File No. 45/44, Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	1965
59	28.1.44	Shipment of food grains to India	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 347	1967
60	9.2.44	The Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India food situation in Bengal (extracts)	T.O.P. Vol. IV, Doc. 364	1969
61	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/2/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1969
62	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/2/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1970
63	Feb. 1944	Report of the All India Save the Children Committee -- (End of 1943)	Annual Report, All India Women's Conference (18th Session 20-12-1945)	1970
64	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/3/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1972
65	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1972
66	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/3/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1973
67	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/4/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1973
68	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1973
69	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/4/44 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1974

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
70.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1974
71.	Second half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	1874
72.	Before Aug. 1944	Central Government indicted for weakness of its basic plan	H.B.L. Braund's Memo: Nanavati Papers File No. 57/1944–57 [NMML]	1975
73.	Before Aug. 1944	Work done by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce (extracts)	H.B.L. Braund's Memo: Nanavati Papers File No. 57/1944–57 [NMML]	1979
74.	31.7.44	Food position – Extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 6 [NMML]	1980
75.	2.8.44	Bribery in Chittagong – Extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 5–8 [NMML]	1981
76.	1.8.44	Evidence by Mr D.I. Mazumdar before Famine Inquiry Commission (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. II, pp. 524–6 [NAI]	1981
77.	5.8.44	Viceroy's visit to Calcutta (extracts from R.G. Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 13 [NMML]	1983
78.	10.8.44	Casey's visit to Pabna (extracts from R.G. Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 22 [NMML]	1983
79.	11.8.44	Casey's talk with Braund. Extracts from R.G. Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 23 [NMML]	1984
80.	12.8.44	Evidence of O.M. Martin, Famine Commissioner before the Famine Inquiry Commission (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. II [NAI]	1985
81.	14.8.44	Evidence by Justice H.B.L. Braund before F.I.C. (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. IV [NAI]	1994
82.	15.8.44	Evidence of L.G. Pinnell before F.I.C. (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. II [NAI]	1997
83.	16.8.44	Food Situation in Bengal (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 28 [NMML]	2001
84.	17.8.43	Evidence by M.A. Ispahani, agent, <i>Aman</i> procurement scheme – before F.I.C. (extracts)	Nanavati Papers List of Literature Item No. 2-b [NAI]	2002
85.	25.8.44	Casey's talks with Ishaque (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, n. 40 [NMML]	2006
86.	27.8.44	Food procurement and cooperatives (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 41–2 [NMML]	2007
87.	29.8.44	Regarding Governor's Conference (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 44 [NMML]	2008
88.	Before Sept. '44	Memorandum submitted to the Famine Inquiry Commission by The Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. I [NAI]	2008
89.	Before Sept. '44	Memorandum submitted by the Bengal Rice Mills Association	Nanavati Papers, Vol. I [NAI]	2012
90.	Before Sept. '44	Memorandum submitted by Bengal Chamber of Commerce (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. I [NAI]	2014
91.	1.9.44	Evidence by Krishak Praja Muslim Leaders (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2019

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
92	1.9.44	Evidence by Dr N. Sanyal, Whip of the Official Congress Party and Dr A.C. Ukil (Extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. II [NAI]	2025
93	2.9.44	Evidence by Mr Somnath Lahiri, Mr Bhowani Sen and Mr Bhupesh Gupta of Communist Party (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2030
94	4.9.44	Evidence of L.G.P. Pinnell (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2034
95	4.9.44	Evidence by Mr D.P. Khaitan, Mr G.L. Mehta and Mr R.L. Nopany (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. IV [NAI]	2036
96	4.9.44	Memorandum submitted to the Famine Inquiry Commission by the Calcutta Relief Committee through the Joint Honorary Secretary, Mr Jnananjan Niyogi (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. I [NAI]	2041
97	6.9.44	Food Shortage – Procurement in Chittagong (extract from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 59 [NMML]	
98	8.9.44	Evidence of B.K. Guha before F.I.C. (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2046
99	11.9.44	Evidence of Mrs Saudamini Mehta, Mrs Maitreyee Bose, Mrs S.C. Roy and Mrs Avesha Ahmad Rep. of A.I.W.C., before F.I.C. (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2047
100	16.9.44	Food Situation (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 73 [NMML]	2049
101	20.9.44	Evidence by C.J. Minister before Famine Inquiry Commission (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. IV [NAI]	2050
102	20.9.44	Sir John Woodhead on the famine (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 78 [NMML]	2051
103	22.9.44	Evidence by Maj. Gen. F.H. Skinner, O.B.E., Eastern Command before the F.I.C. (extracts)	Nanavati Papers, Vol. IV [NAI]	2054
104	26.9.44	Casey's talks with M.A. Ispahani (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 83-4 [NMML]	2056
105	27.9.44	Ispahani and Woodhead Commission (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 84 [NMML]	2057
106	3.10.44	Casey's talks with Sir Theodore Gregory and R.H. Hutchings (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 90 [NMML]	2037
107	4.10.44	Procurement Progress (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 91 [NMML]	2058
108	7.11.44	Nanavati to the Secretary, F.I.C., enclosing the correspondence between N.N. Sircar and Linlithgow	Nanavati Papers, List of Literature Item No. 4, [NAI]	2059
109	1.12.44	Extracts from evidence by Mr M.A. Ispahani before the Famine Inquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, List of Literature Item No. 2-2b [NAI]	2062
110	1977	English translation - Extract of a memoir <i>Koyekti jiboni</i>	Extracts from <i>Muktir Adhikerey</i> by Dr Maitreyee Bose	2064

**IX Peasant Movements**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	13.9.42	AICC's Instructions (No. 7) to peasants	File No. 3/19/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2068
2.	Sept. 1942	AICC Instructions (No. 8) to peasants	File No. 3/19/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2070
3.	27.11.42	AICC's Instruction (No. 11) to peasants	File No. 3/19/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2072
4.	30.12.42	AICC'S Instructions (No. 12) to peasants	File No. 3/19/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2075
5.	31.12.43	Secret circular issued by the War Council – U.P. Congress	File No. 3/19/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2076
6.	8.1.43	Police report of a meeting of the Kisan Sabha	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2078
7.	26.1.43	English translation of a post card from Shyamaprasanna from Calcutta to Sachin Ghosh, C.P.I. office, Rangpur (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2078
8.	27.1.43	Secretary, CPI office Lahore to Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha (BPKS) (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2079
9.	30.1.43	Sudhir Mukharji to Sachin Ghosh (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2080
10.	1.2.43	English translation of a post card written in Bengali (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2081
11.	2.2.43	Swami Sahajanand to P.C. Joshi (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2081
12.	4.2.43	Letter to Indulal Yagnik from Abdullah Rasul (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2083
13.	8.2.43	Members enrolled for A.I.K.S.–List (intercepted)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2083
14.	15.2.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Baroda & Gujarat states	Baroda & Gujarat State Agency File No. 6(10)–P(S)/43 [NAI]	2085
15.	14.2.43	Indulal Yagnik to Abdul Rasul (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2085
16.	23.2.43	General Secretary, AIKS to provincial secretaries organisational reportage no. 3, 1942–43, (extracts) provincewise survey of the effective strength of the A.I.K.S.	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22 NMML	2086

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
17.	23.2.43	All India Kisan Sabha – Finance organisatioanl reportage no. 3, 1942-43 (extracts)	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22 NMML	2087
18.	1.3.43	Police report on Kisan conference held at Alipur	File No. SK 526/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2088
19	1.3.43	Sahajanand Saraswati to Bankim Mukherjee (intercepted letter	File No. SK 533/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2089
20	Second half of Feb 1943	Extracts from fortnightly report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2090
21.	13.3.43	Extracts from Weekly Report from Ballia	File No. 39, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2091
22	20.3.43	Extracts from Weekly Report from Ballia	File No. 39, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2091
23.	24.3.43	Review of an editorial in <i>Janayuddha</i>	File No. SK 562/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2092
24.	10.4.43	Extracts from Weekly Report from Ballia district	File No. 39, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2092
25	17.4.43	Weekly Report from Ballia district	File No. 39, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2093
26.	18.4.43	Punjab Women's Conference (A circular)	File No. SR/506/43 - Part II, Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	2093
27	18.4.43	Sahajanand Saraswati to G. Adhikari	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 6 [NMML]	2099
28	18.4.43	General Secretary, A.I.K.S. to Provincial Secretaries -- Organisational reportage no. 1 (extracts)	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22 [NMML]	2100
29	18.4.43	All India Kisan Sabha organisational reportage no. 1 (contd) (extracts)	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22 [NMML]	2104
30	18.4.43	All India Kisan Sabha organisational reportage no. 1 (contd) (extracts)	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22 [NMML]	2107
31.	20.4.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2107
32.	27.4.43	Activites of National Youth League	File G.O. No. 2/1944 Pub. (Gen.) Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2108

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
33.	First half of May 1943	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2109
34.	4.5.43	Godavari to Abdul Rasul (interceptor letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2110
35.	15.5.43	Extracts from Weekly Report from Ballia	File No. 39, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2110
36.	22.5.43	Extracts from Weekly Report from Ballia	File No. 39, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2111
37.	12.6.43	Summary of secret reports received about revolutionary matters for the week ending 13th May 1943	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2111
38.	1.7.43	Sahajanand Saraswati to Provincial Secretary	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 6 [NMML]	2112
39.	6.7.43	Chandrabhai to Swami Sahajanand Saraswati (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2113
40.	10.7.43	Extract from Weekly Report from Ballia	File No. 38, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2114
41.	17.7.43	Abdulla Rasul, General Secretary, Bengal Provincial Krishak Sabha to General Secretary, Pabna District Krishak Samity (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 538/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2115
42.	Undated	Dinesh Lahiri to General Secretary Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 533/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2116
43.	24.7.43	Indulal Yagnik to Bankim Mukherjee (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2118
44.	1.9.43	Deb Kumar Gupta to Prafulla Roy (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 586/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2119
45.	2.9.43	President, Savana Union Krishak Samity to the Secy. Krishak Seva (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2120
46.	14.9.43	Jagjit Singh to Bankim Mukherjee (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 521/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2120
47.	Mid. Sept.	Report of U.P. Kisan Councils meeting (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/43 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2121



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<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
48.	18.9.43	Extracts from Punjab Police Abstract No. 38 on Kisan conference	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2124
49.	Mid. Sept. 1943	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2125
50.	End Sept. 1943	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2125
51.	18.10.43	Report of the speech of Sahajanand Saraswati	File No. 604/43 Pol. (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2126
52.	21.10.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2129
53.	28.10.43	Secretary, U.P Kisan Sabha to Swami Sahajanand Saraswati (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2130
54.	End Oct. 1943	Home Department Survey (July-Oct. 1943) the Communist Party in the Kisan Sabha activities (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2134
55.	1.12.43	Bankim Mukherji to Harsh Dev Malaviya (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2136
56.	18.12.43	Translation of a marathi letter seized in Madras from one Kulkarni (A CSP supporter)	File No. 2/1944, U.S. Files Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2137
57.	19.12.43	Swami Sahajanand Saraswati to Sisir Roy (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2141
58.	29.12.43	Sahajanand Saraswati to Gen. Secretary A.I.K.S., Andhra (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2142
59.	4.1.44	P.C. Joshi to Secretary, Andhra Provincial Committee (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2143
60.	5.1.44	Sahajanand Saraswati to P.C. Joshi (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2144
61.	11.1.44	Proposed Resignation of Sahajanand Saraswati	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2145
62.	19.1.44	Santosh Bhattacharji to Secretary, Bengal Kisan Sabha (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2145
63.	31.1.44	Bishan Singh (Punjab Kisan Sabha) to the Bengal Kisan Sabha (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 521/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2146

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
64.	31.1.44	Police Report on Peasant Movement in Bihar	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2146
65.	31.1.44	Circular sent by Bengal branch of CPI (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2147
66.	31.1.44	Abdulla Rasul (BPKS) to Secretary, Krishak Samity, Mymensingh (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 556/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2148
67.	First half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2150
68.	Second half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras - Kisan Sabha Meeting at Bezwada	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2150
69.	Second half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2151
70.	Second half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2151
71.	19.2.44	Report from Bimal Sen to the Secretary B.P.K.S (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 556/44 Office of D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2152
72.	25.2.44	N. Prasada Rao to Bankim Mukherji (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 556/44 Office of D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2154
73.	First half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2155
74.	First half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2156
75.	First half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2156
76.	First half of March 1944	Extract from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2157
77.	First half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Special Press Adviser Delhi	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2157
78.	Second half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2157
79.	28.3.44	Assistant to the Inspector of Police, NWFP, to Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta (reg. one Umar Faruq)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2158
80.	First half of April	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2158
81.	First half of April	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2159
82.	First half of April	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2159

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<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
83.	6.4.44	Intelligence Report on AIKS	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2160
84.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2160
85.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2160
86.	First half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2161
87.	First half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2161
88.	First half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2162
89.	Second half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2162
90.	half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2163
91.	First half of June 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2163
92.	First half of June 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2163
93.	First half of June 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2164
94.	Second half of Jun. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2164
95.	Second half of June 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2165
96.	15.7.44	Sahajanand Saraswati to A. Rasul (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2165
97.	27.7.44	A. Rasul to Bankim Mukherji (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2168
98.	17.8.44	Extracts from evidence of Mr M.A. Ispahani, before Famine Inquiry Commission 17.8.1944	Nanavati Papers - List of Literature 2.b.1 [NAI]	2169
99.	17.8.44	Agriculture Income Tax Bill in the B.L.A. (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 30 [NMML]	2170
100.	18.8.44	Agriculture Income Tax Bill - Talks with Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 31 [NMML]	2171
101.	23.8.44	A. Rasul to Bankim Mukherji (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2171
102.	1.9.44	Extracts from evidence of Dr N. Sanyal, Chief Whip of the official Congress party and Dr A.C. Ukil before Famine Inquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2172

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
103.	2.9.44	Extracts from evidence from Mr Somnath Lahiri, Mr Bhowani Sen and Mr Bhupesh Gupta of the Communist party before the Famine Inquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vols IV, III [NAI]	2173
104.	2.9.44	Extracts from evidence of Mr Bankim Mukherjee, Mr Krishna Binode Roy and Mr B. Guha – Representatives of the Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha, before Famine Inquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vol. IV [NAI]	2176
105.	7.9.44	Sahajanand Saraswati to Indulal Yagnik	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 325 [NMML]	2182
106.	13.9.44	Baba Bhag Singh to Bankim Mukherji (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2183
107.	17.9.44	Observaion on Bengal Agriculture (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 73-4 [NMML]	2184
108.	First half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2185
109.	26.9.44	S. Sahajanand Saraswati to Indulal Yagnik	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 25 [NMML]	2185
110.	Second half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2186
111.	Second half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2187
112.	Second half of Sept. 1944	Extracts Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2187
113.	Second half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2187
114.	9.10.44	Govt. of Madras to all Provincial Govts	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2188
115.	12.10.44	Home Secretary, Govt. of Punjab to all Dy Commissioners	File No. H/13 Govt. of Punjab [Punjab State Archives]	2189
116.	19.10.44	Sahajanand Saraswati to P.C.Joshi (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2190
117.	First half of Nov. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2192
118.	Nov. 1944 First half	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2193
119.	Nov. 1944 First half	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer	File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2193
120.	4.11.44	Sahajanand Saraswati to Hardwar Rai (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2194

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
121	7.11.44	A. Rasul to Bankim Mukherji (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2194
122	Nov. 1944 Second half	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2196
123	Nov. 1944 Second half	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2196
	20.11.44	Sahajanand Saraswati to Umar Faruq (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2197
125	21.11.44	Bankim Mukherji to Umar Faruq (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2197
126	28.11.44	A Rasul to Bukhari (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2198
27	5.12.44	Umar Faruq to Bankim Mukherji (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2199
28	12.12.44	Swamiji appeals to Congressmen -- News item from <i>Hitavada</i>	<i>Hitavada</i> [NMMI.]	2200
29	21.12.44	Sahajanand Saraswati to Indulal Yagnik	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 6 [NMMI.]	2202
30	31.12.44	Sahajanand Saraswati to Indulal Yagnik	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 6 [NMMI.]	2203
31	April 1945	Extracts from draft report from 1944-45 submitted by the General Secretary at the Ninth Annual Session of the A.I.K.S. held at Netrakona (Mymensingh, Bengal) on 8 and 9 April 1945	Home Political C.P.I. 1043/12 [P.C. Joshi Archives, J.N.U.]	2204

## PART III

### X Labour Movement

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	29.8.42	Office of Controller of Printing & Stationery, Govt of India to the Secretary Dept. of Labour, Simla	File No. A386, Labour Dept., Govt. of India [NAI]	2209
2	23.11.42	Supreme War Council's Circular (Gujarat, Bombay)	File No. 3/19/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2210
3	April, 1943	Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of April 1943	File No. 2/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2211
4	9.1.43	M.N. Roy to the Secretary, Department of Labour	File No. W/251/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	2213

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
5.	15.1.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Baroda and Gujarat States	Baroda & Gujarat State Agency File No. 6(10)P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	2214
6.	25.1.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy (extracts)	Linlithgow Papers [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2215
7.	Feb. 1943	Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of February 1943	File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2215
8.	15.2.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat	Baroda & Gujarat State Agency File No. 6(10)P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	2217
9.	2.3.43	Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2217
10.	March 1943	Monthly statistics of strikes in India	File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2219
11.	8.3.43 to 9.3.43	Extracts from the minutes of the Security Conference held on 8/9 March 1943	File No. 111/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2220
12.	20.3.43	Case of Manek Homi	File No. W/251/43 Home Dept. - Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2220
13.	24.3.43 to 31.3.43	Official Notings on Sisir Roy's letter dated 18.3.1943	File No. 12/4/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2222
14.	24.3.43	Note on the Bolshevik party of India by the Bengal Special CID Branch	File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2224
15.	31.3.43	Excerpts from <i>Janayuddha</i>	Office of the D.C.P. File No. SK/562/42 Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2226
16.	1.4.43	Labour position on the South Indian Railway (extracts from Official Notings)	File No. 12/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2226
17.	4.4.43 to 9.4.43	Labour situation in Ajmer-Merwara	File No. 12/4/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2230
18.	9.4.43	Govt. of India to the Secretary Govt. of Bengal enclosing copy of the letter of Sisir Roy	File No. W/267/43 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2235
19.	19.4.43	Review of an article in <i>Janayuddha</i>	Office of D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. 562/42 Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2238
20.	April 1943	Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of April 1943	File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2239
21.	May 1943	Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of May 1943	File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2240
22.	15.6.43	Indrajit Gupta's report (intercepted copy in police files)	Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. SR/506/43 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2241

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
23.	16.6.43	Secretary Govt. of India, Press Workers Union to the Secretary, Dept of Labour, Simla (Recognition of the Union)	File No. A 386 (36) 43 Labour Dept. Govt. of India [NAI]	2243
24.	29.6.43	Commissioner of Police, Calcutta to the Second Secretary, Govt. of Bengal	File No. W/267/43/43 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2244
25	June 1943	Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of June	File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2245
26.	20.7.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat states	Baroda & Gujarat State Agency, File No. 6(10)P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	2246
27	26.7.43	Rules for recognition of Association of Industrial Employees	File No. A386 (36) 1943.	2246
28.	27.7.43	Government of Bengal to Govt. of India (Sisir Roy) - Followed by relevant Official Notes	File No. W/267/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	2247
29.	July 1943	Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of July 1943	File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2250
30.	August 1943	Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of August 1943	File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2251
31.	July to Oct. 1943	Excerpts from 'Communist Survey'	File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2252
32	Sept. 194	Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of September 1943	File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2253
33.	3.9.43 to 4.9.43	Official Notings on Communists and Labour (extracts)	File No. 7/23/33 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2254
34.	15.10.43	Enclosure to the letter dated 15.10.1943 from Home to all provinces - Doc. 72 in Chapter V	File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2256
35.	29.10.43	Daily Report from the police department (Travancore) to the Chief Secretary	File No. 619/43/CS Govt. of Travancore [Kerala State Archives]	2258
36.	Oct 1943	Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of October 1943	File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2261
37.	Nov. 1943	Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of November 1943	File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2262
38.	13.11.43	Debate on Indian Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill	C.L.A. Debates, Vol. IV, 1943 [NMML]	2264
39.	First half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from United Provinces	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2291
40.	First half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2291
41.	First half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2292
42.	First half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2293

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
43.	Second half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 8/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2293
44.	Second half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from United Provinces	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2294
45.	Second half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2295
46.	Second half of Feb. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2295
47.	First half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2296
48.	First half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2296
49.	First half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2297
50.	First half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2298
51.	First half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2299
52.	Second half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2300
53.	Second half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2300
54.	First half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2301
55.	First half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2301
56.	First half of April 1944	Extracts from fortnightly report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2302
57.	First half of April 1944	Extracts from fortnightly report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2303
58.	First half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar	File No. 18/4/44 - Poll(I) [NAI]	2303
59.	18.4.44	M.N. Roy's statement	M.N. Roy Papers [MNNL - M.F. Roll No. 28]	2304
60.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2304
61.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar	File No. 18/4/44 - Poll (I) [NAI]	2305
62.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2306
63.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2307
64.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2307
65.	April-May 1944	A note about the grant of Rs 13,000 to the Indian Federation of Labour by government for war propaganda	M.N. Roy Papers [NMML - M.F. Roll No. 28]	2308



<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
66.	First half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2309
67.	First half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2309
68.	First half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from Punjab	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2310
69.	Second half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2310
70.	Second half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2311
71.	Second half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2311
72.	Second half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2312
73.	First half of June 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2312
74.	First half of June 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2313
75.	First half of June 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2313
76.	First half of June 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 402/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	2314
77.	Second half of June 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2315
78.	Second half of June 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2316
79.	29.7.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	M.N. Roy Papers [NMML - M.F. Roll No. 28]	2316
80.	16.8.44	Home Member of Council to Sir Akbar Hydar	File No. 7/5/45 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2317
81.	1.9.44	Extracts from evidence of Mr L.G. Pinnell, Special Officer Civil Supplies Department, Bengal, before Famine Enquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2318
82.	First half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2320
83.	28.9.44	V.M. Tarkunde to M.N. Roy (regarding the grant of R. 13,000 by the Government)	M.N. Roy Papers [NMML - M.F. Roll No. 28]	2320
84.	Second half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2321
85.	Second half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2321
86.	Second half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2322
87.	Second half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2323

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
88.	First half of Nov. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2323
89.	First half of Nov. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2324
90.	Second half of Nov. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2324
91.	Nov.–Dec. 1944	Report on labour activities in Bengal during the months of November and December 1944	Industrial Disputes in Bengal 1944 Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2325
92.	11.12.44	Secretary, All India Seamen's Federation to Labour Union Office, Calcutta (intercepted letter)	File No. SK 511/44 Office of D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2326
93.	1944	Appeal to the labourers to ask for higher wages	M.N. Roy Papers [NMML – M.F. Roll No. 14]	2326

### XI Student Movement

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	17.8.42	Viceroy to Sir Ganga Singh	File No. 3/60/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2330
2.	24.8.42	Sir Ganga Singh to the Viceroy	File No. 3/60/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2331
3.	6.1.43	Dt. Magistrate, South Arcot to the Chief Secretary, Government of Madras	File G.O. No. 9 Pub (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2332
4.	21.1.43	Extracts from the report on the events in Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2333
5.	5.2.43	Extracts from the report on the events in Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2334
6.	7.3.43	Dt. Magistrate, South Arcot to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras	File G.O. No. 9 Pub (Gen.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2334
7.	20.4.43	Extracts from the report on the events in Bihar during the first half of April 1943	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Govt. State Archives]	2336
8.	30.4.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat states	File No. 6(10)P(S)/43, Baroda & Gujarat State Agency, [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	2336
9.	8.5.43	Extracts from the report on the events in Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Govt. State Archives]	2337
10.	July–Oct. '43	'Communist Survey' (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2337
11.	21.7.43	Director of Public Instruction, Bihar to all schools & colleges	File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2338

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<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
12.	Before Aug. '43	Extracts from circular issued by the CPI	File No. SR 506/43 V Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	2339
13	9.9.43 to 26.9.43	Extract from notes and orders in Home (jails) Department regarding detention of Babu Ashim Kumar Majumdar	File No. W/561/43, Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal Archives]	2339
14.	16.9.43	Representation from A K. Majumdar's father.	File No. W/561/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal Archives]	2341
15	3.10.43	News item from <i>Searchlight</i>	File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2341
16.	15.10.43	Extracts from Official Notings to prevent students from joining political movement	File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2342
17	26.10.43	Reg Asim Kumar Majumdar	File No. W/561/43 Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2344
18	2.11.43	I.G. of Police submitting a report on the NSO training camp to the Diwan of Travancore	File No. 629/43 Conf. Sec. Govt. of Travancore [Kerala State Archives]	2345
19	5.11.43 to 26.1.43	Extracts from Official Notings - Student trouble makers in the Annamalai University	File G.O. No. 3218 Pub. (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2347
20.	14.11.43	News paper report on the first South Indian National Students Conference held on 13/14 November 1943 ( <i>Indian Express</i> )	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2349
21	15.11.43	Report about the South Indian Students Conference - in <i>The Hindu</i>	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2352
22.	17.11.43	N.S.O. declared unlawful	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2354
23	19.11.43 to 24.11.43	Official Notings on N.S.O. (extracts)	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2365
24	17.11.43	Student Unity Manifesto	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2367
25.	20.11.43	Extracts from Official Notings on NSO	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2369
26.	20.11.43	Circular, All India Hindu Students Federation	Jayakar Collection, File No. 724 [NAI]	2370
27.	22.11.43	Commissioner of Police, to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras - (NSO)	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2371
28.	23.11.43	S.P., C.I.D. to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras (enclosing a note NSO)	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2372
29	24.11.43	News item in <i>Janmabhumi</i> (Gujarati Newspaper)	File No. 94, Indulal Yagnik Papers [NMML]	2373
30.	10.12.43	Noting of the Commissioner of Police on NSO	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2374

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
31.	23.12.43	Another note on Students Organisation	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2375
32.	13.01.44	Student organisation notified unlawful	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2377
33.	21.01.44	Editorial in the <i>Indian Express</i> — on NSO	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2378
34.	21.01.44	Editorial in <i>Thanthi</i> (Tamil Newspaper)	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2379
35.	21.01.44	News Item from the <i>Indian Express</i>	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2379
36.	22.01.44	Official Noting on Students' Organisation	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2380
37.	22.01.44	Chief Secretary (Madras) to the Supdt of Police, Madras	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2380
38.	8.2.44	Ramunni Menon Gen. Secretary, South Indian N.S.O. to the Chief Secretary, Govt of Madras	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2381
39.	24.2.44	Supdt of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt. of Madras	File No. 1/1944, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2382
40.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/4/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2382
41.	First half of June '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/6/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2383
42.	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Assam	File No. 18/6/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2383
43.	23.6.44	Commissioner of Police, Madras to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras, enclosing a report about the Indian Students Congress	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2383
44.	21.6.44	Report from S.P., S.B., C.O.D. on the formation of All India Students Congress	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2386
45.	26.6.44	All India Students Conference	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2387
46.	Second half of June '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/6/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2390
47.	Second half of June '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/6/44 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2391
48.	12.7.44	Govt. of Madras to the Chief Secretary, All India Students Conference	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2391
49.	28.7.44	M.S. Appa Rao to the Commissioner of Police	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2392
50.	28.7.44	Students Manifesto — Report in <i>Indian Express</i>	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2392
51.	28.7.44	Press cutting from <i>Free Press</i> — Indian Student Manifesto	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2394
52.	29.7.44	Commissioner of Police to the Chief Secretary (Madras)	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2395

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
53.	31.7.44	Govt. of Madras to the Commissioner of Police	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2396
54.	3.8.44	Report of the meeting of Indian Students Congress	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2396
55.	10.8.44	Report of Indian students meeting held on 8.8.44	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2400
56.	17.8.44	Report of Indian students Meeting held on 15.5.44	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2403
57.	17.8.44 to 18.8.44	S.P., S.B., CID to the Chief Secretary, Madras about the activities of the All India Students' Congress	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2407
58.	26.8.44	Suptd of Police to the Chief Secretary, Govt of Madras	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2410
59.	28.8.44	Chief Secretary to the Commissioner of Police about K. Diaviyam	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2411
60.	31.8.44	Commissioner of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2412
61.	1.9.44	Public Department to the S.P. of Police	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2412
62.	6.9.44	D.I.G. of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2413
63.	First half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2414
64.	Second half of Sept. 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2414
65.	3.10.44	Suptd of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2415
66.	13.10.44	Under Secretary, Govt of Madras to the Superintendent of Police (I.S.C.)	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2418
67.	2.11.44	Commissioner of Police to the Chief Secretary Govt of Madras - I.S.C.	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2419
68.	9.11.44	Suptd of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2420
69.	11.11.44	Suptd of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2421
70.	14.11.44	Chief Secretary, Govt of Madras to the Commissioner of Police	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2422
71.	First half of Nov '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/11/1944 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2423
72.	First half of Nov '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/11/1944 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2423
73.	21.11.44	Suptd of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2424
74.	2.12.44	Membership figure of the Students Congress	File No. 132/44, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2425

**XII Role of Business Community**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	20.9.42	Circular letter from V L. Mehta protesting against police brutalities in Ahmedabad	File No. 3/10/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2427
2.	11.12.42	Government of Bombay to Government of India	File No. 3/10/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2428
3.	18.12.42	Extracts from Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 113	File No. 3/19/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2429
4.	28.12.42	Extracts from Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 121	File No. 3/19/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2430
5.	31.12.42	Memorandum dated 31st December 1942 by Mr L.G. Pinnell on the fixation of prices for requisitioned and impounded rice stock	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2432
6.	3.1.43	Copy of notes dated 3rd January 1943 by Mr Pinnell, Director of Civil Supplies, Bengal	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2434
7.	7.1.43 to 20.1.43	Official Notings regarding V L. Mehta's case (extracts)	File No. 3/10/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2435
8.	23.1.43	Govt. of Bombay to the Govt. of India	File No. 3/10/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2436
9.	25.1.43 to 26.1.43	Official Notings regarding V L. Mehta's case (contd.)	File No. 3/10/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2436
10.	25.1.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy (extracts)	Lanlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2437
11.	29.1.43	Extracts from the 9th meeting of the Internal Affairs Committee	File No. 4/4/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2438
12.	31.1.43	Editorial in <i>Independent India</i> (RDP weekly)	<i>Independent India</i> , Vol. 7, No. 5 [NMML]	2439
13.	Feb. 43	G.L. Mehta's appeal (news item in the <i>National Call</i> )	Jayakar Papers, File No. 52 [NAI]	2443
14.	8.2.43	Extracts from the minutes of the tenth meeting of the Internal Affairs Committee	File No. 4/4/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2444
15.	19.2.43	C.L.A. Debates regarding Reconstruction Committee (extracts)	C.L.A. Debates, Vol. I, 1943 [NMML]	2445
16.	20.2.43	Government of Bombay to the Govt. of India (V.L. Mehta's case)	File No. 3/10/43 - Home Poll (I) [NMML]	2450
17.	27.2.43	Official Notings on giving contracts to Congress supporters (extracts)	File No. 4/4/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2451
18.	Second half of Feb. 43	Extracts from report on the events in Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 19453, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2453
19.	8.3.43	Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 180	File No. 3/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2453
20.	9.3.43	Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 181	File No. 3/6/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2455

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
21	17.3.43 to 8.5.43	Official Notings on policy regarding the award of contracts (extracts)	File No. 4/4/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2456
22	3.5.43 to 5.5.43	Official Notings on Madras Government's letter dated 26.4.43 to GOI (extracts)	File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2460
23	Second half of May	Extracts from report on the events in Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2461
24	Mid May and End June	Extracts from Mr H.B.L. Baund's memorandum submitted before the Famine Enquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, File No. 57/1944 [NMML]	2461
25	26.4.43	G.D. Parikh to M.N. Roy Report on the Andhra Party	M.N. Roy Papers [NMML - M.F. Roll No. 14]	2462
26	4.3.43	G.L. Mehta's contacts with underground C.S.P. rebels - Involvement of Humayan Kabir	P.N. Chopra (ed.), British Secret Documents (1986), pp. 329-30	2466
27	End of 1943	Extracts from the book <i>Marx, Gandhi and Socialism</i> by Rammanohar Lohia	Written in the end of 1943. Reprinted in 1963 Pub. by R.M. Lohia Samrita Vidyalaya Nyas, Hyderabad, pp. 1-90	2467
28	19.1.44	Editorial in <i>Free Press Journal</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2513
29	19.1.44	Article in <i>The Statesman</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2514
30	20.1.44	Editorial in <i>Free Press Journal</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2516
31	20.1.44	Editorial in <i>The Hindu</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2517
32	20.1.44	Article in <i>The Times of India</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2519
33	22.1.44	News item in <i>The Times of India</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2520
34	24.1.44	News item in <i>The Times of India</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2522
35	25.1.44	News item in <i>The Free Press Journal</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2523
36	5.2.44	Editorial of <i>The Times of India</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2524
37	Second half of Feb. 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U P	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2524
38	1.3.44	Editorial in <i>Bombay Sentinel</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2525
39	First half of March 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Delhi	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2527
40	20.3.44	News item in <i>The Times of India</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2527

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
41.	22.3.44	Official Notings on the theory that big business financed rebellion (extracts)	File No. 3.17.43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2528
42.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Agra	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2529
43.	28.5.44	News item in the <i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2529
44.	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2532
45.	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2533
46.	3.8.44	Talks with the British Trade Commissioner extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 9-10 [NMML]	2533
47.	17.8.44	Extracts from evidence by Mr M.A. Ispahani before Famine Enquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 2 b 2 [NAI]	2534
48.	18.8.44	Talks with G.D. Birla, extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 33 [NMML]	2535
49.	1.9.44	Extracts from evidence of Dr N. Sanyal, Chief Whip of the official Congress party and Dr A.C. Ukil before Famine Inquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2535
50.	2.9.44	Extracts from evidence from Mr Somnath Lahiri, Mr Bhowani Sen and Mr Bhupesh Gupta, of the Communist party Before Famine Inquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2539
51.	4.9.44	Extracts from evidence by Mr L.G. Pinnell before Famine Enquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2540
52.	15.9.44	News item in <i>The Times of India</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2542
53.	16.9.44	Editorial in <i>The Times of India</i>	Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143 [NMML]	2544
54.	Second half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2545
55.	1.12.44	Extracts from evidence by Mr M.A. Ispahani before Famine Inquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 2.b.2 [NAI]	2546
56.	1.12.44	Further extracts from evidence by Mr M.A. Ispahani before Famine Inquiry Commission (contd)	Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 2.b.2 [NAI]	2554
57.	1.12.44	Further extracts from evidence by Mr M.A. Ispahani before Famine Inquiry Commission (contd)	Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 2.b.2 [NAI]	2559



<i>S.No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
58	Undated	Extracts from 'Statement Summarising Evidence Relating to Messrs Ispahani Ltd'	Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 3a [NAI]	2562
59	Undated	Extracts from 'Statement Summarising Evidence Relating to Messrs Ispahani Ltd' (contd)	Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 3a [NAI]	2563
60	Undated	Government of India's policy towards Bengal famine during the Viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow	Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 3a [NAI]	2567

### XIII Cultural Movement

<i>S.No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	22.5.43	Dange's Speech – Task for the Writers	Sudhi Pradhan (ed.), <i>Marxist Cultural Movements in India</i> , 1949, pp. 3–30	2569
2	7.6.43	Report on the fourth All India Progressive Writers' Conference by Sajjad Zaheer	Sudhi Pradhan (ed.), <i>Marxist Cultural Movements in India</i> , 1949, pp. 1–3	2583
3	12.11.1943	An appeal to Punjabi brethren for help to famine stricken Bengalis	<i>The Akali</i> (Lahore) [Punjab State Archives]	2584
4	12.12.43	News item in <i>Hitavada</i> about Indian Peoples' Theatre Association	<i>Hitavada</i> [NMML]	2586
5	1.1.44	Contents of an intercepted letter Cultural shows	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2587
6	22.2.44	Intercepted letter – B. Guha to Comrade Prasada Rao	File No. SK 511/44 Office of the D.C.P. Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2588
7	1.5.44	<i>Bishan</i> by Hemanga Biswas	<i>Bishan</i> by Hemanga Biswas, p. 22	2589
8	1944	Nibaran Pandit, <i>Janayuddheyr Gan</i>	<i>Janayuddheyr Gan</i> by Nibaran Pandit	2590
9	18.1.44	Circular letter from Sahajanand Saraswati to Provincial Secretaries (extracts)	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22 [NMML]	2590
10	21.10.44	<i>Navanna</i> , a play in Bengali by Bijon Bhattacharya	The 1990 edition of the play (Proma Prokashni, Calcutta)	2591
11	First half of November 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from Bengal	File No. 18/11/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2598
12	Nov. 1944	A Bengali Circular of the Congress Sahitya Sangha	Congress Sahitya Sangha Papers, Calcutta	2598
13	1944	'Abhyudaya' a play in Bengali	Congress Sahitya Sangha Papers, Calcutta	2599
14	9.7.45	The date of the establishment of Sahitya Sangha	Congress Sahitya Sangha Papers, Calcutta	2603

**XIV Rumours**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	3.1.43	Extracts of Weekly Report from Collector and Magistrate, Ballia	File No. 38, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2604
2.	6.11.43	Information about a few Oriya young men who were spreading rumours among the Oriya labourers	File No. W/22/43 Govt. of Bengal (Home) Dept. [Bengal State Archives]	2605
3.	10.1.43	Extracts from the Weekly Report from the Collector and Magistrate, of Ballia district	File No. 38, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2605
4.	21.11.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar Pol (Spl) [Bihar State Archives]	2606
5.	5.2.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2607
6.	6.4.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2607
7.	20.4.43	Report on the events in Bihar	File No. 3/52/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2607
8.	First half of May 43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2608
9.	06.07.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2608
10.	19.07.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 79, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2609
11.	31.07.43	Weekly Report from the Collector & Magistrate, Ballia district	File No. 39, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2610
12.	1944	Extracts from <i>India Since Crisps</i>	Horace Alexander, <i>India Since Crisps</i> (1944), p. 8	2610
13.	Second half of Jan. 44	Extracts from Fortnightly report from Punjab – reg. War rumours	File No. 431-P(S)/44 [Punjab State Archives]	2611
14.	First half of Feb. 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/2/44 Poll (I) [NAI]	2611
15.	Second half of Feb. 44	Extracts from fortnightly Report from Madras reg. War rumours	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2612
16.	Second half of Feb. 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from Bombay	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2612
17.	First half of March 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2613

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
18.	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2613
19.	19.3.44	Two persons prosecuted for spreading false information	File G.O. No. 163 Pub. (Gen.) Dept Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	2614
20.	20.3.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2641
21.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2615
22.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2615
23.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2615
24.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2616
25.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2616
26.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2617
27.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/84 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2617
28.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2618
29.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2618
30.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2619
31.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2620
32.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from intelligence reports on the Punjab	File No. 431-P(S)/44 Pol. Dept. [Punjab State Archives]	2620
33.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from Madras	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2621
34.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Intelligence Reports on the Punjab	File No. 431-P(S)/44 Pol. Dept. Govt. of Punjab [Punjab State Archives]	2621
35.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2622
36.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2622
37.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2623
38.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2623
39.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2623

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
40.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2624
41.	6.6.44	Sequel to Doc. No. 19	File G.O. No. 163 Pub. (Gen) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1944 [TNA]	2624
42.	10.6.44	War rumours reported by one S. Prabhu	File G.O. No. 163 Pub. (Gen) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1945 [TNA]	2625
43.	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2626
44.	Second half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2626
45.	14.7.44	Prosecution of Arumuga Mudali for spreading false information and opposing collection of war fund	File G.O. No. 163 Pub (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1945 [TNA]	2627
46.	8.9.44	Extracts from evidence of Mr B.K Guha, I.C.S., Additional District and Sessions Judge, 24 Parganas, & Formerly Relief Co ordination Officer, Calcutta. Before the Famine Enquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	2628
47.	First half of Sept '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2629
48.	Second half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2629
49.	14.7.44	Prosecution of Kanusa Goundan	File G.O. No. 163 Pub (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1945 [TNA]	2630
50.	First half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2630
51.	29.11.44	Arumuga Mudali acquitted	File G.O. No. 163 Pub (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1945 [TNA]	2631
52.	Second half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2631

### **XV Disaffection in the Army**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	12.3.40	Reasons given by Army authorities and DIB for keeping the mutineers in detention	File No. 44/81/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2632
2.	24.2.43	Sir Archibald Wavell to Lord Linlithgow	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc No. 2344]	2635
3.	13.4.43	Political agent, Eastern Rajputana states to the Dewan of Bundi state	File No. 50, Bharatpur Agencies [Rajasthan State Archives]	2636

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
4.	21.4.43	Dewan of Bundi to the political agent, Eastern Rajputana state (reply to the letter dt 13.4.1943 – Doc. 3)	File No. 50, Bharatpur Agencies [Rajasthan State Archives]	2637
5	Second half of April '43	Report on the situation in Punjab (extracts)	File No. 3/52/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2638
6.	24.7.43	Weekly Report from Ballia	File No. 38, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2638
7.	7.8.43	Weekly Report from Ballia	File No. 38, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	2639
8	3.2.44	Communication sent to Arrested Army officials (Mehman Singh and Udham Singh)	File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2639
9	08.02.44	A case history of Mehman Singh	File No. 44/81/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2640
10	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P	File No. 18.2.44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2641
11	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2642
12	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2642
13	Second half of Jan '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 431P(S)/44 Govt. of Punjab [Punjab State Archives]	2643
14	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2643
15	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2644
16	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2644
17	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2645
18	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2645
19	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2646
20	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2647
21	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2647
22.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2647
23.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2648
24	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2648
25	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2649

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
26.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2649
27.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2650
28.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2650
29.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2651
30.	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2651
31.	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2651
32.	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2652
33.	27.6.44	Anti-Recruitment Propaganda	File G.O. No. 117 Pub (Gen.) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 [TNA]	2653
34.	7.7.44	Army Mutineers in Egypt - Official Notings (extracts)	File No. 44/81/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2654
	8.7.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2656
36.	8.7.44	Official Notings - Army Mutineers' case history	File No. 44/81/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2656
37.	15.7.44 to 17.7.44	Official Notings regarding Waryam Singh (extracts)	File No. 44/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2658
38.	15.7.44 to 25.7.44	Official Notings -- Regarding review of cases of Mutineers (extracts)	File No. 44/81/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2659
39.	18.8.44	Talk with Col. R.W. Crampin -- extracts from R.G. Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 39 [NMMI.]	2664
40.	First half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2665
41.	First half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2665
42.	17.9.44	Official Notings -- Army Mutineers in jail develop Congress links (extracts)	File No. 44/81/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2666
43.	Second half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2667
44.	13.10.44 to 19.10.44	Fate of Army Mutineers held during C.I.H. and R.I.A.S.C. Mutinies	File No. 44/81/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2668
45.	First half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2671
46.	First half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2671
47.	25.11.44	Official Notings -- Mutineers' release opposed by Punjab Govt. (extracts)	File No. 44/81/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2672
48.	6.3.45	Army Mutineers with Left Wing background	File No. 44/81/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2676

## XVI The Indian National Army

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	14.1.43	Commissioner of Police to the Secretary, Government of Bengal — Relaxation of restriction order on Sisir Bose	File No. W/32/43 Home Dept. (Def. Br.) [Bengal State Archives]	2678
2.	15.1.43	Withdrawal of restriction order on Sisir Bose	File No. W/32/43 Home Dept. (Def. Br.) [Bengal State Archives]	2679
3	15.1.43	Government of India to the Govt of Madras (illegal possession of wireless sets)	File No. 1577/1943, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2679
4	23.1.43	Memo on illegal possession of wireless sets	File No. 1577/1943, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2681
5	1.3.43	GOI to All Chief Secretaries (Regarding wireless sets)	File No. 1577/1943, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	2682
6	8/9 March 43	Agenda for the fourth security conference to be held at Nagpur (extracts)	File No. 111/43 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2683
7	1.4.43	Trial of enemy agents at Madras	File No. 2/4/43 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2685
8	9.4.43	Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy	Linhthgow Collection [NAI — Acc No. 2385]	2710
9	7.5.43 to 8.4.43	Extracts from the statement of Gurdip Singh of Jhabal Kalan followed by official comments	File No. 44/47/43 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2711
10	15.5.43	Petition for transfer of a security prisoner (D.N. Bose) from one jail to another	File No. 92/23/41 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2712
11.	29.5.43	District Magistrate, Chittagong to the Additional Secretary, Government of Bengal, giving a list of persons arrested	File No. W/356/43 Home (Def. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2714
12	16.6.43	Medical report of D.N. Bose and Aurobindo Bose	File No. 94/23/41 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2720
13	June 43 to Feb '44	Summary of speeches by I.N.A. Leaders (extracts)	File No. INA/126/7510 [NAI]	2721
14	7.7.43	Government of Bombay to Government of India (interrogation methods)	File No. 44/2/43 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2722
15.	7.7.43	Government of Bengal to Government of India (Parmel Sen's case)	File No. 44/49/42 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2724
16	26, 27 July 43	Minutes of the Fifth Security Conference held at Bombay on the 26th and 27th July 1943	File No. 111/43 — Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2725
17	Aug 43	About Subhas Chandra Bose (excerpts from a circular of the CPI)	File No. SR/506/43-V [Bengal State Archives]	2727
18	20.8.43	Kashmir resident to P.S. to Viceroy	Crown Representative Records — File No. 6-P(c)/43	2728

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
19.	30.8.43	A note on interrogation methods prepared by the D.I.B. (extracts)	File No. 44/22/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2728
20.	2.9.43	Official Notings – Army Dept's Views on Judgement n D.I.R 26	File No. 44/57/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2730
21.	2.9.43	Item to be reported at the National Defence Council (extracts)	File No. 35/5/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2731
22.	15.9.43	Suptd of Police to the Addl. Secretary, Government of Bengal	File No. W/121/43 Home (Defence) [Bengal State Archives]	2731
23.	18.9.43	Government of Punjab to the Government of India (interrogation methods)	File No. 44/2/43 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2732
24.	18.9.43	Extract from Government of Bihar S.C.R.O Department – Arrah about Japanese Agents in Nepal	File No. 38, Freedom Movement Files 1943, Govt. of Bihar [Bengal State Archives]	2733
25.	7.10.43	Request for transfer of D.N. Bose from Punjab Jail to Bengal Jail rejected	File No. 94/23/41 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2733
26.	21.10.43	Statement of the Proclamation of the Azad Hind Government by Subhas Chandra Bose	Moti Ram (ed.), <i>Two Historic Trials in Red Fort</i> (1946), p. 367	2734
27.	8.11.43	Commissioner of Police, Calcutta to the Addl. Secretary, Government of Bengal (reg. P.C. Roy)	File No. W/704/43 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2735
28.	10.11.43	Admission of 'N.A.'s existence in C.L.A.	C.L.A. Debates, Vol. IV, 1943 [NMML]	2737
29.	27.11.43	Restriction Order on Radhika Kanta Datta	File No. W/678/43 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2738
30.	6.12.43	Internment Order on R.K. Datta	File No. W/678/43 (Home) (Def. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2739
31.	27.12.43	Government of India to the Govt. of North West Frontier Province	File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2740
32.	Dec. '43	Creation of S.S.S. Group	File No. INA/74/7510 [NAI]	2741
33.	Jan. 44 to Aug. '44	Extract from the diary of Shah Nawaz Khan 1/14 Punjab Regt	Moti Ram (ed.) <i>Two Historic Trials in Red Fort</i> , 1946, pp. 329–31	2742
34.	21.1.44	Landing of enemy agents on the West Coast	File No. 206 Huzur political office Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	2744
35.	25.1.44	Government of India to Government of Bombay (reg. Security Prisoners – M.L. Sarkar and S.B. Yajee)	File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2748
36.	First half of Feb.	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2748



<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
37.	4.2.44	Official Noting reg. security prisoners belonging to Forward Bloc (extracts)	File No. 44/15/94 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2749
38.	Feb. '44	S.C. Bose and S.L. Basal informed of the grounds of detention	File No. 44/15/94 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2749
39	8.2.44	Communication of the grounds of detention to Arobindo Bose	File No. 44/15/94 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2750
40	9 2 44	Special Order of the Day Subhas Chandra Bose, Supreme Commander, Azad Hind Fauj, Burma	Moti Ram (ed.) <i>Two Historic trials at Red Fort</i> , 1946, p. 336	2750
41	10 2 44	Official Notings reg. Forward Bloc prisoners (extracts)	File No. 22/18/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2751
42.	12.2 44	Government of N.W.F.P. to the Government of India	File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2753
43.	25 2 44	Official Notings (regarding Amarendra Nath Bose)	File No. 44/28/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2754
44	29 2.44	Government of India to the Government of Punjab	File No. 44/27/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2755
45	Second half of Feb '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Assam	File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2756
46	First half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Delhi	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2756
47.	First half of March	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2757
48.	First half of March	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2757
49.	First half of March	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2758
50	First half of March	History sheet of S.R. Bakshi (Forward Bloc)	File No. 44/49/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2758
51	31 3 44	Official Note - reg. Sushil Kumar Bhadra (extracts)	File No. 44/47/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2760
52	Second half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2761
53.	Second half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2761
54	Second half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2762
55	Second half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2762
56	Second half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2762
57	Second half of March 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2763
58.	First half of April	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2764
59	First half of April	Extracts From Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2764
60	1.4.44	Government of Punjab to the Government of India	File No. 44/27/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2765

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
61.	26.4.44	Government of India to the Government of Punjab	File No. 44/27/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2768
62.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2768
63.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2768
64.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2769
65.	Second half of April 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2770
66.	First half of May 94	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from United Provinces	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2770
67.	First half of May 94	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2770
68.	Second half of May 1944	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P.	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2771
69.	16.6.44	P K. Sahgal to Sadar Daftar	Moti Ram (ed.) <i>Two historic Trials in Red Fort</i> 1946, pp. 336-7	2771
70.	First half of Jan. 94	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2773
71.	27.6.44	Official Notings 23.6.44 - (reg. Sushil Kumar Bhadra (F.B.)) (extracts)	File No. 44/47/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2773
72.	28.6.44	Government of Punjab to the Government of India	File No. 44/27/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2774
73.	3.7.44	Government of India to Sushil Kumar Bhadra (security prisoner F.B.)	File No. 44/17/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2775
74.	6.7.44	Government of India to the Government of Punjab	File No. 44/27/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2775
75.	8.7.44	Government of India to the Government of Bengal (reg. A N Bose)	File No. 44/28/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2776
76.	20.8.44	Prem to Sadar Daftar	Moti Ram (ed.) <i>Two Historic Trials in Red Fort</i> , 1946, pp. 337-8	2777
77.	18.11.44	Desertions from Punjab Regiment - (List)	File No. 39/16/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2778
78.	4.12.44	Official Notings (extracts) - Review of cases of security prisoners	File No. 44/55/44 - Poll (I) [NAI]	2780
79.	19.12.44 to 21.12.44	Official Notings - (Sushil Kumar Bhadra F.B.) (extracts)	File No. 44/47/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2781
80.	20.12.44	Official Notings reg. Amarendra Nath Bose	File No. 44/28/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2782
81.	1944	Official Notings - History Sheet of S.S. Caveeshar	File No. 44/52/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2783
82.	End of 1944	Caveeshar's account of his links with Subhas Chandra Bose and official comments on it	File No. 44/52/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2786
83.	Book completed between Dec '45 & Dec. '46	Extract from the book <i>Netajeev Secret Service</i> by Dr. Pabitra Mohan Roy (translated from the original Bengali) by the editor	<i>Netajeev Secret Service</i> (1980)	2794

**XVII International Perspectives**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	10.1.43	Editorial – <i>Independent India</i>	<i>Independent India</i> , Vol. 7, Nos 1-2 [NMML]	2803
2	18.1.43	Bombay Congress Bulletins – Phillip's Visit to India	File No. 3/19/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2805
3	25.1.43	Governor General to the Secretary of State for India (London)	File No. 7/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2807
4	27.1.43	Governor General to the Secretary of State for India (in continuation of Doc. 3)	File No. 7/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2808
5	2.2.43	Honorary Secretary, India League, Durban to the Viceroy of India Regarding Resolution passed by the India League at Durban, S. Africa	File No. 1/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2810
6	15.2.43	News item in <i>The Times of India</i> quoting from foreign news papers	Jayakar Collection, File No 527 [NAI]	2811
7	28.2.43	Secretary of State for India (London) to New Delhi – Gladyshev's Message to Moscow	File No. 7/1/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2812
8	30.3.43	Governor of Madras to Viceroy Telegram R.	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2207]	2813
9	12.4.43	Intercepted letter of Jim Simmonds (Friends Ambulance Unit)	File No. 20/20/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2814
10	16.4.43	Government of United Provinces to the Government of India	File No. 44/11/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2816
11	16.5.43	News item in <i>The Hindu</i> about Louis Fischer	File G.O. No. 2716 Pub. (Press) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 2716 [TNA]	2817
12	24.5.43	Efforts to gain American sympathy by Congress underground leaders	P.N. Chopra (ed.) <i>British Secret Documents</i> , 1986	2825
13	27.5.43	Telegram from Washington to New Delhi Delhi	File No. 44/11/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2826
14	29.5.43	Press Message from Herbert Mathews to the United States of America	File No. 3/63/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2827
15	30.5.43	News item in <i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i>	<i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i> [NMML]	2828
16	3.6.43	Mrs Gunther's article quoted in <i>The Hindu</i> – Official Notings on it	File G.O. NO. 2761 Pub. (Press) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 [TNA]	2829
17	6.6.43	Editorial in <i>The Hindu</i>	File G.O. No. 2761 Pub. (Press) Dept. Govt. of Madras 1943 [TNA]	2831
18	7.6.43	Government of India to the Ambassador Washington	File No. 44/11/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2833
19	9.8.43	Intercepted letter from Horace Alexander	File No. M583/1943 Office of the D.C.P. Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2834

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
20.	13.8.43	The Indian League of America	File No. 1/7/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2836
21.	22.8.43	M.N. Roy to Vimal	M.N. Roy Papers, M.F. Roll No. 14 [NMML]	2839
22.	24.8.43	H.N. Kunzru & P.N. Sapru to S.P. Mukherjee (establishment of I.C.W.A.)	<i>Shyamaprasad Mukherjee Papers</i> , File No. 117 (MS) [NMML]	2839
23.	23.9.43	Sir Reginald Maxwell to G. Lathwaite	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2314]	2841
24.	25.11.43	Regarding a Catholic Priest, Antony Ellenjmittam	File No. 1/4/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2849
25.	27.11.43	Activities of Rev. R.R. Keithahn	File No. 28–P(8)44 G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. [NAI]	2850
26.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2851
27.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2851
28.	9.2.44	Regarding Rev. Mr Keithahn	File No. 28–P(S)/44 G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. [NAI]	2852
28 A	13.3.44	Rev. R.R. Keithahn offered a hearing	File No. 28 P(S)/44 G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. [NAI]	2854
29.	First half of March	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Delhi	File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2855
30.	First half of March	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2855
31.	1.5.44	V M. Tarkunde to M.N. Roy	M.N. Roy Papers – M.F. Roll No. 2 [NMML]	2856
32.	31.5.44	Regarding Rev. R.R. Keithahn – Letter from Keithahn to the Government	File No. 28–P(S)/44 G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. [NAI]	2857
33.	5.6.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind	File No. 18/5/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2860
34.	7.6.44	Rev. R.R. Keithahn's case – Further letter from Keithahn to Government	File No. 28–P(S)/44 G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. [NAI]	2860
35.	29.7.44	Rev. R.R. Keithahn's case Correspondence between officials	File No. 28–P(S)/44 G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. [NAI]	2861
36.	2.8.44	Rev. R.R. Keithahn's case – Correspondence between officials	File No. 28–P(S)/44 G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. [NAI]	2862
37.	6.8.44	Rev. R.R. Keithahn's case – Keithahn's letter to Inspector General of Police	File No. 28–P(S)/44 G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. [NAI]	2863
38.	8.8.44	Resident, Mysore State to Government of India, Rev. R.R. Keithahn's case (contd)	File No. 28–P(S)/44 G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. [NAI]	2865
39.	10.8.44	British Labour Party leaders criticism of Govt. Policy – Report from office of the Chief Press Adviser	File No. 3/28/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2866
40.	10.8.44	News item in <i>The Hindustan Times</i> about Meetings in London	File No. 3/28/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2867

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
41	1.8.44	Government of India to the Government of Bombay	File No. 3/28/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2868
42	22.8.44	Regarding Rev. R.R. Keithahn	File No. 28-P(S)/44 G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. [NAI]	2869
43	20.9.44	American-British Perception on South East Asia -- Extracts from R.G. Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 78 [NMML]	2870
44	11.11.44	News item in <i>Hindustan Times</i>	Rajagopalachari Papers [NAI - Acc. No. 1426]	2871

### **XVIII Communal and Separatist Movements**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	22.2.43	Governor of Sind to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2233]	2875
2	7-9 March '43	Extracts from the Minutes of Security Officers Conference	File No. 111/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2877
3	First half of March '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind	File No. 18/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2877
4	15.3.43	Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2227]	2878
5	25.3.1943	Official Noting reg. A.R.P. service (extracts)	File No. W/58/43 (Home) Government of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2879
6	Second half of March '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind	File No. 18/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2879
7	2.4.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2880
8	7.4.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy (two letters)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2882
9	10.4.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2887
10	11.4.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2889
11	11.4.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2890
12	11.4.43	Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal (Telegram)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2893
13	11.4.43	The Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2894
14		Report on the Guerrilla Training Group (extracts)	Jayakar Papers, File No. 611 [NAI]	2895
15	17.4.43	Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2905
16	7.4.43	Review of an article in <i>Janayuddha</i>	File No. SK 562/42 (Home) Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2907

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg. No.</i>
17.	19.4.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2908
18.	20.4.43	Government of Bengal to Viceroy (Telegram)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2911
19.	22.4.43 to 28.4.43	Official Notings Arins to Muslims and not to Hindus (extracts)	File No. 44/29/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2912
20.	24.4.43	Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2913
21.	7.5.43	Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2914
22.	10.5.43	Commissioner of Delhi to the Secretary, Home Dept. GOI	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2916
23.	First half of May 1943	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from N.W.F.P.	File No. 18/5/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2917
24.	19.5.43	Ifukhar Hussain Khan to Jinnah	S. Qaim Hussain Jafri (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders</i> (1977), p. 222	2918
25.	20.5.43	Extract from 'Enquiry into Mr M.A. Ispahani's transactions as Buying Agent for the Bengal Govt.' - His collusion with Muslim League Government	Nanavati Papers, List of Literature 2 B.2 [NAI]	2919
26.	26.5.43	Government of India to All Provinces	File No. P(S)/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2920
27.	27.5.43	Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2921
28.	28.5.43	Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2336]	2924
29.	3.6.43	Intercepted letter to Com. Bhowan Sen	File No. SR 506/43-IV Part V Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) [Bengal State Archives]	2925
30.	29.5.43	Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2227]	2928
31.	3.6.43	Extracts from <i>Janayuddha</i>	File No. SK/562/42 Office of the D.C.P. Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2930
32.	3.6.43	Governor of United Provinces to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2239]	2930
33.	8.6.43	Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2226]	2932
34.	18.6.43	Governor of Sind to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI - Acc. No. 2233]	2933
35.	21.6.43	Communists' circular	File No. 506/1943 part V Office of the D.C.P. Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2935

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
36.	22.6.43	Intercepted letter addressed to Editor <i>People's War</i>	File No. 506/43 part V Office of the D.C.P. Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2940
37.	22-26.5.43	Viceroy to Secretary of State for India (extracts)	Transfer of Power -- Vol. IV, Doc. 18	2941
38.	July-Oct. 1943	'Communist Survey' (extracts)	File No. 7/23/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2942
39.	2.7.43	Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Transfer of power -- Vol. IV, Doc. 26	2943
40.	6.7.43	Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI -- Acc. No. 2226]	2944
41.	16.7.43	Viceroy to Governor of Punjab	Linlithgow Collection [NAI -- Acc. No. 2226]	2945
42.	18.7.43	Sahajanand Saraswati to Indulal Yagnik	Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 23 (MS) [NMML]	2947
43.	19.7.43	Governor of Sind to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI -- Acc. No. 2233]	2948
44.	20.7.43	Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI -- Acc. No. 2227]	2948
45.	21.7.43	Extracts from the Minutes of the ninth meeting of the Central Command War Planning Board	File No. 207 Pol & Mil. Department, Govt. of C.P. Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	2952
46.	21.7.43	Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal	Linlithgow Collection [NAI -- Acc. No. 2336]	2953
47.	22.7.43	Viceroy to the Governor of Madras	Linlithgow Collection [NAI -- Acc. No. 2207]	2968
48.	March 1943	Note on Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh Camps held since March 1943	File No. 207 Pol. & Mil. Dept. Govt. of C.P. & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	2970
49.	6.8.43	Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI -- Acc. No. 2226]	2971
50.	10.8.43	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 28/3/43 -- Home Poll (I) [NAI]	2973
51.	14.8.43	Official Notings reg. wearing of uniforms and performance of military drill (extracts)	File No. 21/44 (Home) Government of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	2974
52.	16.8.43	Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar to the Chief Secretary, Government of C.P. & Berar	File No. 207 Pol & Mil Dept., Govt. of C.P. & Berar 1943 [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	2975
53.	17.8.43	Savarkar's statement on India's Unity	<i>The Hindu</i> [ICWA Library]	2976
54.	4.9.43	Note on RSSS by Police Chief, Madras	File No. 56/1943 U.S. Files, Government of Madras [TNA]	2977
55.	9.9.43	B.S. Moonje on the stand of the Hindu Mahasabha	Moonje Papers, File No. 67 [NMML]	2978

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
56.	10.9.43	Governor of Sind to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2233]	2979
57.	11.9.43	L.B. Bhopatkar regarding Moonje's draft resolution Doc. 55	Moonje Papers, File No. 67 [NMML]	2980
58.	11.9.43	Jinnah to Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan	S.Q.H. Jafri (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders</i> (1977), pp. 224-34	2981
59.	14.9.43	D.V. Tahmankar to B.S. Moonje	Moonje Papers, File No. 67 [NMML]	2982
60.	17.9.43	Secretary to the Governor of Bengal to the Government of India (Notes on Ministers)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2336]	2983
61.	Undated	V.B. Gogte to B.S. Moonje	Moonje Papers, File No. 67 [NMML]	2985
62.	22.9.43	B.S. Moonje's reply to V.B. Gogte (reply to Doc. 61)	Moonje Papers, File No. 67 [NMML]	2987
63.	22.9.43	Chief Secretary, to the Government of C.P. & Berar to the Government of India	File No. 207 Pol & Mil. Dept. Govt. of C.P. & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	2988
64.	22.9.43	Government of the Central Provinces and Berar	File No. 207 Pol & Mil. Dept. Govt. of C.P. & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	2988
65.	22.9.43	Government of C.P. & Berar to the Government of Bihar	File No. 207 Pol & Mil. Dept. Govt. of C.P. & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	3056
66.	9.10.43	Government of Bombay to the Government of India (Volunteer Organizations)	File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3057
67.	13.10.43	Report on the R.S.S.S. activities	File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3060
68.	13.11.43	The Indian Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill Central Legislative Assembly, Debates (extracts)	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2336]	3060
69.	30.11.43	Note on R.S.S.S. (Intelligence Bureau)	File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3062
70.	13.12.43	Official Notings on R.S.S.S. (extracts)	File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3067
71.	22.12.43	Official Note commenting on Intelligence Bureau's note	File No. 28/3/43 Home Department (Mr Olver) - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3069
72.	22.12.1943-28.12.1943	Official Notings (extracts)	File No. 21/44 Govt. of Bengal (Home) [Bengal State Archives]	3071



<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
73	From May 1943	Annual Report on Volunteer Organisation – Pol & Military Dept.	File No. 93/1943 Pol. & Mil. Dept. Govt. of C.P. & Berar [Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]	3071
74.	1.1.44	Government of India to all the Provinces	File No. 56/1943, U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	3080
75	2.1.44-6.1.44	Official Notings on Muslim League National Guard (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3081
76.	6.1.44	Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of India	File No. 21/44 (Home) Government of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	3084
77	7.1.43	Government of India to the Government of C.P. and Berar	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3084
78.	18.1.44	Government of United Provinces to the Government of India	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3085
79	18.1.44	P.S. to the Viceroy to the Home Department	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3087
80.	20.1.44	Reply from Home to the letter dt 18.1.44 (Doc. 79)	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3089
81	21.1.44	Government of Punjab to the Government of India	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3092
82	21.1.44	I.B. Report on R.S.S.S.	File No. 21/44 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	3094
83	23.1.44	Suptd of Police to the Under Secretary, Government of Madras	File No. 184/44 U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	3094
84	21.1.44	Official Notings on Muslim League National Guards (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3095
85.	27.1.44	Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara to Home Dept, New Delhi	File No. 8/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3097
86	31.1.44	P.S. to the Viceroy to the Home Member, Govt of India	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3099
87.	1.2.44	Government of Madras to the Government of India	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3100
88	1.2.44	Government of Bengal to the Government of India	File No. 21/43 – Govt. of Bengal (Home) [NAI]	3101
89	12.2.44	Government of Sind to the Government of India	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3101
90	12.2.44 to 17.2.44	Official Noting on M.L.N.G. (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3106
91	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3107
92	16.2.44	Government of Bombay to the Government of India	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3108
93	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3109
94	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3110

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
95.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3111
96.	First half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3111
97.	17.2.44	The Central Legislative Assembly Debates (extracts)	C.L.A. Debates, Vol. I, 1944 [NMML]	3112
98.	16.2.44	Intelligence Report on R.S.S.S. (Patna)	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3113
99.	21.2.44	Official notings on M.L.N.G. (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3114
100.	21.2.44 to 22.2.44	Official Notings on MLNG'S parade in Sind (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3116
101.	24.2.44	Official Notings on M.L.N.G	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3117
102.	25.2.44	Chief Commissioner, Delhi to Home Dept., Delhi	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3118
103.	26.2.44	Official comment at the bottom of the above letter – Doc. 102 (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3119
104.	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3119
105.	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3120
106.	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3120
107.	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3121
108.	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3121
109.	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3122
110.	11.3.44	Government of Central Provinces & Berar to the Government of India (Reg. R.S.S.S.)	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3122
111.	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3124
112.	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3124
113.	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3126
114.	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3126
115.	14.3.44	Jinnah to Nawab Iftikhar Hussain	S.Q.H. Jafri (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim leaders</i> (1977), p. 223	3127
116.	6.3.44	Govt. of India to Govt. of Madras	File No. 21/44 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	3128

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
117.	16.3.44	Government of India to All Provincial Governments except Madras	File No. 21/44 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	3129
118.	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3129
119.	First half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3130
120.	17.3.44	Official Notings - Wavell's Note on MLNG	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3130
121.	20.3.44	Official Noting on MLNG (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3131
122.	25.3.44 to 28.3.44	Official Noting reg. R.S.S. (extracts)	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3132
123.	3.4.44	Correspondence between Jammadas Mehta & R.M. Maxwell followed by Official Notings	File No. 28/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3137
124.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3139
125.	Second half of March '44	Extract from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3139
126.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3140
127.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3140
128.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3141
129.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3141
130.	Second half of March '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3142
131.	6.4.1944 to 7.4.1944	Official Notings (Regarding R.S.S.S.) (extracts)	File No. 28/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3143
132.	8.4.1944	Official Notings (continuation of Doc. 131) (extracts)	File No. 28/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3145
133.	8.4.44	C. Rajagopalachari to Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 319-20	3146
134.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3147
135.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3147
136.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3148
137.	First half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3149
138.	17.4.44	Rajagopalachari to Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 320	3150

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
139.	21.4.44	Government of India to all Provinces	File No. 28/3/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3150
140.	6.4.44 to 2.5.44	Official Notings regarding Muslim League National Guards (extracts)	File No. 28/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3152
141.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3154
142.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3154
143.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3155
144.	Second half of April '44	Extract from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3157
145.	Second half of April '44	Extract from Fortnightly Report from Sind	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3158
146.	Second half of April '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3158
147.	3.5.44	Official Notings – Reg. Gohwalker (extracts)	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3159
148.	3.5.44	Chief Secretary, Government of Madras to all Districts Magistrates	File No. 56/1943 U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	3160
149.	10.5.44 to 12.5.44	Official Notings Muslim League National Guards	File No. 28/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3161
150.	10.5.44	Government of Punjab to the Government of India	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3162
151.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3163
152.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3163
153.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3164
154.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3164
155.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3165
156.	First half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3167
157.	16.5.44 to 17.5.44	Official Notings regarding R.S.S.S. (extracts)	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3167
158.	18.5.44	Government of India to the Government of Punjab	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3168
159.	22.5.44 to 1.6.44	Official Notings M.L.N.G. (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3169
160.	24.5.44	Intelligence Bureau's Note on R.S.S.	File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3173
161.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3174
162.	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3174

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
163	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3177
164	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3178
165	Second half of May '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3178
166	16.44	Ifukar Hussain Khan to M.A. Jinnah	Jafri (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders</i> (1977), pp. 226-7	3179
167	5.6.44	Report on the Activities of RSS in Andhra	File No. 56/1943 U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	3180
168	7.6.44	Government of India to the Government of Bengal	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3184
169	13.6.44	Government of Punjab to the Government of India	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3185
170	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3186
171	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3186
172	First half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3186
173	First half of June '44	Press Adviser's appreciation from Bengal	File No. 402/44 (Home) Govt. of Bengal [Bengal State Archives]	3188
174	19.6.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P.	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3189
175	19.6.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Assam	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3189
176	19.6.44 to 21.6.44	Home Member J.A. Thorne's Notings on M.L.N.G	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3189
177	21.6.44 to 10.7.44	Official Notings regarding Private Armies (extracts)	File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3191
178	22.6.44 to 23.6.44	Official Notings on M.L.N.G. (contd.)	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3197
179	27.6.44	Note in the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3198
180	30.6.44	Rajagopalachari to Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 320	3199
181	Second half of June '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3199
182	2.7.44	Jinnah to Rajagopalachari	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 321	3200
183	4.7.44	Rajagopalachari to Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 321	3201

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
184.	4.7.44	Rashid Ali Khan to Jinnah	Jafri (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders</i> (1977), pp. 336-8	3201
185.	5.7.44	Jinnah to Rajagopalachari	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 321	3203
186.	10.7.44	Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to the Government of India	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3203
187.	12.7.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3206
188.	12.7.44	Draft Notification (holding of camps, parades or drills etc.)	File No. 28/3/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3208
189.	14.7.44	Official Notings reg. M.L.N.G. (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3208
190.	16.7.44	Circular by V.D. Savarkar, President Hindu Sabha	Jayakar Papers, File No. 724 [NAI]	3210
191.	17.7.44	Government of India to Government of Bombay	File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3211
192.	22.7.44	D.I.G Bihar to the Chief Secretary Government of Bihar	File No. 558/44 Poll (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	3212
193.	28.7.44	Extracts from evidence of W H Kirby, Rationing Advisor	Nanavati Papers, Vol. II [NAI]	3213
194.	29.7.44	Government of Bihar to the Government of India	File No. 558/44 - Poll (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	3215
195.	30.7.44	Communalism at Dacca extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 3 [NMML]	3216
196.	31.7.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 558/44 Poll (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	3216
197.	1.8.44	Talks with Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 6-7 [NMML]	3218
198.	1.8.44 to 4.8.44	Note on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. training camps held in various provinces during the months of May and June 1944 - followed by Official Comments (dt 29.7.1944)	File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3218
199.	4.8.44	Talks with David Hendry - extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 12 [NMML]	3222
200.	5.8.44	Discussion with the Viceroy extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary pp. 13-14 [NMML]	3222
201.	6.8.44	Talks with D.A. Brayden (extracts from Casey's Diary)	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 15 [NMML]	3222
202.	7.8.44	Talks with H.C.M. and H.M. - extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 16-17 [NMML]	3223

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203	9.8.44	Government of Bombay to the Government of India	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3224
204	12.8.44	Talks with Dr J. Lowe extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 23–4 [NMML]	3225
205	13.8.44	Governor's observation on Bengal Politics extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 24–5 [NMML]	3225
206	14.8.44	Talks with P.J. Griffiths extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 26–7 [NMML]	3226
207	15.8.44	Talks with Nazimuddin – extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 27–8 [NMML]	3227
208	16.8.44	Observations on Hindu–Muslim relations – extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 29 [NMML]	3227
209	1.9.44	Extracts from evidence by Mr Humayun Kabir before Famine Enquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	3228
210	1.9.44	Extracts from evidence from Dr N. Sanyal of the Congress party and Dr A.C. Ulak before Famine Enquiry Commission	Nanavati Papers, Vol. III [NAI]	3229
211	2.9.44	Conversation with Sir Andrew Clow – extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 54 [NMML]	3231
212	4.9.44	Talks with Shahabuddin – extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 55–6 [NMML]	3231
213	5.9.44	Talks with Nazimuddin – extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 57–8 [NMML]	3232
214	10.9.44	Jinnah to Gandhi	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 100–2	3232
215	11.9.44	Gandhi to Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 102–3	3234
216	11.9.44	Jinnah to Gandhi	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 102–5	3235
217	1.9.44	Government of United Provinces to the Government of India	File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3236
218	13.9.44	M.A. Jinnah to Gandhi	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 105	3237
219	14.9.44	Gandhi to Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 105–7	3237
220	14.9.44	Jinnah to Gandhi	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 107–8	3239
221	15.9.44	Gandhi to M.A. Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 108–11	3240

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
222.	15.9.44	Gandhi to Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 111-12	3242
223.	First half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3243
224.	First half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3243
225.	First half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3244
226.	First half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3245
227.	First half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3246
228.	First half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3247
229.	17.9.44	M.A. Jinnah to Gandhi	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 112-14	3247
230.	19.9.44	Gandhi to Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 115	3249
231.	20.9.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 558/1944 Poll (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	3250
232.	21.9.44	Jinnah to Gandhi	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 116-18	3253
233.	22.9.44	Gandhi to Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), pp. 118-19	3256
234.	22.9.44	Government of India to all Provincial Governments	File No. 120/44 U.S. Files, Govt. of Madras [TNA]	3257
235.	23.9.44	Gandhi to Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 120	3258
236.	23.9.44	Jinnah to Gandhi	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 121	3258
237.	24.9.44	Gandhi to M.A. Jinnah	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 121-2	3259
238.	25.9.44	M.A. Jinnah to Mahatma Gandhi	S.S. Pirzada (ed.), <i>Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence</i> (1981), p. 122-5	3260
239.	28.9.44	Chief Secretary Government of Punjab to all Dy. Commissioners in Punjab	File No. H-43, Office of D.C. Rohtak, Govt. of Punjab [Punjab State Archives]	3263
240.	30.9.44 to 20.10.44	Official Notings on the Constitution of M.L.N.G. (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3264



<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
241.	Second half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3268
242	Second half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3269
243.	Second half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3270
244	Second half of Sept '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3271
245.	Second half of Sept. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar	File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3271
246.	7 10 44	Government of India to the Government of Bombay with reply	File No. 28/2/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3272
247	10 10.44	Talks with Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy - extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 99-101 [NMML]	3273
248	13 10 44	Government of India to the Government of Punjab	File No. 558/44 Poll (Spl) Govt. of Bihar [Bihar State Archives]	3274
249	14 10 44	Talks with S.C. Mitter and Nazimuddin - extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 109-110 [NMML]	3276
250	16 10 44	Talks with Shyama Prasad Mookerjee - extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 113-114 [NMML]	3277
251	17.10 44	Talks with Nazimuddin - extracts from Casey's Diary	R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 114-115 [NMML]	3278
252	19 11 44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3278
253	First half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3279
254.	First half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3280
255	23 11 44	Government of India to the Government of Bombay	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3280
256	Second half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3281
257	Second half of Nov '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3281
258	Second half of Nov. '44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras	File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3282
259	6 12.44	Government of Bombay to the Government of India	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3283
260.	12.12.44 to 19.12.44	Official Notings reg. volunteer organizations (extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3283
261	28.12.44	Report on the activities of the Muslim League National Guards	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3284
262	20.1 45	Government of Bombay to the Government of India	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3289
263.	27.1.45	Official Notings on M.L.N.G.(extracts)	File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3290

**XIX Developments in the Princely States****(1) Baroda**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	Second half of Jan. '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat	Crown Representative Records (hereafter C.R.) File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43 [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	3293
2.	15.2.43	Note on the first session of the Dhara Sabha held during the year 1942–43	File No. 76 (C-15/2028) Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3293
3.	15.2.43	First Session of the Dhara Sabha (Baroda) (contd)	File No. 76 (C-15/2028) Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3294
4.	15.3.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Baroda and the Gujarat	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43 [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	3295
5.	16.3.43	V.T. Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda to the Resident, Baroda	File No. 76 (C-15/2028) Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3295
6.	First half of April	Extracts from fortnightly report from Baroda and the Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43 [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	3296
7.	23.4.43	Diwan of Baroda to the Resident, Baroda State	File No. 76 Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3296
8.	Second half of 1943	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat State	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43 [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	3297
9.	First half of 1943	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43 [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	3297
10.	18.6.43	V.T. Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda to the Resident Baroda State	File No. 24 – P(S)/42 (No. C-15/2028) G.O.I. Political Dept. [NAI]	3298
11.	Second half of June '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43 [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	3300
12.	First half of July '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43 [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	3300
13.	19.7.43	Working of the Dhara Sabha Budget Session	File No. 76 Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3301
14.	26.7.43	Terms of Settlement with Praja Mandal	<i>Bombay Chronicle</i> – Baroda amnesty, cols 4-6, 26th July 1943 [Press cutting found with Jayakar Papers – NAI]	3302
15.	Second half of July '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Baroda and Gujarat State	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43 [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	3303
16.	Second half of Aug. 43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43 [NAI – Acc. No. 361]	3303
17.	11.10.43	Working of the first session of the Dhara Sabha 1943–4	File No. 76, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3304

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
18.	19.10.43	Note on the July and October session of the Dhara Sabha	File No. 76, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3305
19.	28.1.43	V.T. Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda to the Resident of Baroda State	File No. 76, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3307
20.	First half of Dec. '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	3308
21.	Second half of Dec. '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	3308
22.	14-15 May '44	Praja Mandal Session	File No. 76, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3309
23.	24.7.44	Working of Dhara Sabha Budget Session	File No. 76, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3311
24.	First half of Aug. '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	3312
25.	Second half of Jan. '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	3313
26.	Second half of July '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	3314
27.	First half of Feb '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	3314
28.	29.7.43	Diwan of Baroda to the Resident, Baroda State	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3314
29.	Aug. 43	A Report on Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3215
30.	Second half of Oct. '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	3316
31.	Second half of Dec. '43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat States	C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43 [NAI - Acc. No. 361]	3317
32.	13.1.44	Police Commissioner to the Manager, Huzur Political Office Regarding R.S.S.S.	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3317
33.	8.2.44	Resident, Baroda State to V.T. Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3318
34.	17.3.44	Resident, Baroda State to V.T. Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3319
35.	24.3.44	Commissioner of Police to the Manager, H.P. office, Baroda	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3320
36.	4.4.44	V.T. Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda to the Resident, Baroda State	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3321

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
37.	5.5.44	Police Commissioner to the Manager, H.P. Office, Baroda	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3322
38.	10.7.44	Police Commissioner to the Manager, H.P. Office, Baroda	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3323
39.	24.11.44	Secretary to Resident, Baroda to the Minister of the Baroda State	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3324
40.	18.12.44	Notification of the Manager, H.P. Office Baroda	File No. 41, Huzur Political Office, Govt. of Baroda [Gujarat State Archives]	3325

### Princely States (2) — Central Indian States

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	15.8.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - Central India Agency (hereafter C.I.A) File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3326
2.	31.8.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3326
3.	30.11.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3327
4.	30.11.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3327
5.	31.1.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3328
6.	30.6.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3328
7.	31.1.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3329
8.	15.9.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3329
9.	15.9.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3329
10.	30.11.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3330

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
11.	15.1.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3331
12.	30.6.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3331
13.	15.8.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3332
14.	30.9.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central Indian Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3332
15.	15.11.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency	C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3333

### **Princely States (3) — Deccan Staes: Aundh**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	3.4.43	<i>Deccan States - Aundh</i>	C.R. Records File No. 1(14) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3333

### **Princely States (4) — Eastern States**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	For the period ending 31.1.43 to 11.2.43	Extracts - Fortnightly Digest No. 46 of the Inspector General of Police (hereafter I.G.P.) Adviser, Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3334
2	For the the month of February 8.3.43	Extracts - Fortnightly Digest No. 47 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P (S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3334
3	For the period ending 15.3.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Digest No. 48 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3335
4	For the period ending 15.4.43	Extracts from Fortnightly Digest No. 50 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3335
5	For the period ending 30.4.43	Extracts - Fortnightly Digest No. 51 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3335
6	For the period ending 15.5.43	Extracts - Fortnightly Digest No. 53 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3336
7.	For the period ending 15.6.43	Extracts - Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3336

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
8.	For the period ending 15.7.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 56 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3336
9.	For the period ending 31.8.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 59 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3337
10.	For the period ending 31.8.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 62 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3337
11.	For the period ending 15.9.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 60 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3337
12.	For the period ending February 43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 47 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3338
13.	For the period ending 15.3.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 48 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3338
14.	For the period ending 11.2.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 46 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3338
15.	For the period ending Feb. 43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 47 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3339
16.	For the period ending 15.6.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 52 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3339
17.	For the period ending 15.7.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 56 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3339
18.	For the period ending 31.8.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 59 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3340
19.	For the period ending 31.5.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 53 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3340
20.	For the period ending 15.6.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3341
21.	For the period ending 30.6.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 55 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3341
22.	For the period ending 15.7.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 56 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3342
23.	For the period ending 31.7.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 57 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3342

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
24.	For the period ending 15.8.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 58 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3342
25.	For the period ending 15.10.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 62 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3343
26.	For the period ending 15.1.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 45 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3343
27.	For the period ending 31.1.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 46 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3343
28.	For the period ending 15.3.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 48 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3344
29.	For the period ending 31.3.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 49 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3344
30.	For the period ending 30.4.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 51 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3345
31.	For the period ending 15.7.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 57 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3345
32.	For the period ending 30.4.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 51 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3345
33.	For the period ending 15.6.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 54-Municipal sweepers protest against price rise	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3346
34.	For the period ending 31.1.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 46 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3346
35.	For the period ending 15.6.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3346
36.	For the period ending 30.6.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 55 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3347
37.	For the period ending 15.7.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 56 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3347
38.	For the period ending 15.1.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 45 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3347
39.	For the period ending 31.1.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 46 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3348

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
40.	For the period ending 15.6.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3348
41.	For the period ending 15.1.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 45 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3349
42.	For the period ending 15.6.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3349
43.	For the period ending 15.7.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 56 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3349
44.	For the period ending 31.7.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 57 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3350
45.	For the period ending 15.9.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 60 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3350
46.	For the period ending 15.10.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 62 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3350
47.	For the period ending 31.3.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 49 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3351
48.	For the period ending 30.4.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 51 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3351
49.	For the period ending 15.5.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 52 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3351
50.	For the period ending 15.6.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3352
51.	For the period ending 30.6.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 55 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3352
52.	For the period ending 15.10.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 62 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3352
53.	For the period ending 15.3.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 48 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3353
54.	For the period ending 15.4.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 50 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3353
55.	For the period ending 31.3.43	Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 49 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3353



<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
56.	For the period ending 30.4.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 51 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3354
57.	For the period ending 31.7.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 57 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3354
58	For the period ending 15.8.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 58 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	
59	For the period ending 15.9.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 60 of the I.G.P., Eastern States	C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3355
60	For the period ending 29.2.44	Extract from Fortnightly Report from Orissa	File No. 18/2/44 Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3355

### **Princely States (5) – Hyderabad**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	3.5.43	Forfeiture of the book – <i>Arya Satyagraha</i>	File G.O. No. 2070 Pub. (Gen.) Dept., 1943 Govt. of Madras [TNA]	3356

### **Princely States (6) – Madras State**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	8.4.43 (Second half of March '43)	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3358
2	19.5.43 (First half of May '43)	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3358
3	30.6.43 (Second half of June '43)	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3358
4	1.8.43 (Second half of July '43)	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3359
5	30.9.43 (Second half of Sept. '43)	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3359
6	15.8.43 (Second half of Aug. '43)	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3359
7	19.5.43 (Second half of May '43)	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3360
8.	1.8.43 (Second half of July '43)	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3360

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
9.	30.9.43 (Second half of Sept. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3360
10.	1.11.43 (Second half of Oct. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3361
11.	15.11.43 (First half of Nov. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3361
12.	15.12.43 (First half of Dec. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3361
13.	31.3.43 (Second half of March '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3362
14.	15.5.43 (First half of May '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3362
15.	31.5.43 (Second half of May '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3362
16.	14.6.43 (First half of June '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3363
17.	30.6.43 (Second half of June '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3363
18.	31.7.43 (Second half of July '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3364
19.	31.8.43 (Second half of Aug. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3365
20.	15.9.43 (First half of Sept. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3365
21.	30.9.43 (Second half of Sept. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3366
22.	31.10.43 (Second half of Oct. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3366
23.	15.11.43 (First half of Nov. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3367
24.	30.11.43 (Second half of Nov. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3367

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<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
25.	31.7.43 (Second half of July '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3368
26.	15.8.43 (First half of Sept. '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3368
27.	30.11.43 (First half of Nov. '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3369
28.	31.3.43 (Second half of March '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3369
29.	15.5.43 (First half of May '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3369
30.	31.7.43 (Second half of July '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3370
31.	31.8.43 (Second half of Aug. '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3370
32.	15.9.43 (Second half of Sept. '43)	Extract — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3371
33.	31.10.43 (Second half of Oct. '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3371
34.	15.11.43 (First half of Nov. '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3372
35.	30.11.43 (Second half of Nov. '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3372
36.	31.4.43 (second half of March '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3373
37.	31.5.43 (Second half of May '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3373
38.	30.6.43 (Second half of June '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3374
39.	15.8.43 (First half of Aug. '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3374
40.	31.5.43 (Second half of March '43)	Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3374

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
41.	15.11.43 (First half of Nov. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3375
42.	15.8.43 (First half of Aug. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3375
43.	31.3.43 (Second half of March '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3376
44.	14.6.43 (First half of June '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3376
45.	15.8.43 (First half of Aug. '43)	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency	C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3376

### Princely States (7) — Manipur

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	18.4.43	Circular letter from Sahajanand Saraswati to Prov. Secretaries condition of peasants in Manipur (extracts)	Indulal Yagnik Papers - File No. 22 [NMML]	3377
2.	26.4.44	Extracts from Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. 25 - P(S)/44 Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3378
3.	27.5.43	Extracts from Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. 25 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3379
4.	26.6.44	Extracts from Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. 25 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3379

### Princely States (8) — Mysore

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	2.2.43	Extracts -- Fortnightly Report of the Mysore Residency	C.R. Records File No. 6(1) - P(S)/43 - Pol. Dept. [NAI]	3380
2.	10.2.43	The Resident, Bangalore to the Mysore Government	File No. C.B.168-42 Collection No. 57842 Govt. of Mysore [Karnataka State Archives]	3380
3.	11.2.43	The Resident, Bangalore to the Mysore Government	File No. C.B.168-42 Collection No. 57842 Govt. of Mysore [Karnataka State Archives]	3382
4.	19.2.43	The Resident, Bangalore to the Mysore Government	File No. C.B.168-42 Collection No. 57842 Govt. of Mysore [Karnataka State Archives]	3383

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
5.	16.9.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Mysore Residency for the first half of September 1943	C.R. Records File No. 6(1) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3383
6	2.2.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Mysore residency for the second half of January 1943	C.R. Records File No. 6(1) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3384
7	2.2.43	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Mysore Residency for the second half of January 1943	C.R. Records File No. 6(1) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3384
8	April '43	Resident Mysore to the Secretary to the Crown Representative	File No. C.B.168-42 Coll. No. 57842 Govt. of Mysore [Karnataka State Archives]	3385
	16.9.43	Extracts - Fortnightly Report of the Mysore Residency for the first half of September 1943	C.R. Records File No. 6(1) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3386

### **Princely States (9) – Punjab States**

<i>S.No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	12.13 Jan. '43	Proceedings of the Third Dewans Conference held at Lahore	File No. W/1-122-43, Govt. of Punjab [Punjab State Archives]	3386
2	31.1.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of Punjab states for the second half of January 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3394
3.	29.2.44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of February 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3394
4	31.1.44	Extracts – Fortnightly Reports of Punjab states for the first and second half of March 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3395
5	30.4.44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of April 1944	File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3396
6	15.5.44	Extracts – Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of May 1944	File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3396
7	30.6.44	Extracts – Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of June 1944	File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3397
8	27.11.43 to 3.12.43	Official Notings - Re. Punjab Resident's letter in response to G.O.I.'s letter of 20.9.1943	File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3397
9	15.12.42	D.S.P. to the Resident for the Punjab states	File No. 235 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3400
10	31.1.44	Extracts – Fortnightly Reports of Punjab states for the second half of January 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3400

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
11.	15.4.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of April 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3401
12.	30.4.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of Punjab states for the second half of April 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3401
13.	15.6.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of June 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3402
14.	15.7.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of July 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3402
15.	29.11.43	Resident, Punjab states to the Crown Representative	File No. 235 - P(S)/44 - Pol. Dept. [NAI]	3403
16.	31.7.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of July 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3405
17.	15.8.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of Punjab state for the first half of August 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3405
18.	31.8.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of August 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3406
19.	15.9.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of September 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3406
20.	15.10.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first of October 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3407
21.	15.11.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports on the Punjab states for the first half of November 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3407
22.	30.11.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of November 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3408
23.	15.12.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of December 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3408
24.	31.12.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of December 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3409
25.	15.1.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of Punjab states for the first half of January 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3409
26.	Second half of Apr. '44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3410
27.	15.5.44	Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of May 1944	C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3410

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
28.	First half of July '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3411
29	Second half of Jan. '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3411
30	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3412
31	First half of April '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3412
32	Second half of April '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3413
33	Second half of July '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3413
34	Second half of Feb. '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3414
35.	First & Second half of March '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3414
36	First half of June '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3415
37.	First half of Jan '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3415
38	Second half of Jan '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3416
39	First half of April '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3416
40	Second half April '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3417
41	First half of May '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report from Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3417
42	First half of September '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3418
43	First half of Sept '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report for the Punjab States	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3418
44	First half of Oct '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3419
45	Second half of Oct. '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3419
46	First half of Aug '44	Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states	C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3420

### **Princely States (10) – Rajputana States**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	20.4.43	The Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana states to the Dewans of Bundi, Kotah, Karauli, Dholpur, Jhalawar	Rajputana States Agency – Bundi State – File No. 50 Pol. (Dept.) [Rajasthan State Archives]	3420
2	6.5.43	The Dewan of Bundi state to the Political Agent	Rajputana States Agency – Bundi State – File No. 50 Pol. (Dept.) [Rajasthan State Archives]	3421

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
3.	25.9.43	Political Agent to the Dewan of Bundi state	Rajputana States Agency – Bundi State – File No. 50 Pol. (Dept.) [Rajasthan State Archives]	3422
4.	28.9.43	Political Agent to the Dewan of Bundi state	Rajputana States Agency – Bundi State – File No. 50 Pol. (Dept.) [Rajasthan State Archives]	3423
5.	5.10.43	I.G. Police, Bundi to the Dewan, Bundi	Rajputana States Agency – Bundi State – File No. 50 Pol. (Dept.) [Rajasthan State Archives]	3423
6.	17.9.43	Political Agent Mewar to the Prime Minister, Mewar	Rajputana States Agency – (Mewar & S.R.S. Agency) – Foreign & Pol. Dept. File No. 42 [Rajasthan State Archives]	3424
7.	25.1.44	Extracts from Telegram from Crown Representative to Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. F.25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3425
8.	25.2.44	Extracts from Telegram from Crown Representative to Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. F.67 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3425
9.	25.2.44	Extracts from Telegram from Crown Representative to Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. F.25 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3425
10.	7.5.43	Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay to the Secretaries of all Provincial Govts and to the Resident, Hyderabad	File G.O. No. 1387 (Pub.) Dept. 1943 Govt. of Madras [NAI]	3426
11.	16.11.44	Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer for the first half of November 1944	File No. 18/11/44 – Home Pol. (I) [NAI]	3427

### **Princely States (11) – Western India States**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1.	10.1.43	Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states on Civil Disobedience Movement	C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3428
2.	17.1.43	Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states	C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3429
3.	24.1.43	Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states	C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3429
4.	31.1.43	Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states	C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3430
5.	7.2.43	Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states	C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3430
6.	1.3.43	Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India	C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3430
7.	11.4.43	Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states	C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3431



<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
8.	25.4.43	Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states	C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3431
9	14.6.43	Resident, Western India States to the Crown Representative	C.R. Records File No. 129 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3432
10	21.2.43	Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states	C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3434
11	10.3.43	Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states	C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3434

### **Princely States (12) – General**

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
1	21.2.43	MThe Maharaja of Dungarpur to the Viceroy	Linlithgow Collection [NAI – Acc. No. 2344]	3435
2.	16.4.42	GGovernment of India on attachment scheme for Western Indian States Agency	Jayakar Collection – File No. 765 [NAI]	3436
3	7.5.43	Letter from Raja of Aundh regarding formation of a Federation of Deccan State to Jayakar	Jayakar Collection – File No. 718 pp. 122 [NAI]	3438
4	23.9.43	Ruler of Jasdan to the Pol. Adviser to H.E. the Crown Representative	Paramountcy Records – File No. 344 P(S)/44 – Vol. I [NAI]	3439
5	11.10.43	Political Adviser to H.E. the Crown Representative to the Chief of Jasdan	Paramountcy Records File No. 344 P(S)/44 – Vol. I [NAI]	3440
6	20.10.43	Ruler of Jasdan to the Adviser to the Crown Representative	Paramountcy Records File No. 344 P(S)/44 Vol. I [NAI]	~ 3441
7	6.12.43	Letter from Maharaja Sathi to Jayakar	Jayakar Collection – File No. 765 [NAI]	3443
8	16.1.44	Letter from Jayakar to Chaturdas, Rajkot	Jayakar Collection – File No. 765 [NAI]	3443
9	16.1.44	Resolution of the Conference of Princes	Jayakar Collection File No. 765 [NAI]	3444
10.	31.1.44	Letter from Jayakar to Bhopal	Jayakar Collection – File No. 765 [NAI]	3445
11.	11.2.44	Letter from H.E. the Nawab of Bhopal to Jayakar	Jayakar Collection – File No. 765 [NAI]	3446
12	25.2.44	Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State for February 1944	C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3447
13	Second half of Feb. '44	A brief appreciation by the Provincial Press Adviser	File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I) [NAI]	3447
14	21.3.44	'India (attachment of states)' Act 1944	Adrian Sever (ed.), <i>Documents &amp; Speeches on the Indian Princely States</i> , Vol. II (1985) pp. 596-7	3447

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Documents</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Pg No.</i>
15.	22.3.44	Resolution passed by the Chamber of Princes	Jayakar Collection – File No. 791 [NAI]	3448
16.	28.3.44	Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3449
17.	31.3.44	Letter from Nawab of Bhopal to Maharaja of Porbandar	Jayakar Collection – File No. 791 [NAI]	3450
18.	10.4.44	Letter from Jayakar to Tej Bahdur	Jayakar Collection – File No. 793 [NAI]	3451
19.	10.5.44	Reply from Jayakar to Aundh on formation of Deccan States Federation	Jayakar Collection – File No. 718 [NAI]	3452
20.	26.4.44	Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3452
21.	8.6.44	Letter from Resident Western India Agency to the Maharaja of Gondol state	Jayakar Collection – File No. 791 [NAI]	3453
22.	26.6.44	Extracts from the telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3454
23.	27.7.44	Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3454
24.	26.8.44	Extracts from the Telegram for the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3454
25.	28.8.44	Brief prepared by the Political Adviser for use of H.E. on the subject of Joint Services	Paramountcy Records – File No. 260 – P(S)/43 [NAI – Acc. No. 222]	3455
26.	26.9.44	Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State	C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]	3457
27.	2.12.44	Griffin to the Nawab of Bhopal	Paramountcy Records – File No. 344 – P(S)/44 [NAI – Acc. No. 222]	3457

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# I Aftermath of the 'Quit India' Movement

## SECTION A – VIOLENT REBELLION

### 1. Jayaprakash Narayan's appeal to all freedom fighters 1. in early January 1943

Jayaprakash Narayan *Towards Struggle* (1945), pp. 19–27

Revolutionary Greetings, Comrades,

Let me first of all offer you and those comrades who have been prisoners of wars my heartiest congratulations on the magnificent battle already given to the enemy. Nothing like it ever happened or was expected to happen in our long suppressed country. It truly was the 'Open Rebellion' envisaged by our incomparable leader, Mahatma Gandhi.

The Rebellion, no doubt, seems to have been suppressed for the moment. But I hope, you will agree with me that it has been suppressed only for the moment. This should cause no surprise. As a matter of fact, had the very first assault been successful and had it completely crushed imperialism, that in reality would have been a matter of surprise. The very fact that the enemy himself has admitted that the Rebellion came pretty near destroying his power, shows how successful was the first phase of our National Revolution.

And how was the first phase suppressed? Was it the Military power of the enemy, his unmitigated reign of goondaism, looting, arson and murder that did the job? No. It is wrong to consider the 'Revolt' as having been 'suppressed'. The history of all Revolutions shows that a Revolution is not an event. It is a phase, a social process. And during the evolution of a revolution, tides and ebbs are normal. Our Revolution is at present going through the period of low water, so soon rather than rise to higher heights and go from victory to victory, not because the superior physical force of the Imperialist aggressors intervened, but because of two important reasons.

Firstly there was no efficient organisation of the national revolutionary forces that could function and give effective lead to the mighty forces that are released. The Congress, though a great organisation, was not tuned to the pitch to which revolution was to rise. The lack of organisation was so considerable that even important congressmen were not aware of the progress of the Revolt, and till late in course of the rising it remained a matter of debate in accordance with the Congress programme. In the same connection should be mentioned the regrettable fact that quite a considerable number of influential Congressmen failed to attune their mental attitude to spirit of this 'last fight for freedom'. The earnestness, the urgency, the determination that marked the attitude of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr Rajendra Prasad or Sardar Patel failed to reflect in the mind and hearts of all Congress leaders.

Secondly, after the first phase of the Rising was over there was no further programme placed before the people. After they had completely destroyed the British Raj in their areas, the people considered their task fulfilled, and went back to their homes not knowing what more to do. Nor was it their fault. The failure was ours; we should have supplied them with

a programme for the next phase. When this was not done, the Revolt came to a standstill and the phase of the ebb began. This situation was created many days before the British soldiers arrived in sufficient numbers to push back yet further the receding works of the revolt. What programme should have been placed before the people in the second phase? The answer is suggested by the nature of revolutions. A revolution is not only a destructive process, it is at the same time a great constructive force. No revolution could succeed if it only destroyed. If it should survive, it must create an authority to replace the one it has destroyed. Our Revolution too having accomplished over large territories of the country the negative task of destruction, called for a positive programme. The people who destroyed the objects and means of administration of the foreign power and drove away its agents should have set up in their areas their own units of Revolutionary Government and created their own police and militia. Had this been done, it would have released such an unprecedented volume of energy and opened up such a vast field for constructive work that the waves of the Revolution would have mounted higher and higher till — if the rising was country wide — the imperialist power had been broken and the people had seized supreme authority throughout the land.

The lack of efficient organisation and of a complete programme of National Revolution, these were two causes of the downward course of the first phase of the present Revolution.

The question now is what are our present tasks? First, to banish all depression from our minds and those of the people, and create an atmosphere of joy instead at the success achieved and of hope for success in the future.

Second, we must keep steadfastly before our minds and of the people the nature of this Revolution. It is our last fight for freedom. Our objective can, therefore, be nothing but victory. There can be no half way houses. The efforts that men like Rajagopalachari are making for the establishment of National Government are not only fruitless but positively harmful in as much as they distract public attention from the real issues. There is no compromise between the slogans of 'Quit India' and of 'National Government'. Those who are running after the slogan of Congress-League unity are merely serving the ends of imperialist propaganda. It is not the lack of unity that is obstructing the formation of a national government, but the natural unwillingness of imperialism to liquidate itself. Mr Churchill left no manner of doubt about it, when he declared recently that he had not assumed the office of the King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the Empire. He would be a foolish student of society indeed who expected empires to wither away of their own accord. Those erstwhile 'revolutionaries' who are attempting today to wish away the Indian Empire by the cataclysmic force of humble memorials are making of themselves the most pitiable fools of history.

It is not the unity of all the important elements in Indian life, to quote the imperialist jargon, that is the need of the hour but the unity of all the national revolutionary forces. And these are already united under the flag of the Congress. Unity between the League and the Congress does not foreshadow the growth of these forces but their absolute relation for the league cannot conceivably tread the path of revolution and freedom.

The complete overthrow of imperialism, then is our objective and we must keep this steadfastly in view. There can be no compromise on this issue. Either we win or we lose. And lose we shall not. Not only because we are determined ceaselessly to work for victory, but also because powerful world forces are drawing the doom of imperialism and fascism ever nearer and nearer. Do not believe that the formal results of this war settled laboriously at the Peace Conference would settle the fate of the post-war world. War is a strange alchemist, and in its hidden chambers are such forces and powers brewed and distilled that they tear down

the plans of the victorious and vanquished alike. No peace conference at the end of the last war decided that four mighty Empires of Europe and Asia should fall into dust—the Russian, the German, the Austrian and Ottoman. Nor, was the Russian, the German, the Turkish revolution decreed by Lloyd George, Clemenceau or Wilson.

Throughout the world where men are fighting, dying and suffering today, the alchemist is at work, just as he is in India, where he has already let loose a mighty social upheaval. Neither Churchill nor Roosevelt, neither Hitler nor Tojo will determine the fate of the world at the end of this war. It is force such as we represent that will fulfil that historic task. Can we doubt that revolutionary forces are stirring everywhere? Can we believe that millions of people are undergoing unutterable suffering without a thought for the future? Can we believe that millions are satisfied with the lies that their rulers daily feed them with? No, it cannot be so.

Having therefore definitely fixed our vision on the goal of total victory, we have to march ahead. What concretely must we do? What does a general do when he loses or wins a battle? He consolidates and prepares for the next battle. Rommel stopped at El Alamein after his great victory to consolidate and prepare. Alexander too prepared and he turned his serious defeat into a resounding victory. Ours was not even a defeat. We really won the first round of the fight in as much as over large territories of the country the civil rule of the British aggressor was completely uprooted. The masses have now learnt from experience that the imposing edifice of the police and magistracy and law courts and prisons which goes by the name of British Raj is but a house of cards when they hurl against either collective power. This lesson is not likely to be forgotten and it constitutes the starting point for the next offensive.

Our third and most important task then at the present moment is to prepare for the next major offensive. Perfect organisation, discipline ourselves -- these are our present watch words.

The next offensive? When do we expect to launch the next offensive? Some people think that the masses will not rise again for the next five or six years. This estimate might be true of peace time but it does not hold good for a stormy war-torn world of fast moving events. The savage tyrannies of the British fascists — the Linlithgows, the Halletts, the Stewarts and the myriads of others and their base Indian Lackeys — may have compelled the people to lie low for the present, but they have nowhere converted them into friends of the oppressors. The whole countryside, where this British type of Nazi Hell was let loose, is seething with the most intense discontent, anger and thirst for revenge. The people have merely to understand that powerful preparations are afoot to take courage again and to enter the plans and schemes of the next offensive, with active, coordinated and disciplined work; it would be wholly favourable for the next assault. International events may come to our aid. Then there is Gandhiji's ever impending fast unto death, a constant reminder to us and to the people not to slacken, not to waver, not to rest on the oars.

The question of the next offensive is linked up with the question of the positive task of the Revolution, i.e. the establishment of the units of the Revolutionary Governments. With latter question is bound up the question of violence and maintained armed forces. I wish, therefore, to place before you my view on this question, as to my mind it affects vitally the future of our Revolution.

First of all, I feel I must say a few words about the noise, the British authorities have made about the violence committed in the course of this Revolution. There was some violence indeed under extreme provocation, but it was remarkably little as compared with the magnitude of the rising and the staggering manifestation of individual and collective non-violence. It is not realised, perhaps, that thousands of British and Indian employees of the foreign power

were for some days literally at the mercy of the masses, who took compassion on their foes and spared them their lives and property. And what of the cool, sublime courage of those thousands of young and old who received the enemy's bullets on their chests with the flag of revolution in their hands and 'Inquilab Zindabad' on their lips? Have the British a word of praise for this godly courage?

In any case is it not remarkable that the British power which is soaked in violence, which is based on violence, which daily commits the most pitiless forms of violence, which grinds down millions of people and sucks their lifeblood should make so much noise about the violence that others commit? How are the British concerned with what weapons we chose to fight them with? Have they pledged non-violence if the rebels adhere to it? Have they not already shot down thousands of our non-violent soldiers? Whatever weapons we use the British have only bullets for us and looting and rape and arson. So let them keep quiet as to how we fight them, it is our business entirely to decide that.

Coming to the question as it affects us, I would first remind you of the difference between Gandhiji's views on non-violence and those of the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. Gandhiji is in no event prepared to depart from non-violence. With him it is a question of faith and life — principle. Not so with the Congress. Then Congress has stated repeatedly during this war that if India became free, or even if a national government were set up, it would be prepared to resist aggression with arms. But, if we are prepared to fight Japan and Germany with arms, why must we refuse to fight Britain in the same manner? The only possible answer can be that the Congress in power could have an army, whereas the Congress in wilderness has none. But *supposing a revolutionary army were created or if the present Indian army or a part of it rebel*, would it not be inconsistent for us first to ask the army to rebel and then to ask the rebels to lay down arms and face British bullets with bared chest?

I should add that I have no hesitation in admitting that non-violence of the brave, if practised on a sufficiently large scale, would make violence unnecessary, but where such non-violence is absent, I should not allow cowardice, clothed in Shastric subtleties, to block the development of this revolution and lead to its failure.

With the implementation of the last phase of the revolution clear in our mind, we have to prepare, organise, train and discipline our forces. In everything we do, we have constantly to bear in mind that ours is not to be merely a conspiratorial action. It is total revolt of the masses that is our objective. So, along with our immense technical work, we must do intensive work among the masses, peasants in the villages and the workers in the factories, mines, railways and elsewhere. We must do ceaseless propaganda among them and help them in their present difficulties, organise them to fight for their present demands, recruit from them selected soldiers for our various activities and train them technically and politically. With training a few may succeed where thousands failed before. In every fiska and taluka and thana, in every considerable factory and workshop or other industrial centres, we must have a band of militants, mentally and materially equipped for the next rising.

Then there is our work in the Indian Army and the Services. There is agitational and demonstrative work. There is work in the schools and colleges and in the market place. There is the work in the Native States and on the frontiers of India. It is not possible for me here to describe our preparations more concretely. Let it suffice to say that there is tremendous work to be done and work for every one. Much is being done at present, but vastly more remains to be done.

Who but youth can accomplish all this? Is it too much to hope that our students who have set such a brilliant record already will follow up their achievements and vindicate the promise they have given? It is for the students themselves to answer.

I should make it clear that preparation does not mean that fighting entirely ceases for the moment. No 'skirmishes', 'Frontier activities', 'minor clashing', 'snipping', 'patrolling' — all this must go on. These are in themselves a preparation for the offensive.

With full confidence in the people and devotion to the cause, let us, then, march ahead. Let our steps be firm, our hearts resolute and our vision undimmed. The sun of the Indian freedom has already risen above the horizon. Let not the clouds of our own doubts and disputes, inaction and faithlessness, obscure that sun and drown us in our self-created darkness.

In the end, comrades, I should like to say that it has made me inexpressibly happy and proud to be able once again to place my services at your disposal. In serving you, the last words of our leader, 'do or die' shall be my guiding star, your command, my pleasure.

Somewhere in India

Jayaprakash Narayan

## 2 A.V. Askwith, Chief Commissioner of Delhi to Richard Tottenham\* regarding a prisoner on hunger strike

File No. 3/32/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Confidential

D.O. No. F.6/78/42-S.B

*Delhi*

*2nd January 1943*

My dear Tottenham,

The Government of India will perhaps wish to have information regarding a hunger strike which is being carried on by one of the prisoners in the Delhi District Jail. The prisoner in question is Krishna Nair,\* a resident of South India who established himself in Delhi some years ago and for a considerable time past has been the head of an institution known as the Gandhi Ashram at Narela. Krishna Nair, who has close personal association with M.K. Gandhi and is consequently a figure of some importance in local Congress circles, has been convicted on a number of occasions in the past. In August he was of the first batch of Delhi Congressmen for whose detention I made orders under Defence Rule 26. Krishna Nair went underground and was not arrested until the middle of November. On this account he was convicted on the 4th December 1942 on a charge under Defence Rule 26 (5B) and sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment, the trial being conducted under the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance 1942.

While evading arrest Krishna Nair is believed to have taken part personally in the outrages which form the subject of the cases enumerated below:

i) Attack on the Badli railway Station on the 6th November, 1942. F.I.R. 198 of 1942 – Government Railway Police, Delhi. Sections 397 I.P.C./436 I.P.C. Defence Rule 35/126 Indian Railways Act. 1890.



ii) Attack on the Gheora railway station on the 12th November 1942 F.I.R. 206 of 1942 - Government Railway Police, Delhi, Section 436 I.P.C. /Defence Rule 35.

iii) Palam Bomb Case. (3rd/4th November 1942) F.I.R. 182 of 1942 Police Station cantonments, Delhi Section 4 Explosives Substance Act 1908/Defence Rule 35/126 Indian Railway Act. 1890.

iv) Burning of Narela Notified Area Committee Office (3rd October 1942). F.I.R. 54 of 1942 Police Station Narela. Section 436 I.P.C.

It is not certain whether evidence will be available to prove Krishna Nair's participation in all the above cases, but in the Gheora case at any rate there is a reasonable hope of securing his conviction and he has been formally arrested in that case.

From a political point of view it would be advantageous to the administration if the complicity of a man of the type of Krishna Nair, a personal follower of M.K. Gandhi, in crimes of violence could be proved in court, and for this reason it has been thought worth while to proceed with the further cases against him though he is already subject to a sentence which will keep him in jail for two years to come.

On the afternoon of the 18th November, while still an undertrial prisoner in the Delhi District Jail, Krishan Nair resorted to hunger strike, and he still persists in this though certain Congressmen have endeavoured to persuade him to desist from it. He has been artificially fed from the beginning, and since he makes no attempt to resist he gets a fair amount of sustenance in this way. Weight on admission to jail, 8 stone 8 lbs. Weight on resort to hunger strike, 8 stone 6 lbs. Present weight (on 31st December), 7 stone 12 lbs. It does not appear that there will be any danger to the prisoner's life for some time to come, indeed, the medical officers in the jail estimate that for a fortnight or three weeks more he will be fit to appear in court if required.

So far the hunger strike has not aroused any interest in the local press.

It has been suggested that the real object of Krishna Nair's hunger strike is to render it impossible for him to be tried in the cases mentioned above.

This report is made for information only.

Yours sincerely,

A.V. Askwith

### 3. Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar to the Viceroy\*

Linlithgow\* Collection<sup>1</sup>  
[NAI - Acc. No. 2200]

(453.G.G.42)  
(Secret)  
No. R.131.G.C.P.

*Camp*  
*January 3rd, 1943*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,\*

I have not written since the receipt of your Excellency's letter, dated the 3rd December, 1942.

as the Christmas period, although not observed as holidays, falls conveniently to be commented along with the first fortnight of December.

Chimur and Bhansali's fast are still two subjects which are giving most trouble. It seems that this is Wardha's revenge. It is a fortunate thing that Mr Justice Pollock has endorsed the Special Judge's remarks about the 'mass perjury' of the defence witnesses in the Chimur cases and their utter unreliability. I have kept your Excellency and the Home Department fully informed by telegram of developments in connection with this matter and will not go into it again here except to say that I am having a brief prepared<sup>2</sup> for Maxwell which will include other than those already brought out in our two communiques, dated the 16th October and the 31st December 1942, and the printed report.

I am appending to this report translations of extracts from articles in the Bombay Marathi Weekly *Vividha Vritta*<sup>3</sup> which confirms that Munshi<sup>4</sup> is behind the Bhansali agitation.

[Omitted: Paragraphs on Viceroy's speech to ASSOCHAM in Calcutta, on Satyamurti's proposed letter to Gandhi – Ed.]

5. We have had to reimpose a ban on meetings in Nagpur since the issue of the Chief Secretary's fortnightly report for the first half of December. It was found that the removal of the ban encouraged the holding of meetings to condemn the refusal to hold an enquiry into the Chimur allegations at which objectionable speeches were freely made

[Omitted: Paragraphs 6-8 on the food situation -- Ed.]

Yours sincerely,

H.J. Twynam<sup>5</sup>

P.S. Since writing the above I have received from the Central Intelligence Officer a copy of a document signed by Bhansali and entitled 'My best wishes' The G.I.O. reports that it was drafted by Munshi when the latter was at Wardha on the 31st December last. It includes the following passages.

I, therefore, asked the government through Shri Aney whom I happened to know to appoint an impartial committee to enquire into Chimur incidents. On his failing to secure such an enquiry I requested him, as he belonged to the village of Wun near Chimur, to accompany me and ascertain the facts on the spot. On his inability to do so I begged of him to resign, as a protest of patriotic men against such misdeeds of a government which rests on the support of men like him.

1. All selections from Ianlithgow Papers (I.O.L.) are taken from the microfilm available in the National Archives of India.

2 & 3. Not printed



## 4: Report of a Police Inspector from United Provinces on sabotage cases

Government of the United Provinces –  
Office of the Inspector General of Police U.P.  
C.I.D. Records, File No. 13/2/1943  
[U.P. State Archives]

4-1-43  
*Confidential*

Sir,

In compliance to your instructions I went to Jaunpore and met with Mr Kidar Singh, A.G.O. twice on Dec. 28th 1942 and January 1st 1943 on his return from Lucknow reg. his report dated Nov. 2nd 1942 in respect of Gaurishanker's gang. Comprising of 12 names as its members which according to his source of information, is held responsible for the derailment of the goods train near Ry. St Kapsethu, District Benares.

Mr Kidar Singh A.G.O. informed me that after the submission of his report dt Nov. 2nd 1942, the source also informed him that some people of Benares District also took part in this case and that Jumna Dubey of Benares District gave shelter to the member of Gaurishanker's gang in Benares state. The A.G.O. further said that Jumna Dubey's brother Sarjn. Pt. is a sub-inspector in Benares state perhaps in Nowgaon P.S. Jumna Dubey was concerned in Kapsethu derailment case. His one brother or cousin is a teacher in Singraman High School and his son is a student in the same school. This Jumna Dubey is closely connected with Jaunpore gang.

He added that he also got some information about Rajatalal and Seed Depot burning cases. In these two cases Mahadeo Singh of Bhatti P.S. Rohaina, Dt. Benares, played an important part. He is the Chief Organizer of the Congress movement and had met Inderjit Singh in the beginning of December 1942 for Jaunpore absconders. Mahadeo Singh had arranged for the distribution of blankets and hundies for all absconders of Benares and Jaunpore . . .

The A.G.O. also told me that he did not develop the information obtained reg. Gaurishanker's gang as he could not get him, being busy in other work. Now he was trying to develop the information obtained so far.

From Kidar Singh I also come to know that one Murli Dhar who is a teacher in Central school Karakat Dist., Jaunpore and who is resident of some village near these occurrences, is also an associate of Mahadeo Singh. He is also suspected to have taken part in these occurrences.

Nihala Singh of Kalka Bava P.S. Mirzamurad District, Benares who is at large has relations in V<sup>1</sup> Ramayan, Benares state and has also connection in Jaunpore District. He was a witness in Bahatpur dacoity but was not produced in court.

I may mention here that Mahadeo Singh of Bhatti-Nihala Singh of Balka Bara are already being suspected in some burning cases. Their names will find place in my diaries dt 5/12/42 in connection with the information obtained from Rohania and Rama Avtar confined in District Jail, Benares. In addition their reference have also been given at several places in my diary. Jumna Dubey's name has been suspected in Sabotage cases. Jarana Dubey's name finds entry in my diary no. 1 dt 23-11-1942. All these persons are wanted in D.I.R. cases. I have written

the name of Murli Dhar in my diary No. 17 dt 20/12/42 in connection with Jaunpore information. In my diary no. 9 dt 5/12/42. I have noted an information received through a secret information. From that information I came to know that in Rajatal burning case, five persons of Mirzapur District were also among the attackers.

Thus the information given by Kidar Singh, A.G.O. reg. the above mentioned persons tally with those which I received already from other sources. The A.G.O. is also of opinion that these three cases are such which can be worked out and these real culprits can be found.

I want to discuss certain facts concerning the cases under enquiry with you and if you could spare a few days it would help me a lot. You should arrange to come early so that the information obtained at Jaunpore which requires early discussion could be discussed.

Benares

4-1-43.

1. V - Village

Indra Kumar,  
Inspector, C.I.D.

## 5. Official Notings regarding hunger strikes in prison (dt 5.1.43) (extracts)

File No. 3/32/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Subject - Hunger strike in the Delhi District Jail, by C. Krishna Nair, an inmate of the Gandhi Ashram, Narela involved in certain cases arising out of sabotage in Delhi.

Resort to artificial feeding at an early stage in order to keep him in a fit condition to stand his trial.

### Hunger Strike by Krishna Nair

H.M. will wish to see Chief Commissioner's letter<sup>1</sup> on the above subject. We may agree with the action taken, and especially with the desirability of prosecuting him in one or more of the cases mentioned if possible. We may also ask the Chief Commissioner to take every possible step to see that the hunger strike does not become known or, if it does, is not given publicity.

It may be noted that Krishna Nair has been forcibly fed from the beginning of his fast. This is not in conformity with the policy recently decided upon in Council which I thought was to the effect that forcible feeding should not be resorted to until the medical officer pronounced it necessary. However, the formal decision in Council was that the existing policy should continue and we have not yet addressed Provincial governments generally on the subject.

R. Tottenham  
5-1-43

H.M.

It appears from the C C's letter that the hunger strike is known but has not aroused any

interest. It could not very well be kept a secret while the prisoner is appearing before the Court. On the other hand a hunger strike by a convicted prisoner who is also under trial for another serious offence will not do us any harm and I doubt whether we could press – advise on the basis that it was prejudicial. The alternative would be an order under rule 41 for which there is not much need and which might give undue importance to the case.

I quite agree that prosecution should go ahead as conviction will be valuable. As regards feeding I think that whatever the general policy may be it is necessary to keep the prisoner in a condition to stand his trial – Such a case would be an exception to the general rule.

Addl. Secy.

R.M. Maxwell

5-1-43

Home Member

1 Doc No 2.

## 6: Richard Tottenham to A.V. Askwith – Regarding hunger strike in prison

File No. 3/32/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Home Department

Confidential

D.O No 6/1

*New Delhi*

*6th January 1943*

My dear Askwith,

Many thanks for your D.O. No. F.6/78/42-S B. dated January 2nd,<sup>1</sup> which I received yesterday, about Krishna Nair's hunger-strike. We fully agree with the action taken and we also think that it would be most desirable to prosecute him, if possible, in one or more of the cases mentioned. We gather that the hunger-strike is known and, indeed, it could not very well be kept secret while the prisoner was appearing before the Court. If it begins to arouse undue interest, you will no doubt consider whether it will be necessary to take action under the Defence of India Rules to prevent publicity. There does not appear to be any such need at present.

We note that Krishna Nair has been artificially fed since the beginning of his strike and we agree that, whatever the general policy may be in this respect (and we may be sending out a circular letter on this subject shortly) such action is necessary when it is a case of keeping the prisoner in a fit condition to stand his trial.

A.V. Askwith, Esq., CIE., ICS.,  
Chief Commissioner,  
Delhi.

Yours sincerely,

Tottenham

1. Doc 2.

## 7. Y.A. Godbole,\* Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar, to the District Officers – Independence Day celebrations

Government of Bihar, Political Department (Special Section) File No. 21/1943  
[Bihar State Archives]

*Patna, the 15th January, 1943*

Subject: 'Independence Day' January 26, 1943.

One of the items in the Congress programme for the celebrations of the Day is strikes in industrial works. While District Magistrates generally will be on the look out for signs of such trouble and report to government as soon as they notice any, the District Officers of Singhbhum, Dhanbad, Gaya, Monghyr and Shahabad are particularly requested to watch the situation. If labour abstains from going to the works or, having gone to work, refuses to do any work, it will be a matter for consideration after the 26th whether this amounts to a breach of government orders issued under Defence of India Rule 81A. But picketing on the 26th, whether peaceful or otherwise should not be allowed. District Officers concerned should, therefore, have a sufficient police force at hand if they apprehend any picketing or other unlawful labour activities. Further instructions about policy and action as respects Independence Day will follow shortly.

For Chief Secretary to Government  
Patna, the 13th January, 1943

Memo No. 132 C.

Copy forwarded to:

The Inspector General of Police, Bihar,  
All Deputy Inspectors General of Police – for information.

for Chief Secretary to Government

## 8. Political situation in Bengal

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 280–1

F. 28/Cong/42-A-III January 16, 1943

(Extract from the Confidential Report on the Political Situation in Bengal for the first half of January, 1943)

A report on the progress of the rebellion in Bengal for the months of August and September, issued by the Council of Action of the Bengal provincial Congress Committee contains what

purports to be detailed account of the achievements of the movement and government's so-called repressive action. Two reasons are given for the failure of Bengal to make what is described as 'a good start', namely, the fact that no programme had been received from the All-India Congress Committee and its receipt was prevented or delayed by the arrest of members returning from the meeting in the early part of August, and secondly the members of subversive organisations, including the Forward Block (the only one named) had succumbed to the 'octopus clutches of the Defence of India Rules'. The report makes it clear that the disturbance occurring in other parts of India were taken to be in fulfilment of the Congress programme and were emulated in that belief. Credit is claimed not only for the issue of printed or cyclostyled bulletins, to which reference has been made in these reports, and for acts of arson and sabotage but also for the suspension of publication by newspapers. The document constitutes in itself powerful evidence against any profession that the acts of lawlessness and sabotage which have occurred are anything but the working out of a plan, deliberately framed by elements of the Congress Command, who must be taken to have acquiesced in, if not definitely intended, the brutalities which have in some cases accompanied them. It also serves to establish that the measures of government to deal with the rebellion were necessary and were not unduly severe. Other assessments of progress in one case claim success in 'uprooting the British administration from many places', in another, however, 'the lack of zeal in Calcutta' is deplored and comment is regretfully made that 'standing in the city, it is difficult to imagine that India had actually declared war against the English'.

## 9. List of Records seized from the house of G. Bairava Subramaniam of Nerkuppai on 14.12.1942 – Report on 18.1.43

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2  
[TNA]

1. Two printed pamphlets (Tamil) about 'nattu-nadappu' present situation of the country. The pamphlet deals about the various occurrences in India by the Congressites.
2. 4 printed Tamil pamphlets on 'Way to Victory' by S. Ganesan of Karaikudi inciting the public to wreck the constitution.
3. A printed Tamil pamphlet on 'What is our duty in future'. It also incites public to acts of sabotage and violence.
4. Another printed Tamil pamphlet containing the translation of Mahathma Gandhi's speech before his arrest
5. Printed Tamil pamphlet printed at Swastik press, Tokeo appealing the public to rise in rebellion against the British.
6. A Tamil printed pamphlet 'A communique regarding village independence which incites to disobey all the existing orders regarding the administration of a village by British Govt. and inciting the village officers to resign their jobs and to surrender their accounts and records before the Village Independence Panchayat. It is dated 17-8-42 and published under the name of K.J. Mashruwala.'

7. A bit printed notice in Tamil about the installation of congress radio in India from the 15th September, 1942.
8. A small bit notice in English about 'Paper currency has no Value' government has no metal. Insist on coins. Refuse paper notes.
9. A printed slip with hints to quit India and 9 other slogans.
10. A printed caricature with heading as 'INDIA ROUSED' (picture of an Elephant and John-Bull hanging in its trunk).
11. A printed caricature with heading quit India (pictures – Gandhi & Nehru standing on India, Gandhi kicking John-Bull on his back, and John-Bull and H.E. Viceroy running).
12. A manuscript – pamphlets in ink and carbon process dealing with programme of work.
13. A typed renewed circular in 4 pages with heading 'Quit India'. It is also noted as Circular No. 1 dated 27-9-1942 (English).
14. A typed pamphlet inciting the public to do sabotage work. This is noted as instruction No. 10. of A.I.C.C. dated 10-11-42 (Eng.).
15. A typed pamphlet with heading as 'Appeal to woman' to create dead lock and paralyze the government. This is given as Appeal No. 3 of A.I.C.C. (English and Tamil).
16. A typed pamphlet (Tamil) condemning the actions of the British Government and praising sabotage movement and requesting the cooperation. This bears Bulletin No. 1. of A.I.C.C.
17. A typed renewed pamphlet (Tamil) with heading 'Approved official programme of A.I.C.C., No. 5 the Pamphlet condemns the action of Govt. and incites the public to paralyse the government.
18. A typed renewed Tamil pamphlet of A.I.C.C. to printers and publishers and propagandists. The pamphlet emphasises to disarm the police and Military and not to send food-stuffs to other countries etc. It is dated as 9-11-42.
19. A typed renewed Tamil pamphlet of A.I.C.C. with heading 'An Appeal to the Indian Police' requesting them to resign their jobs and not do coolly work.
20. A typed renewed Tamil pamphlet to Madras City police asking them to disobey the orders and to keep the weapons and ammunitions given to them to be used against British Officers. This appeal is supposed to have been made by a fellow policeman.

## 10: Discovery of bombs and explosives     Delhi situation report— 18.1.43

File No. 3/6/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Subject: Reported discovery of bombs, explosives etc. from premises in Delhi known to be occupied by members of an underground Congress organisation. Prosecution orders against Madal Lal, a son-in law of Ram Chandra Paliwal. Prosecution of Radhe Shyam, an ex-professor of the Benaras University, and his party not considered possible for the lack of evidence against them.

Express Letter No. F.6/43-S.P., dated the 18th January 1943. from the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, to the Home Department.



Subject: Delhi situation report for the period 14-1-43 to 17-1-43.

Raids on premises known to have been in occupation of members of underground Congress organisation resulted in recovery of 186 gelignite sticks, 183 detonators, 1,200 feet of fuse, 30 lbs of gun-powder, 46 empty cast iron containers designed for bombs, 3 incendiary or explosive bombs, large quantities of chemicals and some documents.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Doc 15.

## 11. Prejudicial Document seized by the Government (Translation of the Circular No. 1 of All India Congress Committee (dt 19.1.43))

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 2  
[TNA]

Congress desired for peace under the leadership of Gandhiji. But the imperialist tyrants caused the war to break out. Mahatma Gandhi stated that he is willing to converse with the Viceroy for peace. The imperialist got worried and was afraid and took to repression. All India Congress Committee resolution was published on 8th August. On that day midnight the imperialist supporters raised their flag of rioting. Before day dawn all important leaders including Gandhi were arrested and taken to prison. The Govt. authorities thought that if the leaders are arrested the patriots will be at a loss to know what to do. But imperialism was disappointed. Rebellion rose with flames. In Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Calcutta, Madras, Nagpur, everywhere there was rebellion or revolution. The raising up of a public who were roused up with feelings. Till date no such revolution took place like this in this country. What is the secret in it for the revolution in all places at one time? This shows the thirst of the Indians for Swaraj.

Amery who got angry said that he would put down the revolution for Independence through courts and police. But what takes place in India is quite different. Within two days of the starting of the revolution imperialism had to call on troops everywhere. Daily the revolution is growing and the military is unable to control the situation. What had happened in one night in Bombay? Within 3 hours of Gandhi's arrest a big mass of volunteers gathered and paraded in Gwalior Tank as previously arranged. Thousands of people had also gathered there. The paid coolies of imperialism tried to disperse the front. Lathi charge was made, ball containing smoke that blind the eyes were shot. Our people suffered thousand difficulties. But they were not dispirited or dejected. The flag of motherland was hoisted with pride. At this time a Govt. paid coolly, a wretched, snatched the flag and brought shame.

We are 40 crores of shameless people. Imperialism is only a foreign rule. Imperialism is using all sorts of cruelties to establish its power permanently. Lathi charge, whipping, imprisonment, machine gunning, collective fines, all such repressions are being resorted to. The back ground of imperialism is shaky (eaten away by white ants). Therefore it wants to rule India by the fear of military (at the point of the bayonet). This cannot be done. By the very nature of our peaceful campaign the supporters of imperialism will bow to us.

In this campaign, within this short period, a number of instances that melt hearts have taken place. An American soldier found the nature of the cruelty of the British Imperialism, while America is fighting for independence of Britain. Why should then Britain take to repression and prevent India in attaining its freedom. This is injustice. He expressed this opinion to some of the students. Some sub-inspectors resigned their jobs saying that their conscience do not allow them to execute the devilish orders from their superiors. An Indian Sub-Inspector seeing a sergeant behaving cruelly, thought that his job is worth a fig, tore his dress, threw the same at the very spot and abandoned his job. The nationalist Volunteers, though seeing the high pitch of the cruelty (repression) stand brave hearted. A Muslim volunteer undressed his shirt and showed his chest to a sergeant who was beating with all his might. Some women volunteer not even minding their lives went to Kalpadevi and brought the injured people who were shot down by the police in open firing.

Therefore the revolution is increasing without yielding to repression. Revolution is spreading everywhere. We will fight with repression firmly. We will obtain independence. We will establish a free India. This is our aim. Let this pledge spread everywhere. Enter into action or die. This was what Gandhi said. This is our beautiful spell word.

Bandematram.

### **Translation of a pamphlet printed in Tamil Village Independence pledge**

No British Raj hereafter in this village.

We will accept only the Government started by Gandhiji.

Shout slogans 'This is an Independent village'

The movement started by Gandhiji is working satisfactorily in Bihar Province. Grave is dug for British Raj. Immediately after Gandhi's arrest, Sevagram had taken up the independence pledge. There are no police, Government authorities, C.I.D's in villages. Swaraj will be established in your village if only you are firm.

Thus several villages had taken the Independence pledge.

A copy of the pledge printed in *Harijan* by Sri Mashruvala is sent to us. The same pledge would apply to your village. We would sow the seeds of Swaraj in villages. Entire country will attain Swaraj.

**Village Swaraj Pledge:** Village Swaraj: A village worker issued the following pledge with a view that the villagers should deeply consider the same. All adults who have assembled in this village declare hereby as follows. (1) This village severs its connection with Britain from this date until Swaraj Government as recommended by Gandhi is established in this country, the village establishes its own Swaraj. Hereafter agriculturists as well as villagers should not pay tax, *variam* etc. to any authority of the British Govt. Defence bonds should not be purchased, and people should not obey the orders and laws of the Government. (2) From this date all the village panchayat constituted under the British Govt. are abolished. The members and officials including the village Munsif should surrender their accounts, cases, and resignations to the newly constituted Swaraj Sabha. This must also be communicated to the government. Villagers who do not bind themselves to these pledges would not be considered to be patriotic. (3) They should not cooperate with the British Govt. They should not perform such duties which would help for the continuation of the British Administration. (4) Both men and women over 18 years in such villages should erect a swaraj sabha containing 25 members

of which 5 to 7 members will be either the Sabhas or Panchayats or executive member. Each member of the Sabha take the pledge namely: (1) that he will not be loyal to the British Govt. (2) that he will not cooperate with it (3) that he will not obey its orders (4) that he will carry on with the Propaganda of Gandhi's message and programme. Besides this each one of the members should take vow that he would not encourage communal or religious feelings but put a stop to them by treating all people to be equal, whether Hindus, Muslims or Christians. They should not fear for any one (5) under the auspices of the Swaraj Sabha the following works should be performed in the Panchayats (1) grain, cotton, Oil-seeds and other food stuffs sufficient for the village for a year should be safeguarded and they should also see that none of the such things are sent out (2) they should see that hunger and unemployment do not exist (3) village sanitation, medical facilities, education and patrol should be brought in existence (4) they should see to the settlement of the civil and criminal cases in the village itself (5) they must start spinning, weaving and other cottage industries (6) minimise the expenses of the marriage etc. (7) remove untouchability (8) this Sabha makes the following proclamations. All are equal, to whatever religion they belong. there are no untouchables here. Every one has the right to conduct himself according to his religious rights. Temples mosque, and churches are all sacred places.

All may use the village public well, road and chatrams etc.

We condemn the British Government. We would not accept any other foreign government. All steps will be taken to protest against it. We will protect our villages sacrificing our lives. We will approve the central government which is approved by Gandhiji.

Signed K.G. Mashruvala

*Note:* In this way proclamation must be made in your village also. British Raj is not in this village. Write on all the walls of the houses in your village that this village is a swaraj Village. Allow this to be deeply put in your hearts as there are no conveniences to publish this. Only few copies are sent therefore. Show this to all in your village so that all may read. Distribute copies by copying this. Have this read to those who are illiterates. Put this pledge before your house deity and take the vow.

*State of the Land :* This is not a Government communique, but a statement of what that takes place actually in the land. Please publish this to all.

*Deflected Brain:* The deflected brain that was the cause for the destruction of Ravana should come to the British who are ruling us. The brain which was the cause for Hiranya's downfall should come to the British who rule us. The brain that was responsible for Duryodhana's destruction should come to our British. The deflected brain which brought destruction of Kamsa and Sishupala should come to the British. Oh God! the Protector of the uncared Indians should be freed from tyranny. Indians are unarmed. We will get peace only when that Rakshasa of Imperialism dies. No he will die. Who is to kill him. Arvind Gosh has written like that long ago and now he is doing tapas, his tapas has given its fruit. British Government have attained that deflected brain. Yoosa was imprisoned, what was the result. Burma was lost, and the British are sipping the finger. Amery boasts he had imprisoned from Gandhi onwards. What will be the result here. The British imperialism is breathing hard. The British Government is going to die leaving not even one to pity for it. Had our forefathers told this proverb with out realising it. Deflected brain precedes destruction. God is there to protect us.

*In New Delhi:* Viceroy's palace was set fire to, a portion was destroyed the rest was saved. The corporation council building was burnt to ashes. New Delhi is being protected with the help of thousands of sepoy. During processions and due to curfew orders numerous people, men and women had been shot dead. In all the Government offices, it is talked over that the end of British raj will come within a month or two (This was told by a Government officer who had witnessed in person).

*Murder of Officer:* It is said that during the hartal at Bihar a fight between military and public took place, in which military officers, two Americans, one British, four Indians and one Anglo Indian (all officers) were killed. (This news was not published in papers. But the Bihar Government have published that Rs 10,000 will be given as reward for those who give clue for detecting the culprits).

*Iron Factory Closed:* In Jamshedpur the workers of Tata iron works have struck work completely. All labourers have evacuated. Therefore, there is no possibility of resuming work at present easily. It must be remembered that War materials were manufactured here in abundance. The strike in Badravathi iron works in Mysore state is also successfully carried out.

*Ass – Shot Dead:* In Madura the government have promulgated curfew order. No one should walk in the streets during night, those who come will be shot dead. Sepoys were posted lane to lane, corner to corner with guns. In the night after 12, three shots were heard. Three lives expired. Hearing the sound officers ran to the spot, searching with their torches, they found three asses shot dead which came with turbans. They are heroes. Saabhash! They were patted for their heroism saying 'Heroes of shooting ass'. It is not so.

*Balai Sepoys!!* Another day at Madura at 11 p.m. sepoy were patrolling the streets. While they entered a street from another, they found a man at a distance on the telegraph post, cutting wire with a knife, the knife glittered, a knife of three feet long was glittering even in the dark. Fear in nearing him, three men shot thrice, standing at a long distance even then the man did not fall down, they whistled and collected 12 sepoy, then they with courage went near. They found a toy with shirt, hat, on.

*Why the Government is Afraid of Jawahar:* Jawahar was arrested in Bombay. He was taken to the Railway station not lonely but with ten tanks in the front and thousand European sepoy and one thousand five hundred sepoy in the rear and Jawahar in the centre: Was it with fear that Jawahar will escape or with the fear that he would turn out the mass by his sight and upset the government. Whatever repressive measures the government take to it is certain that the government will end in 60 days. It is sure and certain.

## 12. Political agitation in Madura – Case of Chellappa Iyer

G.O. No. 2/1943 Pub. (Confidential) Dept. 1943

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2

[TNA]

Proceedings of the District Magistrate, Madura Dated 20-1-1943. Present J.L. Wood, Esq., I.C.S., Dt. Magistrate, Madura.

Pol. Agitation - C.D. Movement - Prosecution under D.O.I. Rules - C.S. Chellappa Iyer - Sanctioned.

Ref: Report of the D.S.P. Madura North d/8-1-1943.

Order: Ref: 120 M-42 C.

Sanction is accorded for the prosecution of C.S. Chellappa Iyer s/o C.S. Subramaniya Iyer for an offence under rule 39 (6) of the D.O.I. Rules.

2. The result of the prosecution should be reported to Government and to me soon after disposal of the case.

D.M.

To the Dist. Supdt. of Police, Madura North

Copy to the Joint Magistrate, Dindigul,

Copy submitted to the Chief Secy. to Govt. with copies of F.I.R. and C.I.s report.

*Enclosure*

Copy of letter d/30-12-42 from the S.I. Batlagundu to the D.S.P. Madura North.

K.4 Or. No. 254/42 Sec. 39 (6) D.O.I. Rules accd.

C.S. Chellappa Iyer - orders for prosecution.

I beg to report that on a search warrant issued on 13-12-42 by D.S.P. Madura North, the house of the accd. C.S. Chellappa Iyer, son of C.S. Subramania Iyer, Batlagundu was searched and two pamphlets which are prejudicial documents as contemplated under Sec. 34 (7) and 39(1) (b) D.O.I. Rules were seized and thereby the accused is liable for a prosecution under Sec. 39 (6) of D.O.I. Rules.

The accused is a graduate. His father a retired overseer. He has only one brother who is employed as a clerk in the Military. He is aged 30 years and is in the congress as a member for the past 8 years. He is a novelist and an author of small stories. He took part in the Satyagraha movement in 1941. On 10-1-41 he shouted anti-war slogans at Batlagundu and was prosecuted in Batlagundu Cr. No. 5/41 and was convicted under Sec. 3 (5) of D.O.I. Rules and sentenced to R.I. for 6 months and to pay a fine of Rs 100, in default 2 months R.I. He has an undivided property worth of Rs 20,000. He has not taken part openly in the present congress rebellion. He had been in correspondence with congress rebels secretly. For orders to prosecute him. Copy of F.I.R. submitted. (First Information Report.)

*Enclosure 2*

F.I.R. of a cognizable crime reported under section 154 Cr. P.C. at Police station Batlagundu. Circle. K. Nilakottai, Madura Dt. No. 153. Date and hour of occurrence. 14-12-42 Batlagundu. Madura North Dt. Date and hour when reported: 30-12-42, 6 p.m.

Place of occurrence and distance and direction from Police Station Patlagundu Agraharam, 3 furlongs east. Date of despatch from Police station: 30-12-42.

N.B.A.F.I. must be authenticated by the signature, mark of thumb impression of informant and attested by the signature of the officer recording it.

Name and residence of informant and complainant. Rex. S.I. Batlagundu.

Name and residence of accused: C.S. Chellappa Iyer s/o C.S. Subramania Iyer, Batlagundu.

Brief description of offence with section and details of property carried off, if any: 34(7) read with 39(1) (b) punishable under Sec. 39(6) of D.O.I. Rules.

On 14-12-42 morning the accused noted in col. 11 was found in his possession documents containing prejudicial reports.

Steps taken – investigation explanation of delay in recording information Submitted.

I beg to report that a search warrant under Rule 126 (1) of D.O.I. rules was issued by the D.S.P. Madura North on 13-12-1942 to Sri S. Veluswami Pillai Inspector of Police, Nilakottai to search the house of C.S. Chellappa Iyer, Koil St., Batlagundu and to seize prejudicial documents and correspondence etc. On this warrant S. I. Sri Chandrasekharan and Shanmughavelayaudam of Nilakottai and Batlagundu were directed to search the house on endorsement. Accordingly the house of C.S. Chellappa Iyer was searched on 14-12-42 from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m. and two pamphlets were seized. C.R. Sankara Iyer of Batlagundu was present where search was made.

The two pamphlets seized are prejudicial and they had no lawful authority or excuse for being in possession of the above two prejudicial documents. Hence the accused has committed an offence punishable under sec. 39 (6) of D.O.I. Rules the offence being under Sec. 34 (7) read with sec. 39 (1) (b) of D.O.I. rules.

The search warrant, the search list and the pamphlets<sup>1</sup> seized noted in the search list are submitted herewith.

The accused is arrested at 5.15 p.m. brought to the Stn. at 6 p.m. and kept in the lock up to be sent to C.M. Court Madura for remand.

S.I. Batlagundu  
30-12-42

1 See document no. 11 - (Village Independence Pledge)

## 13 Report of a Police Inspector from United Provinces on sabotage cases dated 24.1.43

Govt. of U.P., Office of the I.G. of Police, U.P, C.I.D. Records File No. 13/2/43  
[U.P. State Archives]

Sir,

Respectfully I beg to bring to your kind notice that on 22nd 1943, Mr Kidar Nath Singh who had come to Benares to pay respect to S.P.S.B. met me and asked me to come to Jaunpore tomorrow and he would arrange to obtain some information from his source about sabotage cases of Benares District.

Accordingly I went to Jaunpore on Jan. 23rd, 43 and had talked with Kidar Nath Singh, Ago's man in the evening. He supplying me the following information expressed that so far he had been able to know the following names but there were also many officers who participated in these cases. He was doing his best to acquaint himself with the names of the real offenders. He would also supply definitely the names of the persons responsible for these sabotage case and the information which led to the recovery of tools used for removing Railway lines and to the arrest of real offenders.

The A.G.O. Kidar Nath Singh who had been present through out this conversation said that all these sabotage cases would be worked out and by this way we would be able to secure

confession of these. It has also been found out that besides the chief congress workers some ordinary people also took part in them.

**Kapsethu Derailment:** 1. Mahadeo Singh of Bhatti, 2. Jumna Dubey of Ghadr, 3. Ramkirpal Singh of Bhikampur P.S. Mirzamurad, 4. Deomurti Sharma and others.

This gang is said to have assembled in Bhikampur before the occurrence. Tool used for tampering with the lines are said to be kept somewhere in the village Ghosla or Sarera or Bhikampur and were supplied by Deomurti Sharma. Mahadeo Singh was the chief organizer.

**Raja Talab Hut Burning:** 1. Mahadeo Singh of Bhatti, 2. Sakal Singh of Jagatpur, 3. Sarda Singh of Jagatpore P.S. Rohonia and others. Mahadeo Singh brought the bombs used in this case.

**Seed Depot Burning:** 1. Mahadeo Singh of Bhatti, 2. Sakal Singh of Jagatpore, 3. Sarda Singh of Jagatpore P.S. Rohonia, and others. The gang assembled at Mahadeo Singh's place.

**Sar Nath Derailment:** Baldeo Misra of Niar P.S. Chola was the chief organizer in this occurrence.

**Kadiyore Derailment:** Baldeo Misra and others took part in this occurrence.

The source also mentioned the names of Basdeo Singh of Ghosla and Jagamathi, master of Jagatpore to have taken part in sabotage cases and said that he would give definite information about their participation after making further enquiry.

Of the above noted persons Baldeo Singh, Basdeo Singh and Raim Kirpal Singh have been arrested and the rest are at large with the exception of Baldeo Misra.

The names of Deomurti Sharma - Mahadeo Singh, Sat Narayan and Sarda Pd. Singh mentioned by this source already find entry in D. No. 9 dt 5/12/42.

I am doing my level best to arrest the doers of these cases soon. The A.G.O told me that he would Communicate me all information which he would receive from his men. I asked him to get it done soon.

Indra Kumar  
Inspector, C.I.D.

## 14: Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy on the escape of Jaiprakash Narayan from Hazari Bagh Jail

Linlithgow Collection  
[NAI - Acc. No. 2385]

(Confidential)  
(459-2.G.G.-42)  
No. 79.G.B.

From  
H.E. Sir Thomas Stewart, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,  
Governor of Bihar.



Camp, January 25th, 1943

954  
G-376  
PCD

In reply to Your Excellency's letter of 19th January<sup>1</sup> I send herewith my comments the further observations of (a) the Deputy Commissioner of Hazaribagh, (b) the Judicial Secretary, and

(c) the Inspector-General of Prisons on my general criticism that they had failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation and to take appropriate action. I did not ask the Superintendent of Police for an explanation as he had duly kept his superior officers informed of what he knew.

2. I consider that Mr Raman's explanation<sup>2</sup> is superficial and unsatisfactory. It is true that he is not technically responsible for discipline in the Hazaribagh Central Jail but he is Chief Magistrate in the Hazaribagh District and as such responsible for law and order within his jurisdiction. It was his manifest duty to keep himself aware, and to keep government informed, of the state of affairs within the jail where all the more important political prisoners of the Province were lodged. That all was not right was known to other officials in the District as it should have been known to Mr Raman. I consider that he has to that extent failed in his duty and I have communicated my views to him in the foregoing terms.

3. Mr Das,<sup>3</sup> Judicial Secretary, has put forward a very lengthy and detailed explanation<sup>1</sup> of his position in this matter. I offer my comments paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraph 1. I accept this as a correct statement.

Paragraph 2 – It was my own opinion that Major Pereira – recalled officer of an irritable disposition would not be suitable for Hazaribagh.

Paragraph 3 – These reports were not brought to my notice by Judicial Secretary. A copy of one of them was brought to my notice by the Central Intelligence Officer. As a result of this the Inspector General of Prisons was sent to Hazaribagh. I am of opinion that judicial Secretary was insufficiently critical of the Inspector General of Prison's report especially as a specific allegation had been made by the Superintendent of Police that an attempt at escape was likely.

Paragraph 4 – It is undoubtedly true that the Inspector General of Prisons had no information that security measures were not being enforced and that the allegations which he was sent to investigate were against the personal conduct of Major Nath. He should however have been more critical of Major Nath's general administration.

Paragraph 5 – Judicial Secretary certainly makes a point here. The complaints which was made were against Major Nath personally and with his impending departure on sick leave the problem might well have been regarded as in the process of solving itself. I would only record that I did not see, or hear of the further reports referred to in this paragraph until a much later stage.

Paragraph 6 – I should have been only too glad to place an energetic young I.C.S. Officer at the disposal of the Jail Department had one been available and had it been clear to me that the state of discipline at Hazaribagh was such as it turned out to be. If I remember right Judicial Secretary asked me for the services of one particular officer who was at that time officiating as my Secretary and could not have been spared. In any case the chronology of the escape suggests that it would have mattered little who had succeeded Major Nath.

Paragraph 7 – There is substance in the plea that overcrowding prevented effective segregation of the various classes of prisoners.

Paragraph 8 – I have no reason to complain of Secretary's diligence in this particular.

Paragraph 9 and 10 – I have already given my views on the Deputy Commissioner.

Paragraph 11 – Secretary is loyal to the Inspector General of Prisons but I myself consider that officer should have displayed greater initiative in investigating allegations which cast grave doubt on the efficiency of the Jail administration at Hazaribagh.

Paragraph 12 – I had not seen the reports in question.



Paragraph 13 and 14 – I have no comments.

4. The following is Adviser Mr Russell's comments on Mr Das's note:

'I would like to explain that I must accept responsibility for any failure to bring reports on the state of Hazaribagh Jail to His Excellency's notice. The reports were not submitted officially to His Excellency as the file shows. I did mention to His Excellency that there were complaints from a C.I.D. officer which were disquieting and that I had directed the Inspector General, Jails, to go there and report on the state of the Jail in view of these reports, but that would probably not be justified in judging Major Nath's methods by the strict jail rules in view of the rather special type of prisoners he had then and the difficulties of his task. The reports however should have been submitted to His Excellency either by me or by Secretary.

When Inspector-General, Jails went to inspect he was not as far as I recollect given the actual reports. But he was furnished with the contents and the particular points on which serious complaint was made. I wished him as far as possible to go with an open mind and find out for himself whether disciplinary arrangements were satisfactory or not. This may account for the fact that he did not examine the C.I.D. officer. I consider that he should have found out much more than he did. His explanation takes us no further and merely shows that he carried out a rather 'routine' inspection. He knew that Government were rather exercised over these reports. His own report stated that the state of discipline was not at all bad. When I discussed his report with him he expressed the opinion that it compared favourably with any other jail in the Province; but he thought that Major Nath owing to his previous relations with the more influential political prisoners found it difficult to maintain a sufficiently detached attitude and that he was not in too intimate terms with them and that as he would probably have to go on medical leave a change would be a good thing.

I did not submit Inspector General, Jail's report to His Excellency because on some points I did not agree with Secretary's note on it and kept it to record a further note, as I felt that the C.I.D. reports could not be so entirely discounted as Secretary thought. Owing to other work the file remained with me and immediately after the question of relieving Major Nath and getting a Burma Officer to replace him came to a head.

Secretary is quite correct in saying that he pressed for an I.C.S. officer at once. That was discussed by me with His Excellency and we decided against it. In any case none was immediately available.

As all the reports were seen by me and not by His Excellency I feel that I must accept responsibility for any failure to judge the situation correctly. But the Inspector General, Jail's report was reassuring as to security and we had then no reason to suspect that the most fundamental security rules were ignored'.

Notwithstanding the assumption of responsibility by Mr Russell I cannot absolve Mr Das for his failure to keep me informed to the alleged state of affairs as revealed by the C.I.D. reports.

5. To some extent I appear to have done an injustice to Colonel Modi. This was due to the fact that he failed to mention in his report that he had consulted my local officers. It now appears that he did consult the Deputy Commissioner who assured him that all was well. I am however still of opinion that Colonel Modi was not sufficiently critical.

6. Lieut Colonel Nalwa – late Inspector General of Prisons in Burma who has recently taken over charge at Hazaribagh – has submitted a report indicating the extent of responsibility for the gross negligence which characterized the administration of the Jail and which assuredly facilitated the escape of Jai Prakash. Major Nath, the Superintendent, the Jailor and the Assistant jailor appear all to have been guilty of serious lapses and I have ordered that charges be

framed against them and that they be placed under suspension. The proceedings against them will be conducted by the Commissioner of the Chota Nagpur Division. As Major Nath is on leave from our Jail Department I can see no bar to our action.

Yours sincerely,

T.A. Stewart

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1, 2 & 3. Not printed

## 15: Richard Tottenham to A.V. Askwith, Commissioner of Delhi

File No. 3/6/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

D.O. Letter

No 3/6/43 – Poll (I) Dated 25-1-1943

To

A.V. Askwith, Esq., CIE., ICS.,  
Chief Commissioner, Delhi

Reference your situation report for period 14.1.43 to 17.1.43.

My dear Askwith,

Our congratulations on the recent haul of bombs and explosives made by the Delhi police.<sup>1</sup> We should like to be kept in touch with the developments of the case. In particular we should like to know whom it is proposed to prosecute and whether there is any chance of your being able to implicate any of the main underground leaders.

Yours sincerely,

R. Tottenham  
Addl. Secretary

*Appended – reply to the letter of 25.1.1943: A.V. Askwith to R. Tottenham*

Confidential

D.O. No. F. 6/81/43-S.B.

*Delhi*

*29th April 1943*

My dear Tottenham,

I am sorry not to have replied more promptly to your secret letter No. 3/6/43 – Poll (I) dated the 25th January 1943 regarding certain recoveries of explosives by the Delhi C.I.D. Actually your letter was held up while the police investigations were in progress. Two cases were registered in connection with these recoveries, the first relating to the recovery of 186 sticks of gelignite and other explosives from a house in Bazar Sita Ram on the 14th January, the Second to certain recoveries (46 empty cast iron containers and 30 lbs of gunpowder) from

a house in Karol Bagh on the 15th January. The result of the C.I.D. inquiries in the first case is to show that the sticks of gelignite and the other explosives in question were brought from Gwalior by the group of the United Provinces workers in Delhi headed by Radhe Shyam, the notorious ex-professor of the Benares University. The room from which the recoveries were made had been rented by the underground Congress workers but no one was living in it, despite endeavours no evidence is forthcoming on which it would be possible to put anyone on trial in a court of law.

In the second case the prosecution of the person from whose house the recovery was made has been ordered. This person is one Madan Lal, a son-in-law of the well known Ram Chandra Paliwal of Agra. Certain other U.P. workers are believed to have been concerned with these explosives, but there is no material to prosecute any one except Madan Lal.

Thank you for your congratulations on these recoveries. I have passed them on to the officers of the Delhi C.I.D. whose work in getting track of these explosives certainly deserved commendations.

Sir Richard Tottenham, CSI, CIE, ICS,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department,  
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,

A.V. Askwith

1 Doc 10

## 16: Superintendent of Police to DIG (S.B.), Patna — 'Independence Day Celebration'

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) - File No. 21/1943  
[Bihar State Archives]

Confidential

*S.P.'s Bungalow, Arrah,  
The 27th January, 1943*

No. 591-92/A

To The D.I.G., S.B. Patna,  
The S.B. to the D.I.G., C.I.D., Patna  
(Copy to District Magistrate, Arrah)

Subject: Congress Independence Day

In Arrah town the day passed off without any major incident. The whole town was patrolled by armed and unarmed constables. At 10 a.m. a prisoner in the Jail attempted to hoist a flag on a Neem tree but I saw him from the Town Thana and went into the jail. The prisoner jumped down from the tree and tried to escape but was caught by a warder. A number of prisoners had collected and began singing songs and shouting slogans. The new Superintendent of the Jail, Rai Sahib Ram Asis Singh, Retired Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was present managed to clear the courtyard and lock up the prisoners in their wards. A very mild lathi charge had to be resorted to by the warders.

2. Four young-men were found shouting slogans and carrying congress flags in the town. They were caught by the patrolling constables. They are being prosecuted and it is proposed to release them u/s 562 Cr. P.C. if they give an undertaking.

3. Information was received in the afternoon that certain young men had gone to the Jain college to collect students there for a meeting and procession which was to be addressed and led by Sardar Harihar Singh, Shahabad 2. A police party immediately went on a bus to Jain College and were able to arrest the students outside the College gate before they were able to go inside. As there was no charge against these men and as the 'Independence Day' had passed off without any major incident in town, they have been let off this morning.

4. Information had been received that Sardar Harihar Singh had come into the town in the night of 25/26.1.43 and was likely to address a meeting. The approaches of the place selected for the meeting were picketed and Harihar Singh was found at about 4 p.m. going towards the meeting place. He was shouting slogans and was prevented from delivering any address. Also no collection of people had taken place due to the action taken as mentioned in the previous paragraph.

5. Otherwise the town was quiet and normal. There was no Hartal and no strike in any school or college.

6. Reports received from Sasaram indicate that 2 flags were hoisted, one in Dalmianagar and one in Dehri near the police station in the night of 25/26.1.43 at about 4 a.m. They were taken down early in the morning of the 26th. Two hand written Hindi leaflets were also found pasted in Dalmianagar asking labourers to compose their differences and to combine to remove the 'Britishers' from the country. One of the leaflets promises concerted attack on the authorities after the lapse of 3 months'.

## 17: Chief Presidency Magistrate, Egmore, Madras to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras – Regarding conviction and jailing of boys of 18 years of age

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 1014  
[TNA]

No. 2003 E/42

*Dated the 28th January 1943*

From C. Venkateswara Ayyar Esq., I.C.S.,  
Chief Presidency Magistrate,  
Egmore, Madras

To The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,  
Public (General) Department, Madras

Sir,

Reference: Government Memorandum No. 57731-1 Public (General) Department dated 16th January, 1943.

S. Ramachandran aged 17 years and Sachithanandam aged 18 years were found guilty of having led processions in defiance of the orders under Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules and sentenced to undergo vigorous imprisonment for six months each on 21-8-1942 in C.C. No. 1630/42 and 1622/42 respectively.

Chief Presidency Magistrate

[A letter from Cuddalore South Arcot Dt. is also attached with this document - Ed.]

From

Khan Sahib Muhammad Ismail Sahib Bahadur, P.A.,  
District Magistrate, South Arcot,  
Cuddalore

*South Arcot District Magistrate's  
Office, Cuddalore,  
Dated 30.1.1943*

To

The Chief Secretary to Government,  
Public (General) Madras

Sir,

*Political Agitation - Civil Disobedience Movement Conviction and Jailing of Boys - Report*

Ref. (i) G.O. No. 3510 Ms. dated 30.10.42

(ii) Government memo No. 57731-1 dated 16-1-43

There are no cases in which boys of 18 and under have been sent to jail in this district. A boy (Tyagarajan) aged 14 years a student of III form Board High School Tirukoilur was charged under rule 38 of the Defence of India Rules on 7.10.42 and was dealt with under rule 25 of the Madras Children Act by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate Tirukoilur. Attention is invited to this office report dated 7.6 Confidl. 42 dated 1.11.42 in this connection.

30-1-43

## 18: Complaints from the public regarding offences committed by the Congress in Bengal

File No. 13/13/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

TELEGRAM XX

From Bengal, Calcutta

To Home Department, New Delhi  
(Repeated to Secretary of State for India, London)

No 29W

*Dated (and recd. 2nd) February 1943.*

### Important

44th Bi-weekly Report dated February 1st Calcutta -- 26th crackers thrown in Bengali cinema and in four places frequented by Europeans without injury or significant damage.

2. In Midnapore 26th celebrated with flag hoisting, meetings, processions, blowing CONCH shells some markets closed. Manuscript notice of "TAMLUK Thana Congress Government" announces death as penalty for tampering Congress national flag and printed leaflet of subdivisional Congress Committee announcing independence in TAMLUK from December 17th viz. 'Directors' empowered to appoint 'ministers'. Telegraph and Royal Air Force telephone wires cut. EGRA Hat looted because Muslims declined Hartal. Shopkeeper assaulted and shop looted in NARAYANAGANGE. General improvement continues complaints now coming forward with information of offences committed by congress in September October.

3. Three arson cases reported of observation post in BANKURA and evacuee sheds BIRBUM and MURSHIDAPAD.

Additional Secy. Home Deptt. (2) and P.S.V.

## 19: Government of Bombay to Govt. of India

File No. 3/8/43 – Home Poll (I)

[N. J.]

Secret

No. S.D V.1-1034

Home Department (Political)

*Bombay Castle 4th Feb. 1943.*

From

H.V.R. Iengar,

Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay,

Home Department

To

The Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

Home Department

Sub: Recovery of Chemicals and Equipment for a Bomb in Bombay in January 1943

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 3/8/43 – Poll (I), dated the 26th January, 1943, asking for fuller information regarding the raid and seizure by the Bombay City Police on 14th January 1943 of a large quantity of chemicals and equipment used for making bombs, I am directed to enclose copies of the letters from the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, noted in the margin which give the information required by the Government of India.

I am also to forward herewith, for the information of the Government of India, a copy of a note on the investigation regarding metal casing bombs.

Yours sincerely,

H.V.R. Iengar

*Enclosure No. 1*

File No. 3/8/43 - Poll (I) 1943

Government of India

Home Department,

Political (Internal) Sec.

Recovery of Chemicals and equipment for Bombs in Bombay in January 1943.

Secret

No. 69-W of 1943

*Office of the Commissioner of Police,  
Bombay, 15th January 1943*

From

H.E. Butler, Esquire, O.B.E., I.P.,

Commissioner of Police, Bombay

To

The Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay

Home Department (Political), Bombay

Sub: Seizure of High Explosives, Bombs and other materials intended for the manufacture of Bombs

In the early hours of Thursday, 14th January 1943, on receipt of information from a source immediate enquiries were instituted to locate Block No. 2, 1st floor, Krishna Niwas at Walkeshwar Road, Bombay where, according to the information, some of the important saboteurs had their rendezvous and godown for explosives etc.

Two constables in plain clothes were posted near the flat which was locked from outside with instructions to watch for any individuals opening and entering the flat.

As about 1.30 p.m. two persons were seen approaching the flat. They were followed. One of the suspects opened the door and both entered the flat. The constables on watch bolted the door from the outside.

C.I.D. officers went there and arrested both men. They gave their names as Shashikant Chandulal Kadakia and Anant Vasudeo Sahasrabudhe alias Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe. The former has been found to be an M.A. and one of the local heads of the sabotage department of Congress. The latter is a well known leader of Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and I understand that he is wanted by the mofussil police. According to his own statement, he is in charge of sabotage work of Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Satara and Poona Districts, and that he had come to Bombay to convey certain explosive materials from the local centre.

The Search of the flat yielded surprising results and the following are some of the important finds.

- (1) 85 square cardboard box bombs
- (2) 21 cylindrical cardboard box bombs
- (3) 9 cylindrical metal casing bombs
- (4) 2 empty cylindrical metal casings for bombs, 16" in length and 2" in diameter
- (5) 19 cylindrical metal casings for bombs, 6" in length and 2" in diameter
- (6) 2 'T' shaped cylindrical metal bombs
- (7) Time bombs complete with watches, batteries, and metal casing bombs
- (8) 11 Box containing about 100 sticks of Ammon-Gelignite (high explosive)

- (9) 2 Wrist Watches
- (10) 2 Broken wrist watches for use in time-bombs
- (11) 1 Revolver (crude)

and other chemicals such as Potassium Chlorate, Sulphur, two bottles of Nitro-Benzene (highly volatile explosive).

A separate report regarding the arrest and detention of the above mentioned two persons is being sent.

H.E. Butler,  
Commissioner of Police

Accompaniments: List of articles seized.

List of Articles seized from Flat No. 2, 1st Floor, Krishna Nivas, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay on 14.1.1943

1. Four jars containing white powder.
2. One cloth bag containing some white powder.
3. One paper bag containing white powder.
4. One paper bag containing white and gold crystals.
5. One tin containing sugar.
6. One Abdulla Cigarette Tin containing white powder.
7. One Abdulla Cigarette tin containing white powder and sugar.
8. One card board box packed and tied with paper -- containing twenty cylindrical card board incendiary bombs complete with plungers.
9. One package containing twelve square card-board boxes eleven of which were found to contain incendiary mixture. And one box contained fourteen small phials and pieces of string.
10. Twenty-five square card board incendiary bombs.
11. Thirty wooden boxes of the same pattern.
12. Two sets of five Ever Ready battery streets connected with each other by copper wire.
13. One tin of Kester soldering paste.
14. One box containing two wrist watches bearing label Nos 6321, and 6322.
15. Two broken-up wrist watches with dials and glasses loose.
16. One packet of nails, another small packet of nails, third packet nails, and one card-board box, containing, nails, small copper plates, and dark round pills. One small packet of hinges, and latches, meant for wooden boxes.
17. Four full rolls of pearless tape, and one half roll of same tape, one small card-board box containing small tubes, one cigarette box containing empty ampules. One card box containing similar ampule small bundle of wire one small metal box containing nine steel needles, one small packet containing nails and one bundle of wire.
18. Three coils of wire and one piece of fused wire.
19. One card-board box containing two hammers, one opener of wooden boxes, one file, one poker, one drill one wire cutter, one pair of pincers, four wooden plungers and one nail.
20. One bundle of white bright oil paper.
21. One electric soldering iron complete with wire.
22. Two bottles of oil rectified.
23. One bottle of Nerck's Carbon-di-sulphide rectified.



24. One bottle containing white liquid.
25. One bottle of denatured spirit.
26. One box containing a Hydrometer.
27. One aluminium pot containing some white powder packet and two tiny packets.
28. One measure glass.
29. One tin box containing metal caps.
30. One card-board box containing eight metal tubes.
31. One spoon.
32. One pair of scissors, one small knife, and one big knife.
33. One table.
34. Forty eight square card-boxes containing yellowish powder.
35. One cylindrical card-board bomb.
36. One iron pan with ladle.
37. Three cloth bags containing wooden plungers.
38. One wooden box containing time bomb machinery complete with watch, battery shells, and iron casing bomb.
39. Four other similar boxes containing time bomb machinery except iron casing bomb.
40. One cylindrical and casing bomb about 10" in length and 2" in diameter.
41. Eight cylindrical iron casing bombs about 6" in length and 2" in diameter.
42. One Mohul-Oil tin containing some liquid.
43. One box containing 48 empty bottles.
44. One box containing 68 small boxes.
45. One box containing 24 phials.
46. One box containing Ammon Gelignite cakes.
47. One Revolver with empty cartridge cases and two balls.
48. Two shells and six bundles of fused wires.
49. One wooden box containing several rolls.
50. Two empty metal bomb cases about 16" in length and 2" in diameter.
51. Two T shaped cylindrical bombs.
52. One cylindrical bomb.
53. Nineteen 6" cylindrical metal casing bombs.
54. One box containing several packets of Bronze powder.
55. One kerosene tin full of white powder.
56. One kerosene tin containing yellowish powder.
57. One bundle of white rope.
58. One bottle containing white powder.
59. One weighing scale complete with weights from one and a quarter ounce to seven lbs.
60. One wooden box containing white crystalline substance.
61. Nine card-board pieces 2 x 43 card-board discs.
62. Seventeen 18 oz, ovaltine Tin. (empty), Nine 9 oz empty Ovaltine Tins., 5 empty Abdulla Imperial perforated Cigarette Tins, 23 empty Coalman's mustard Tins., 37 other small and big tins, 2 glasses, One square card box, one grinding stone with a roller, nine small bottles, one square card-box, 5 glass phials, six shaving stick cases, 2 sieves, one Primus Stove, One bundle of Jute strings, One bundle of Twine, 3 small bottles containing liquid chemicals, two wooden tea cases containing grey powder looking like some metal filings, one wooden

box containing grey metal filings in a gunny bag, 3 gunny bags full of reddish brown powders, one Film Roll packed in a tin case having the label of 'Shri Sound Studios' Dadar, One Kerosene tin containing reddish brown powder, One small tin containing metal cuttings, another similar tin containing blackish-grey metallic dust, One China clay Jar containing brown and white powder mixed, One small tin containing Potassium permanganate, One small tin containing black powder, 1 cigarette tin containing glass tubes, 34 long glass tubes, 112 small tins of different size containing different coloured powders, 2 shaving stick cases containing white metallic powder.

*Enclosure 2*

*Head Police Office,  
Bombay, 15th '16th January 1943*

No. 79 of 1943

Crime Branch (Political)

From

H.E. Butler, Esquire, O.B.E., I.P.,  
Commissioner of Police, Bombay

To

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India  
Home Department (Political)

Subject: Detention in Police Custody of

1. Anant Wasudeo Sahasrabudhe arrested on 14-1-43
2. Sashikant Chandulal Kadakia arrested on 14-1-43
3. Dr Karsondas Mohanlal Gandhi arrested on 14-1-43

Sir,

I have the honour to state that the above mentioned individuals were arrested in connection with the organisation of sabotage in the City. These individuals were the principal members of the organisation and No. 1 is wanted by the Thana District police for sabotage of electric pylons.

They have been detained in Police custody pending enquiries under Rule 129 Defence of India Rules.

In case enquiries regarding the above noted individuals is not complete within the period of 15 days, Government will be approached for orders for their detention for a further period of 15 days.

Yours obedient servant,

H.H. Butler,  
Commissioner of Police, Bombay

*Enclosure 3*

*Head Police Office  
Bombay, 26th January 1943*

No. 152 of 1943

Cr. Pr. (Pol.)

From

H.E. Butler, Esquire, O.B.E., I.P.,  
Commissioner of Police, Bombay

To  
The Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay  
Home Department (Political), Bombay

Subject: Detention in Police Custody of -

- (1) Anant Washudeo Sahasrabudhe,
- (2) Sashikant Chandulal Kadakia
- (3) Dr Karsondas Mohanlal Gandhi

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 79/Cr. Pr. (Pol.) dated the 15-1-43 I have the honour to state that as enquiries have revealed that accused Nos 1 & 2 are concerned in a case under Sections 4 and 5 of the Explosive Substances Act, 1908 and accused No. 3 is concerned in a case under rule 39 (6) of the Defence of India Rules 1939 they will be placed for a further remand into police Custody for 14 days before a magistrate on 30-11-1943, the date on which the present remand expires, if necessary.

Yours obedient servant,

H.E. Butler,  
Commissioner of Police, Bombay

*Enclosure 4*

*Office of the Commissioner of Police  
Bombay, 2nd February, 1943*

Secret

No. 210 of 1943  
Cr. Br. (Pol.)

From  
H E. Butler, Esqr., O.B.E., I.P.,  
Commissioner of Police, Bombay

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Political) War,  
Bombay

In continuation of my secret letter No. 69/W, dated the 15th January, 1943, enquiries show that the flat on the first floor of Krishna Nivas, Walkeshwar Road, has been the rendezvous of saboteurs belonging to the Congress Party for some time. The building which is managed by Shrinivas Bhagwandas Marwadi, who was the Secretary of the Marwadi Sammelan, was arrested in October 1942 as being the financier of the Congress subversive activities. The rent bills show that this flat was in the name of Pravinchand Parekh, probably fictitious, since 21st October 1942. The rent collector has made a statement saying that this flat was rented out by the Manager himself, i.e. Srinivas Bhagwandas Marwadi to Shankarlal.

2. Our enquiries as yet have not been able to produce the source of supply of the various high explosives, detonators, chlorate of Potash, etc., found in the flat. It is now, however, known that the man in charge of this flat was Shankarlal. It looks as if he collected the various

explosives etc. found there over some long period. It is quite possible that in this he was assisted by various Gujarathis who manufacture certain of these chemicals.

3. As regards Sahasrabudhe, this man has not given out very much information except that he was in charge of the sabotage work of Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Satara and Poona Districts. He admits to being the president of the All India Spinners' Association. He has been connected with the Congress for the last 23 years. Much is not known about him in Bombay City, but it is probable that his history will be forthcoming from the Poona C.I.D. His arrest at Krishna Nivas was purely fortuitous in that he has only recently arrived in Bombay to take delivery of certain bombs for sabotage work in the Deccan. The key of the flat was given to Shashikant Kadakia by Shankarlal who is still underground.

4. Kadakia only recently passed his M.A. and is the son of a Bombay businessman. Up to now he had no form of employment and has only recently entered the movement.

5. This is all the information at present available on the raid at Krishna Nivas which was made on information received and is not, in any way, connected with any other explosive dump. Enquiries are still in progress to locate Shankarlal and to ascertain the source of supply of the various explosives etc. found in the flat.

H.E. Butler,  
Commissioner of Police

Note by the Investigating Officer on the finding of the metal Casing Bomb

From the 25th October 1942 up to date, there were 13 outrages in which the Bombay C.I.D. had discovered that a round metal casing bomb of extremely dangerous type was being made use of. In 8 out of these 13 outrages this type of bomb did not result in any injury to human life, but in the remaining 5 cases four persons including a policeman and a British sailor lost their lives and about 75 persons sustained injuries of a more or less serious nature.

Investigation directed to the finding of the organisation of the source of this bomb showed that about a month ago Dr Vasant Avasare and Parashuram Ruplala were connected with the use of these bombs. On the 13th January 1943 the C.I.D. succeeded in arresting Parashuram Ruplala. From this date the use of such bombs ceased. Dr Vasant Avasare in the meanwhile went underground and efforts were being made to trace him.

On the 26th January 1943, in the search of a Congress centre situated in Pora Bazaar Street, Fort a metal casing bomb of the above type was seized along with other material meant for carrying out demonstrations and propagandic activities of the Congress. The seizure of these bombs gave a fillip to the investigation in this connection and the following facts regarding the organisation behind the use of such bombs were revealed.

Enquiries tended to show that the bomb referred to above was brought to the room by one Nagesh Redding in company of Vasant Ramchandra Heleker, who are among the arrested persons.

In the beginning these two accused made a statement that the bomb was delivered to them about a month ago by one Shrikant Parah, an agent of the Bombay Mutual Insurance Company, residing at Coy Lane, Kandewadi, but on verification the statement was found to be without any basis. They were, therefore, subjected to severe questioning. They eventually made a clean breast and revealed the following facts.

According to them, Dr Vasant Avasare was at the head of the organisation which was responsible for the manufacture of the metal casing round bombs. He was actively assisted in

the work by one Parve and Rapubhai. Nagesh admitted that he had thrown a bomb of the above type at a restaurant. This appears to be true as there was such an attempt at the New Majestic Restaurant at Marzban Rd. in which a dud bomb was found. He further stated that the coffee Club incident and Purohit Hotel incident were the work of Parashuram Ruplala and one Putrina.

During the course of further enquiry it has been revealed that one Shankarlal Shantilal is the person who actually manufactured and sold these bombs to Dr Vasant Avsare.

Annaji Balkrishna Barve was arrested on the night of the 28th January 1943 and in his search were found two or three sketches of the new types of bombs, including the time bomb found Walkeswar Road raid. He admit to have become an active associate of Dr Vasant Avsare from December 1942. He pointed out Block No. 43 on the top floor of Gautam Nivas, Charni Road, as the place belonging to Shankarlal where round metal casing bombs and hand grenades were being manufactured and stored by the latter. The place was raided on Saturday the 30th January 1943 five live round metal casing bombs and materials for manufacturing such other bombs were seized. Two casing of a sort of a hand grenade in initiation of a Mill's bomb, were also among the articles seized.

## 20: Instructions to Revolutionaries: Revelations from Annaji Balkrishna Barve

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 282-3

F.28/Cong/42-B/III

February 8, 1943

(Extract from the Weekly letter No. 5 received with Bombay S.B. II, No. 371/RF/ADM-112, dated the 8th February, 1943)

*Instructions to Saboteurs:* A typed communication, the contents of which are reproduced below, was found in the room of Annaji Balkrishna Barve, arrested in connection with the recent bomb outrages in Bombay:

'Water filtering into barges loaded with grain will make the cargo swell to three times its normal size and burst the ship's seams. Water mixed with gasoline ruins it as fuel for planes, trucks and tanks. Water mixed with potassium produces highly inflammable hydrogen plus the heat required to touch it off along side a Nazi held factory.

A handful of ground glass of emery dust thrown into Lubricating oil disables a wire hoist of a locomotive. Five pounds of sand sprinkled in a battleship's beaming puts her out of commission, grit planted in water valves causes tanks to hog down and bombers to make force landing. Forget the oil in your machines and let them break down, shut off the valves in oil pipe line while the pumps are working and the lines will burst.

A 10" stick of dynamite connected to a detonator and a two minute fuses can tear a truck asunder or blast a railway line. The sticks will wreck one end of a strong bridge. Polish workers, in Nazi munitions factories puts and into bombs instead of TNT. Each folder in the Skoda works added sulphur to molten steel so that guns become useless after a few shots.

Nazis used little steel wedges to derail passing locomotives, small enough to be hidden

under a man's coat. Those wedges were most effective in railroad sabotage than clumsy barricades or even bombs. They are now being used in Europe.

There wholesale distribution would soon result in a serious barrage. They must be taught to single out strategic spots. Destroying signal lights and telegraph wires between railway stations often causes greater delay than blasting tracks at a single point. The Gestapo may shoot hostages and deport people living near the scene of sabotage only as long as it has not become the mass movement. Wholesale arrests in key industries would mean total stoppage. It is powerless to deal with such mass sabotage as general slow down in industry, petty waster of materials reducing crops to the needs of consumption, strewing glass along highways used by German motorized columns underground wires must be centrally led and their striking power coordinated.

## 21: Fortnightly Report on the Civil Disobedience movement for the period ending 10th February 1943, Sasaram subdivision

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files, File No. 35  
[Bihar State Archives]

### *Distribution of Prejudicial Leaflets*

1. Distribution of leaflets: On 26-1-43, leaflets announcing floating of 5 crores of 'Swaraj Karz' was found in Dalmianagar along with other leaflets for observance of 'Independence Day'.

On 27-1-43, another leaflet in Hindi with the signature of Awadhesh Kumar was found in Delhi asking for 2000 brave persons who would volunteer to raid the central power of the British Enemy.

On 27-1-43, the D.S.P. received a pamphlet purporting to have been written by Jai Prakash Narain appealing to the police to join the congress struggle for Independence.

2. Total No. of persons tried & convicted: 48 tried, 28 convicted.
3. Total No. of detentions & arrest: 2.
4. Cases instituted or offences connected with the civil disobedience movement – 3 cases.
5. Persons involved therein – 6 persons.
6. Progress made with these cases pending.
7. Imposition of collective fines.

Bikramganj P.S.: 240 was imposed on villages Sonbersa English, Sikhti. Full amount realised.

Sasaram P.S.: 500 was imposed on Amaraivan, Masihabad and Gopalpur. Rs 489/8 realised.

Dehri P.S.: Rs 500 was imposed on villages Gangauli, Haleza and Permasherpur. Rs 495 realised.

8. Meeting & Processions: On 26-1-43, Babu Jamuna Prasad Singh a teacher of H.E. School, Bank, and Chhotey Singh, a teacher of H.E., School, Bank, took out a procession along with other teachers and students shouting congress slogans in village bank. A case has been instituted.

On 26-1-43 a procession of boys was taken out in Baligaon in Nazriganj P.S. in the evening

by Ramjanam Choudhry of Baligaon. He also held a meeting in the Bazar land on the same day. A case has been instituted.

Subdivisional Officer,  
Sasaram.

## 22: Anti-Rana Case

File. No. 3/25/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

Intelligence Bureau, Home Department

In continuation of D.I.R. u.o. No. 41/1.A. 39-VII, dated 6-2-43 Home Department are informed that none of the persons concerned in the Anti Rana Conspiracy is known to be a member of Congress or other political party in India, with the exception of Bisheshwar Prasad Koirala\* who was office Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party at Darbhanga in 1940. He is also said to have been acquainted with Jogendra Shukul, the Bihar H.S.R.A. leader. In a letter written by him in October 1942 to a student friend studying in the Benaras University, he expressed the opinion that the Nepalese should 'associate' themselves 'with the movement initiated by Congress' although he was 'not clear about the manner of our association'. It has not however, been established that B.P. Koirala is actually concerned in the conspiracy; the person concerned may be one of his brothers. This point is under enquiry.

Though not members of any political party, the following conspirators have had contacts with certain political leaders at some time or another:

Agri Prasad Sharma (under arrest) is reported to have contacted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru\* and Purshotam Das Tandon\* at Allahabad, where he showed them his unpublished book 'Jagriti' which is believed to contain an attack on the Rana administration.

2. Dilli Raman Regmi (under arrest) is alleged to have associated with unspecified Congress-workers in Hardwar in June 1942.

3. Shankar Prasad Sharma's connection with Congress is undefined, but he is said to have approached J.B. Kripalani,\* General Secretary A.I.C.C. in August, 1940, to publish an anti-Rana leaflet. Kripalani, however, refused to do so. Sharma is absconding.

Congress as a party has never given any indication of an active interest in Nepal affairs. The Hindu Mahasabha, on the other hand, has always been particularly interested in Nepal. None of the conspirators, however, is known to be connected with the Hindu Mahasabha in any way. The general question of the interest of Indian political parties in Nepal is constantly under examination.

Home Department

D.I.E. u.o. No. 41/R.A./39-VII, dated the 12th Feb., 1943.

## 23. Report of a Police Inspector from United Provinces on sabotage cases (dt 12.2.43)

Govt. of U.P. Office of I.G.P. U.P. C.I.D. Records File No. 13/2/43  
[U.P. State Archives]

Secret

S.P.I.B.

Sir,

In compliance with order dt 11/2/43 to enquire into the Benares sabotage cases I beg leave to submit that in the month of Sept. 42 when deputed to make secret enquiries in and around Benares under Order No. 561/e.o.42 dt 4/9/42. I was approached by the friends and relatives of one Mahadeo Singh r/o V. Bhatthi P.S. Rohaniyan Dt. Benares – details of which were given in the reports submitted by me in that connection. This above noted man was secured on 10/2/43 and is at present in the lock up of P.S. Cantt. Benares.

Today (12/2/43) I got Mahadeo Singh interviewed by Ram Adhar Singh teacher (an old acquaintance of mine) in the company of Umashankar Singh, Mahadeo's cousin. During the conversation Mahadeo Singh disclosed the names of the following as the chiefs that were responsible for the sabotage. According to Mahadeo Singh the undernoted outlaws had after Mr Gandhi's arrest, undertaken to keep the flame of this lawlessness burning –

1. Jumna Dube r/o J. Ghosila, P.S. Mirzat Murad Dt. Benares (untraced)
2. Basudeo Singh r/o V. Ditto (arrested)
3. Nihala Singh r/o Kalikabar, P.S. Mirzamurad, Dt. Benares (untraced)

Mahadeo Singh added that the above noted men were associates in working out the destructive congress programme and used to relate to him their black deeds of sabotage and boastfully done by them with several other insignificant youths.

Further enquiries are being made through other sources.

Yours sincerely,

Harnam Singh

Inspector C.I.D. I.B.  
Police Club,  
Benares  
12.2.43





## 24: Report of a Police Inspector from U.P. on sabotage cases

Govt. of U.P. Office of I.G.P. U.P. C.I.D. Records File No. 13/2/43  
[U.P. State Archives]

Secret

S.P.I.B.

Sir,

In continuation of my report 12/2/43 I beg to submit that my friend Mr Indra Kumar has handed over to me the duplicate case diary and other notes relating to Benares sabotage cases, today 14/2/43.

Mahadeo Singh of V. Bhatthi P.S. Rohania Dt. Benares at present in the P.S. Cantt. lock up has been unceasingly persuaded by his friends and relatives deputed by me to speak out the facts. This evening Mahadeo Singh told Ram Adhar Singh (a teacher of Primary school, Nandath, Benares) that the cause of his reticence was not only due to threat which the disclosure would bring to him but also because he would be deprived of the leadership and his hard earned good name by the betrayal. Mahadeo Singh anyhow, on repeated assurances of complete secrecy stated that after the arrest of Mr Gandhi in the month of August, 42, it was decided in the subsequent meetings to make the rule by the present Govt. impossible by dislocation of traffic, wire cutting and other acts of sabotage (in the Dt. of Benares). (1) Nihala Singh of Kalkabara (2) Basudeo Singh and (3) Jumna Dube of Ghosila (Benares Dt.) undertook to commit such acts under the instructions and with active assistance of (4) Deomurti Sharma V. Debaitha (5) Deba Singh V. Parsipur (6) Jata Shankar V. Maduaserai (7) Satya Narain (8) Adya Singh of V. Janak Putti (all of Benares Dt.)

According to the resolution, Ramdhar Singh of V. Molikot and the deponent had to broadcast the Congress programme in their bulletin. In the month of January (43) he was going to V. Khataria Kaser to see Bajinath: Ramadhar Singh who was going to his village Biharampur was also with him. Deponent incurred a tool slip on the way and was injured. He has not been active since then. . . .

Yours sincerely,

Harnam Singh  
Inspector C.I.D. I.B.

Police Club  
Benares  
14.2.43



## 25. Report of a Police Inspector from U.P. on sabotage cases

Govt. of U.P. Office of I.G.P. U.P. C.I.D. Records File No. 13/2/43  
[U.P. State Archives]

S.P.I.B.

Sir,

In continuation of my report d/14/2/43 I beg to submit that I send Adya Singh an old Congress worker r/o V. Janat Putti and Chandike Pd. r/o V. Bhanjanpur P.S. Mirzainurad Dt. Benares who had come to attend Benares Town Hall meeting this evening on 16/2/43 to urge the release of Mr Gandhi unconditionally. No 2 is also in touch with Congress Circle. Both are known to me since last 10 to 12 years. Name of No. 1 was mentioned in his statement by Mahadeo Singh of V. Bhatti as one of those whom the sabotage work was entrusted but owing to bad work is not in the good books of the party. No. 2 was also arrested by the Dt. Police but released later on. Adya Singh stated that he was approached by Mahadeo Singh of Bhatthi and intimated with the committee's decision to commit and direct destructive work on the Rly. Line and that the deponent flatly refused remarking that it was against his conscience. Basudeo Singh and Jumna Dubey r/o V. Ghosila were in the movement assisted by Deomurti Sharma, Mahadeo and other entrants recruited for the purpose by the party. Chandike Pd. stated that:

(1) Basudeo Singh (2) Jumna Dubey (3) Deomurti Sharma (4) Mahadeo Singh (5) Ram Adhar Singh (6) Jatashanker and (7) Debi Singh (all noted in my report D/14/43 and diary No. 27) are not only responsible for acts of sabotage and also damaging Kapsethi Rly. Stn. but also for recruiting many outlaws from the rural area. According to Chandike Pd. two figures equal in notoriety to Basudeo Singh and Jumna for similar lawlessness on Benares - Sarnath Ghazipur line are:

- (1) Kamta r/o either P.C. Cholapur or Cuaripur
- (2) Baldeo Master of Saidpur Dt. Ghazipur and their recruits

On being interviewed again by his friends and relatives in the P.S. Cantt. lock up Mahadeo Singh refused to add anything remarking wrongly that confidence trick has been played on him. It so happened that I reached Benares on 9/2/43 and deputed Mahadeo's dear and near on 10th morning to trace him for the needful. This being done Mahadeo Singh while nearing Sheopur was accidentally seen and arrested by Mr Kidar Singh A.G.O. and his men who were on the look out. Mahadeo Singh has now inseparable suspicion that the trap was laid by me.

Of the 12 persons named so far before me as responsible for the crime, I have already arrested including Mahadeo Singh, Adhya Singh, Nihala Singh and Satyanarain are those in whom the party had confidence while 4 (Jumna Dube, Deomurti Sharma and Baldeo) are untraced.

Kidar Singh AGO Jaunpur saw me on 15-9-43.

Yours sincerely,

Police Club  
Benares - D/16/2/43

Harnam Singh  
Inspector C.I.D. I.B.

## 26 Difference of ideology amongst Congress workers

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), p. 282

F 28/Cong/42-B.III

*February 17, 1943*

From a source dated 17-2-43 we learn that the Congress workers in UP were sharply divided as to whether or not violent sabotages really formed part of Congress programme. As a result of the publication of Gandhi's letters to the Viceroy, nearly all released Congress workers now seem to be convinced that the resumption of sabotage should not form part of their future programme. Even those inside the jails were said to be now against this sabotage programme, but the students and the younger elements are still in favour of launching a sabotage movement and are holding study circles even in the Benares Jail. The Chief organizers are Raj Narayan Singh, Purshotam Das, Ram naresh Singh. The report also quotes a private meeting of the Congress workers held in the house of Dr Miss Tungamma were present S.K. Basu, ex-dictator, Sardar Singh, Durga Dass, Bhattacharji, Srinivas and Burman a resident of Bihar. All of them felt that the sabotage movement is futile. They were in favour of non violent activities.

## 27. Situation in Santal Parganas – Report on Civil Disobedience Movement

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files, File No. 92

[Bihar State Archives]

D O. No. 467/C

*Deputy Commissioner's Office,  
Santal Parganas, Dumka  
The 18th February, 1943*

Dear Mr Godbole,

During the last 3 days there has been a distinct worsening of the situation in the Santal Parganas. As previously reported by me, the area so far affected is a belt of about 10 miles deep along the Bhagalpur Monghyr border from Godda in the north down through Pareyahat, Hansdiha, Nunitha, Ghormara, Mohanpur, and Deoghar to Giridih. The northern most portion of this area between Godda and Pareyahat is controlled by police stations and the western most portion centering in Deoghar is also under the ordinary police. Between Pareyahat and Ghormara, however, there is a stretch of about 20 miles for which Police stations have been sanctioned but which have not yet been brought into operation. In this belt of the country, the Sardari system has virtually collapsed and the result is a kind of no-man's land in which the widescale movement of dacoits is comparatively easy because the regular police have no organisation of their own in the area. It is particularly in this area that the situation has worsened in the last 3 days.

2. On February the 15th, a mob of about 300 persons attacked the Darbhanga Raj Kutcherry in Sarayabhat in the early afternoon although there were 7 armed constables stationed in the bazar at a distance of only 600 yards. The mob succeeded in looting the kutcherry, the miscellaneous property of the staff, and some grain and it also took away Rs 60. It is alleged that the Havildar in charge of the party of the armed constables arrived on the scene only when the mob was going away and that under his instructions, 3 shots were fired. A few persons are reported to have been injured but none of them were caught.

3. On the 16th February, the chaukidar of Andhrigadar which is about 10 miles north-west of Deoghar had his uniform stolen by 4 Congress volunteers who then took him into the . . . ! The same day, 9 Congress volunteers robbed an amin of the Central P.W.D. of Rs 10 and destroyed all his maps and papers in the jungle of Jethatan. They also threatened 80 coolies who were working on a road on behalf of the Central P.W.D. and as a result of their threats, the coolies left their work.

4. On February the 17th, Bishop received news that another gang of dacoits was in the Basko hills about 4 miles north-east of Amarpur and about 15 miles north of Dumka. He went there with a force consisting of the Inspector of Police, I.D., South, the senior Sub-Inspector of Dumka and an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police and 5 constables. The constables were from the Dumka town thana and were armed with shot guns obtained from the local licences under Government's instructions. The party covered a distance of about 3 miles on foot and reached one encampment of the dacoits on the side of a hill. This encampment was unoccupied and the party then went up the hill a further 500 feet where they suddenly came on the gang itself. The gang consisted of about 200 persons and they were taking their food when the party arrived. There were stacks of spears, bows and arrows in the encampment and the gang had constructed light shelters in a large clearing on the top of the hill. On the arrival of the party the gang hurriedly scattered and firing was immediately opened. Unfortunately, all the ammunition with the shot guns proved to be defective and not a single cartridge in the shot guns went off. Bishop and the Inspector had, therefore, to use their revolvers and 3 in the gang are believed to have been killed and 3 injured. When the gang saw that nothing was resulting from the shot guns they came at the party, shooting a large number of arrows at them. It was obvious that in the absence of proper ammunition the party could do nothing against the gang and the situation became one of extreme danger. The Police party, therefore came down the hill as quickly as it could and was pursued by the gang. Fortunately the fire from the revolvers appears to have slightly unnerved the dacoits as their aim was erratic and although they pursued the police party closely, they did not get nearer than 15 yards and did not come out in the open. During the course of the retreat, the Senior Sub-Inspector Dumka was hit by a boulder and had two of his ribs fractured and also received an arrow injury in his right hand. While emerging from the hill Bishop sprained his right foot. During the course of the retreat two shot guns which were carried by constables were lost. At the foot of the hill and on coming out of the jungle, the party met a constable with a rifle and after Bishop had fired one round with it in the gang gave up any attempt to follow.

5. In addition to this deterioration in the countryside both the Deoghar sub-jail and the Dumka jail have caused some anxiety. The Deoghar Sub-Jail has more than 100 prisoners in it although its capacity is only 38. The local Asst. Surgeon has shown no capacity for exerting any discipline and the Subdivisional Officer has also been able to do very little to control the prisoners. As a result, the Deoghar sub-jail celebrated 'Independence Day' more

noisily and more elaborately than any other place in the Deoghar subdivison. Slogans were shouted almost the whole day and night and Congress flags were thrown over the walls into the jail and prisoners sat on the roof waving the flags to the public outside. In the Dumka Jail, the news of Gandhi's fast resulted in 36 prisoners going on hunger strike on February the 13th. Owing to firm action taken by the Civil Surgeon the number shrank to 16 on February the 14th and on February the 17th only one prisoner was still fasting. The Dumka jail has only two cells and with approximately 50 political prisoners the task of maintaining discipline is difficult.

6. I consider this general situation serious for three reasons. In the first place, the day-light raid at Sareyahat in the presence of 7 armed constables suggests that the gang of dacoits operating in that area is putting a very low value on the police. In the second place, as a result of the ammunition in the shotguns proving a failure, the gang in the basko hills was able to rout the Police force and although 3 of the gang were almost certainly killed, the fact that the Police party had to retreat is likely to make the gang even bolder. Finally, the appearance of small groups of highwaymen in the Deoghar subdivision is disquieting and the police had no information of their movements and owing to insufficient Police, it is unlikely that they will be caught or rounded up.

7. In consultation with Bishop, I am taking the following emergent action. The Armed police at Poreyahat, Nunihat and Sareyahat will be brought up to the following strength with effect from tomorrow:

Sareyahat 20 armed constables

Nunihat 15 armed constables

Poreyahat 10 armed constables (in addition to the normal staff of the Police Station)

The Subdivisional Officer of Dumka will make his camp headquarters at Nunihat and will be assisted by Mr John Lal, Deputy Magistrate while Rai Sahib Panchanan Saran Singh and Mr S. Dubey will be posted at Sareyahat. The Inspector I.D. North will operate from Nunihat. In view of the acute shortage of Police transport in the district, I have requisitioned 5 private cars of which 2 will be stationed at Sareyahat, 2 at Nunihat and one at Poreyahat. These will be used for enabling speedy mobile patrols of armed constables with a magistrate to scour the area. As a number of Santal Villages in this border tract are under the influence of the gangsters, I am also posting a Santal clerk with each party of magistrates. Information is being collected of the villages which are participating in the terrorization of the area and the first function of the parties will be to make general round-ups in the villages. There are at present two platoons of the Bedford and Hertfordshire regiment at Dumka. One platoon will be kept at Dumka as a striking force for use in any eventuality while the other platoon with its transport of 3 trucks will be brought into action with effect from February the 20th to assist in raiding any centre where the gang is believed to be located. In view of the presence of the Military no police reserves will be kept at Dumka and all will be utilized for attacking the gangs in this area. To bring the situation in the Deoghar sub-jail under control, I am sending a military convoy to bring in all prisoners in excess of 40 to Dumka tomorrow while yesterday a military convoy took into Bhagalpur 36 of the worst prisoners from Dumka

8. I am submitting this preliminary report with the request that the following assistance may be given;

(1) Very early action to establish the police stations sanctioned by Government for the

No Police tracts between Poroyahat and Ghormara may if possible be taken. It is suggested that local houses may be requisitioned for the buildings provided the necessary staff for manning the thanas can be deputed. Until this is done, any grip in the area will be precarious.

- (2) The two platoons at Dumka should be augmented to one company and at least two more trucks placed at their disposal.
- (3) The two buses sent from Bhagalpur in the last week should be increased to at least six in order to enable the armed police to move rapidly to any affected parts in sufficient numbers. Of the two buses supplied from Bhagalpur, only one is at present in working order.
- (4) Action may if possible, be taken to ensure that even after the tension due to Mr Gandhi's fast slackens a Company of Military may remain at Dumka for at least a further month in order to assist in the pacification of the border area. My information is that their present deputation is temporary and that they may be called away at any moment.
- (5) The construction of 13 additional cells in the Dumka jail may, if possible, be approved at once. Proposals in this connection were submitted more than a month ago and unless these additional cells are made available the task of dealing with trouble in the Dumka jail will remain exceedingly difficult.
- (6) A young Deputy Superintendent of Police or Assistant Superintendent of Police may, if possible, be posted to Dumka on special deputation for working in the border area. If it is impossible to provide such an officer at the moment, Bishop may, if possible, be kept on in the district for 3 months after Sahay returns from leave and posted for special duty in this area.
- (7) As the situation seems likely to deteriorate further before it begins to get better, I am submitting this report direct to you and forwarding a copy of it to the Commissioner for his information.

Yours sincerely,

W.G. Archer.

Y.A. Godbole, Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government, Patna

D.O. Memo No. 468/C dated Dumka, the 18th February 1943

Copy forwarded to:

E.O. Lee, Esquire, I.C.S.,

Commissioner for the Bhagalpur Division for information

Deputy Commissioner, S.P.

18-2-43

Some words are missing.



## 28: Report of a Police Inspector from U.P. on sabotage cases

Govt. of U.P. Office of I.G.P. U.P. C.I.D. Records File No. 13/2/43  
[U.P. State Archives]

S.P.I.B.

Benares Sabotage Cases — 18-2-43

Sir,

In continuation of my report dt 16/2/43 I beg to submit that enquiry was made about Inayatullah noted in the report and it was found that Inayatullah is the employee of the Benares Cotton Mills whose friends are mostly Hindus of Congress views.

I interviewed and interrogated Shambhu Singh, a D.I.R. prisoner in the Benares Central jail. Shambhu Singh is elder brother of Bhola Singh, one of the chief Congressman of Ghazipur Dt. who has become untraced after the recent disturbances. Shambhu Singh stated that he never had any interest in the Congress work but has overheard other prisoners talk in the jail that *Deomurti*, *Mahadeo*, *Jumna* gang on the one side and that of *Baldeo Kamta* gang on the Sarnath side of Benares have damaged the Ry. Stn. *Shambhu Singh* added that his brother Bhola Singh is still held in high respect by the Congressmen and if found he might be able to furnish full information. Shambhu Singh has promised to collect and divulge all the relevant information and to send word to his friends and relatives at Ghazipur by 21/2/43 to help me in the eradication of evils — Shambhu Singh also gave word to get Bhola Singh surrender if he is wanted. If nothing of importance comes in the way I shall visit Ghazipur on 21/2/43 for a couple of days.

It is reliably learnt that Deomurti Sharma (noted in my reports and diaries) had visited V. Bhatthi to encourage Mahadeo Singh's relatives after the latter's arrest on 9/2/43. A raid on 11/5-2-43 for his arrest was not successful.

A list of sabotage case suspects wanted up 129 D.I.R. supplied by S.I.D.I.S., Benares contains other following names.

- |                        |                     |                |
|------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Babur Ram Ratan Das | 2. Nihala Singh     | 3. Jamna Dubey |
| 4. Jagarnath           | 5. Rajpati Saran    | 6. Kamta Pd.   |
| 7. Ram Pd.             | 8. Hauldar          | 9. Nandlal     |
| 10. Manohar Misra      | 11. Deomurti Sharma |                |

Of these 2, 3, 6 and 11 have been noted in my diary and previous reports.

Yours sincerely,

Harnam Singh  
C.I.D. -- I.B.

Police Club  
Benares  
18-2-43

## 29: Sabotage activities in Bihar

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 286 & 287

F.28/Cong/42-P-III

*February 22, 1943*

A report from Bihar dated February 22, 1943 stated that in the Patna Division the Municipal Office at Bhabua in Shahabad was set on fire on February 22. In Bahawalpur division there has been continuous lawlessness, 4 attacks being made on houses of rural police in different villages, chowkidars were way-laid and their uniforms seized. They are said to be so demoralized at these constant attacks that they are contemplating resignation in a body. A school was burnt down, an assessor panch was looted. On February 12, a band of about 300 armed rebels went to Sultanganj where they forced bullock-cart travellers to return home and threatened to loot them if they accepted currency notes or agreed to sell grains. In Bhipur (near Bhagalpur) Congress volunteers seized the crutches of a school master, in Santal Parganas the dacoity cases are on the increase. Dharbhanga Raj Kacheri, Dr Suranjaya was attacked by a mob of 500. A police party which had gone to deal with a gang of 200 dacoits near Dunka on February 17 met with volleys of arrows and opened fire killing several dacoits, two guns were lost by the police. A number of telephone and telegraph wires were cut in Chotanagpur. A number of cases of sabotage on E.I.R. were reported.

## 30: General Secretary, AIKS to the Provincial Secretaries AIKS – Repression and day to day work (extracts) 23.2.43

Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22

[NMML]

There is no gainsaying the fact that we have not been able so far to make much headway in our practical day to day work with regard to the demands and grievances of the Kisans, and it is wholly due to the paralysis that has overtaken the country after the fateful August days and consequent brutal repression and wild terror, stalking through the land. Meeting and demonstrations were stopped altogether, all the means of propaganda including the press were made beyond our reach and our prominent workers in most places including the sympathetic Kisans, were either jailed or detained. In most places in all the provinces all sorts of meetings are still banned and lots of restrictions have been imposed on them. Our prominent workers cannot freely move. They are everywhere shadowed by the Special Branch police. And the zamindars and the enemies of the Kisans and Kisan Sabha having taken advantage of this situation have, on the one hand, succeeded in implicating a good number of our workers into false cases, and, on the other, have tried to terrorize the Kisans as much as they could. But now the tide is turning, workers have begun to tour round the countryside, Kisans are gradually



becoming emboldened and consequently the *zulums* of zamindars and others are slowly lessening and disappearing. Zamindari bull-dogs, which had begun to raise their heads, are now feeling again disappointed. But the general distress still remains.

## 31: Report of a Police Inspector from U.P. on sabotage cases

Government of United Provinces Office of the I.G.P., U.P.C.I.D.  
Records File. No. 13/2/43 [U.P. State Archives]

Secret

Benares Sabotage Case

23-2-43

Sir,

In continuation of my report dt 18/2/43 I beg to submit that I visited Ghazipur on 20/2/43 and met Sheojaggi Singh s/o (D.I.R. prisoner) Shambhu Singh noted in my report dt 18/2/43, Sheojaggi Singh told me that his uncle Bhola Singh (Rep. dt 18/2/43 a Congress leader of Ghazipur Dt.) is till untraced and assured to get him surrendered in near future Sheojaggi Singh added that according to his information received from reliable sources the under noted law breakers of Ghazipur have been active in the acts of sabotage on the Benares-Ghazipur line-along with other culprits of Benares Dt.

(1) Baldeo s/o Sheobaran Pande r/o Khanpur. An associate of Loknath s/o Naik air. Loknath has been arrested in Benares Dt. and it is strongly suspected that Baldeo is also in Benares. Baldeo who is a jet black, stump youth of twenty years was very punctual in taking his daily bath in the Ganges and the news received show that he has given up the practice.

(2) Kamtalal s/o Sukrdeolal, Kayasth r/o V. Nan Panchdeo. P.S. Nandjuri Dt. Ghazipur an associate of no (1) untraced.

(3) Marjid s/o Chaturgun Tiwari-Dt. Ghazipur

(4) Dharamdeo Singh r/o Associate of No. 2 above.

They are also believed to be the chiefs who had headed the mob in the destruction of the Rajuvari aerodrome in the Benares Dt.

I saw Mr Ram Oudh Pande S.I.B.I.S., Ghazipur and learnt from him that there were many complaints against (1) to (4) noted in the foregoing note. They are untraced and wanted. He also added that Bhola Singh too is wanted under 129 D.I.R.

On my return from Ghazipur I met Jagarnath Singh of V. Nawada and Sri Brahman of V Kalka Bara, P.S. Mirzamurad Dt. Benares, they told me that within the last two weeks, Junna Dube with 2 other Congressmen had visited Bala Singh (brother of Nihala Singh) several times. On their assurance I am deputing S.I. Sh. Ram Pratap Singh, Cons. Palakdhari Singh and my orderly with necessary directions.

Yours sincerely,

Narain Singh  
C.I.D. Inspector

## 32: Gandhi's death would repeat 1857 — According to Abdul Qayyum

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 287–8

F-24/Cong/42–VIII

February 25, 1943

A report from J.P. Martin, Central Intelligence Officer, Lahore dated February 25, 1943 reads:

During the course of conversation in Delhi, Abdul Qayyum Khan, M.L.A., expressed the view that Gandhi's death would bring liberty nearer than his release. He also said that it was very difficult to maintain that the Congress could accept no responsibility for the present disturbances. The Congress had definitely conceived the ideal of starting that Quit India Movement. The left-wing of course busied itself in revolutionary activities. Large sums were given to workers by prominent industrialists. Abdul Qayyum went on to explain how costly it is to run the underground movement. It required much sums of money to establish a secret office. Hindus were unfortunately narrow minded and did not place much confidence in the Muslims but Qayyum thought that in spite of the wickedness of the Hindus, there was a real need for a united front. Turning to Frontier Province, he said that movement there was definitely a Congress movement and Khan Abdul Ghaflar Khan had discussed the programme with Gandhi.

The agitation would have started even if Gandhi would not have been arrested for he would have called for the boycott of the machinery of the Government of India. He also said that there were so many elements within Congress who do not believe in non-violence. It was difficult to control this element especially after the arrest of the leaders. Qayyum made it clear that if Gandhi died, British official life would be in danger. The country would witness another 1857.

## 33: Report of a Police Inspector from U.P. on sabotage cases

Govt. of U.P. Office of the I.G.P., U.P. C.I.D. Records File No. 13/2/43  
[U.P. State Archives]

Secret

26-2-43

Through by S.P.I.B.

Sir,

In continuation of my report dt 23/2/43 I beg to submit that S.I.B. Mr Ram Pratap Singh deputed with others in plain clothes reported that on 25/2/43 they saw 2 strangers sitting at the door step of Nihala Singh in the company of Nihala Singh's brother Bala Singh who subsequently moved inside Nihala's house. Their identity could not be ascertained.

Kesho Singh, Bala Singh and Nihala Singh of V. Kalke Barha are three brothers. It so happened that their mother fell sick after the August disturbances. In those days Bala Singh

who was subsequently arrested in D.I.R. was in Jail and the patient expired before Bala Singh's release, repeating the wish to see her son (Bala Singh). From this subsequent conduct Bala Singh proved it beyond any shadow of doubt that he cannot forget this in his life. In him the outlaws Deomurti Sharma and Parasanth have full confidence still but to hope anything good from Bala Singh would mean hoping against hope. Both Jumna and Deomurti visit him occasionally.

Nihala Singh (Younger brother) it is said that his work was not up to the mark and he has lost the confidence of his party. Nihala Singh is not willing to court arrest and dislikes the jail life. He is said to be either class fellow or a school fellow of Kidar Singh A.G.O. Jaunpur. Sh. Kedar Singh can surely help us in the arrest of Jumna and Deomurti, and had promised to help us. On his assurance and request I do not think it advisable to disturb Nihala Singh now. We are waiting for Kidar Singh A.G.O. I have seen S.O.S. Adampur Chaolupur and Rohaniyan and they have instructed their men to arrest the wanted persons known so far.

Police Club,  
Benares

Yours sincerely

Harnam Singh  
Inspector, I.B.C.I.D. U.P.

## 34: Report of a Police Inspector on sabotage cases in Benares (dt 3.3.43)

Govt. of U.P. Office of the I.G.P. U.P. C.I.D. Records File No. 13/2/43  
[U.P. State Archives]

Through by S.P.I.B

3-3-43

Sir,

I beg to submit that I visited V. Kakarmate and Manduadin in P.O. Dasasamedh. I learnt on enquiry that the name of Inayatullah mentioned in my case diary No. 28 of 16/2/43 is Niamat Ullah who was born and brought up in V. Kakarmate but now lives at Manduadin. Niamat Ullah is a staunch supporter of Congress and is said to be a previous convict for law breaking. Rajender Pd. (the son of Benares Cotton Mill Manager) whose parents are also Congressmen. He got this man employed as gate keeper in the mills, some 8 or 9 months ago, with a view to enlist more Muslims through him. (Rajendra Pd. who was arrested during the August disturbances has been released lately while his father the Manager of the Benares Cotton Mills has been arrested last week in the same connection). . . .

Mr Iqbal Ahmad S.D. Adampur (Benares) on my request deputed his const. Parasram (who knows Deomurti, the wanted man) to be on the lookout for Deomurti, Jumna or Kamte in the coming Shivratri (on 4th & 5th of March 1943).

Mr Chaitnarain Singh r/o V. Jagdishpur P.S. Bhelupur (Dt. Benares) who due to old familiarity came to see me, told me that Deomurti used to visit Durga temple (P.C. Bhelupur, Benares) punctually every day till the first fortnight of the last month when it was rumoured that Mahadeo Singh of V. Bhatthi has disclosed every thing, added that Deomurti has since

given up khaddar and has been seen clad in silken kurta and his head covered with a turban. He also disclosed the hand of Deomurti. Mahadeo Singh and Ram Adhar Singh were the chief organisers. Their deputy chief Basudeo Singh, Debi Singh and Jamuna Dubey committed the acts of sabotage of Rajali Talab and Kapsetti Ry. lines in this Dt. with the assistance of Jatashanker and other less known criminals. Jumna Singh being a known man had removed the implements required from his house either to the house of or to some place close to the house of another Dube, who is Jumna's friend and neighbour. Chaitnarain Singh has promised to give useful information in future (All the above noted persons have been mentioned in my diary.) Kesho Singh b/o Nihala Singh of V. Kackabarhi has seen me today 3/5/43. He told me that his brother Bala Singh has developed insanity, the cause being the shock of their mother's death during the period of his (Bala Singh) detention in Jail.

Police Club,  
Benares  
3-3-43

Yours sincerely,  
Harnam Singh,  
Inspector, I.B.C.I.D.

## 35. Report of a Police Inspector from U.P. on sabotage cases in Benares

Govt. of U.P. Office of the I.G.P., U.P. C.I.D. Records File No. 13/2/43  
[U.P. State Archives]

Through S.P.I.B.

5.3.43.

I beg to submit that yesterday on 4.3.43 it was Maha Shivratri day and several melas were held in which my old acquaintances with cons. in plain clothes were on the look out for the wanted persons.

In the evening I received information that a saboteur and a Congress leader of Ballia who had become untraced after sabotage cases at the Ry. Stn. Jurtipar, P.S. Ubhaon, Dt. Ballia (this station is on Benares Sarnath Gorakhpore line) is at present at Benares in disguise and go by a false name of Bhagwan Singh although his real name is Jagarnath. I found the man at the Ry. Stn. Benares Cant., with a III class ticket for Moghal Sarai. From his search three letters in Hindi have been recovered all from Ganesh Pande of Jurtipar. One of them has been addressed to Ramchandra Mal Babu of B.N.W.R. Ry. Stn. Shahenry and the other two to Bhagwan c/o B. Ramchandra. The fellow who has been locked up in the lock up of G.R.R. Cantt. will be remanded to Police custody for interrogation C for one week. He said that he Jagarnath s/o Jadunath Pande of Jurtipar and is a Congressman. He added that he was convicted in 1938 for anti Govt activities and since then he was regarded their leader by the Congressmen of his locality. He has been untraced after the general rising in his Dt. in the month of August and is passing under the false name of Bhagawan Singh. He further added that he has got his long beard shaved.

Police Club  
Benares  
5/3/43

Yours sincerely,  
Harnam Singh  
C.I.D.I.B

## 36 District Magistrate, Madura to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras – (details of underground workers arrested in Madura)

Govt. of Madras Public (General) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 867  
[Tamil Nadu State Archives]

10.3.43.

To  
The Chief Secretary,  
Government of Madras

Sir,

I beg to report that the individuals noted below are active underground Congress workers and there was information that they have been financing the workers engaged in the present Congress Rebellion and have also have been responsible for the production and distribution of cyclostyled objectionable leaflets advocating acts of sabotage and boycotting Revenue and Police Officials etc. in this district.

S. Balakrishna Reddy s/o Alagaraswami Reddy, Gopalapuram, Aruppukottai Taluk, now in Madras. Age. 30.

A.S. Aruna: hala Nadar s/o Subhayya Nadar, Vittavasal, Madura. Age. 33.

V.K. Narayana Kone s/o Karuppana Kone, Sellathamman Koil Street, Madura. Age. 27.

V.L. Ramaswami Ayyer s/o Loga Ayyer Krishnapuram, 3rd Lane, Madura. Age. 30.

Somisesshavi s/o Sundararaja Ayyer, Chinnakadai Street, Madura. Age. 35.

M.K. Ramamurthi s/o Kuppaswami Ayyer, Ramaad Road, Madura. Age. 21.

P.M. Rama Konar s/o Kuruga Konar, Mallamadankoil Street, Madura. Age. 32.

It was therefore considered quite essential to prevent them from carrying on their subversive activities and hence Nos 1 to 6 were arrested on 1-3-43 under 29 DGI Rule and No. 7 was arrested under 129 D.O.I. Rules on 1-3-43 as there was no possibility of proceeding against any of them under specific offences and they were remanded to the District Jail, Madura on the dates of their arrest for a period of fifteen days pending orders from the Government for detention.

I submit this for favour of information.

Madura City  
10-3-43

Inspector of Police  
Law & Order

Copy submitted to the District Magistrate, Madura and District Superintendent of Police, Madura North for favour of information.

[*Note by editor:* details about the arrested persons are in the following document from the Dt. Magistrate, Madura to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, followed by official notings and order]

From  
J.L. Wood, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Dt. Magistrate, Madura.

To  
The Chief Secretary to Government of Madras

Ref: C. NO. 681-M.43, dated 15th March 1943

Sir,  
Political Agitation Detention under D.O.I. rules — Balakrishna Reddi and 6 others, report dated 8-3-43 from C.I. Madura town.

Balakrishnan Reddi and 6 others referred to in the report of the Circle Inspector, Madura town are active underground workers. Most of them have considerable influence over the public. They are all believed to have been connected with the cyclostyling and distribution of objectionable leaflets. I enclose a full report of their status and activities. With a view to prevent them for carrying on their subversive activities and to achieve the total suppression of the movement in Madura, I recommend that Government may be pleased to order their detention under Rule 26 (1) (b) and 5 of the Defence of India Rules.

For Dt. Magistrate

1. *A. Balakrishna Reddy, s/o Alagaraswami Reddi* — is a native of Gopalapuram in Arupukkottal taluk of Ramnad district. He has studied up to V class and has no property. An underground worker with organising capacity, he took active part in the various movements and organised volunteers in Ramnad district and in Aug. 42 sent them to Madura for picketing and for carrying out other unlawful acts. Financed from the Congress funds he stayed permanently at Madura since the second week of January guiding the Movement. He was convicted and sentenced to 2 years R.I. in the Salt Satyagraha Movement, to R.I. for 6 months in the C.D. Movement of 1932 and again to R.I. for 6 months in the individual Satyagraha Movement of 1941.

2. *A.S. Arunachala Nadar s/o Subbayya Nadar, Madura* — comes from Ellamanickenpatti in Satur taluk of Ramnad district. As a clerk in a Ghee Supply Co. he gets Rs 40 p.m. and an annual bonus of about Rs 300. A staunch congressite, he wields considerable influence among the Nadar community. He is a Tamil scholar and a silent underground worker. He was writing manuscript copies of objectionable pamphlets for circulation and also financing the workers. In 1941, he was arrested and released after 15 days.

3. *V.K. Narayana Kone s/o. Karuppana Kone, Madura* — is a merchant and an agent for tobacco and sweets. He owns property worth Rs 5000 and earns Rs 100 p.m. from his business. He is influential among the businessmen of Madura city. As a congressman, he did not take any open part in its activities, but financed the workers secretly.

4. *P.M. Rama Konar, s/o Muruga Konar, Madura* — is a landlord worth Rs 30,000. A staunch congressite and a good speaker capable of stirring up the masses, he is highly influential in Madura, as a leading man of the Congress official group. He is the Secretary of the Dt. Congress Committee and is in close touch with the provincial Organisers. In 1941, he was convicted and sentenced to R.I. for 4 months and fined Rs 200. He collected money for the Congress and financed the workers.

5. *V.L. Ramaswami Ayyar s/o Loga Ayyar, Madura* — is a manufacturer of dye stuffs earning

Rs 50 p.m. A satellite of N.M.R. Subbaraman (Ex-chairman of Madura Municipal Council now under detention) he got in touch with Provincial Congress leaders and the North Indian leaders. A tireless underground worker of Anti-British views, he is very influential among Sourashtras. He assisted the distribution of cyclostyled pamphlets advocating acts of sabotage and boycott of officials along with Somi Seshayi and Ramamurthi.

6. *Somi Seshayi s/o Sundararaja Ayyar, Madura* — is a weaver, having no property. He earns Rs 30 p.m. A close associate of Arunachala Nadar, he took active part in the various movements and was convicted thrice, as below. He worked underground in 1941 and 1942 and was circulating prejudicial leaflets.

6 month R.I. in Salt Satyagraha Movement

1 year R.I. in C.D. Movement 1930

1 year R.I. in 1932

7. *M.K. Ramamurthi s/o Kuppusami Ayyar* — is also a Sourashtra. His brother runs two hotels in Madura and he gets Rs 100 p.m. for his share. Though he has not taken any leading part, he has been influencing his community and financing his associates and workers.

No. 1 was carrying on the movement at Madura since Jan. last organising volunteers. Nos 2 to 4 collected money from the public and financed the movement. Nos 5 to 7 and others circulated prejudicial leaflets. He sent leaflets advocating No Tax Campaign and boycott of officials to one Pichai Pillai of Tinnevely town by post and the latter was prosecuted for possession of this pamphlet. Nos 2 and 3 admitted that they financed the movement and spent Rs 200 for celebrating the Independence Day in sympathy towards Gandhi's fast.

Please see the letter from the D.M. of Madura on pp. 5-6 above. For orders whether A Balakrishna Reddi and 6 others may be detained indefinitely. They have already been detained for a period of one month from 12-3-43, by an order of the D.M. Please see 3 p. (So far 62 persons from Madura Dist. have been detained) Subject to orders, a draft order is submitted for approval.

Signed

May be detained. The D.M. has already been asked to report the class. (p. 1 ante) Pending his report they may be placed in class II.

Public (General) Department

GD M.S. No. 867

*Dated 23/3/43*

Poll agitation, C.D.M. Madura Dist — Balakrishna Reddi, A. and 6 others detained by D.M. under D.O.I. Rules continued detention ordered.

### Order

Whereas the D.M. of Madura has ordered the detention in jail of A. Balakrishna Reddi, A.S. Arunachala Nadar, V.K. Narayana Kone, P.M. Rama Konar V.L. Ramaswami Iyer, Somi Seshaji and M.K. Ramamurthi under rule 26 of the D.O.I. Rules for a period of one month from 12-3-43.

And whereas the Government of Madras are satisfied that their continued detention in jail is necessary for the maintenance of public order.

Now therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (b) of Sub-rules (1) and by Sub-rule (5) of rule 26 of the D.O.I. Rules, H.E. the Governor of Madras is hereby pleased

to direct that the said A. Balakrishna Reddi, A.S. Arunachala Nadar, V.K. Narayana Kone, P.M. Rama Konar, U.L. Ramaswami Iyer, Somi Seshaji and M.K. Ramamurthi shall continue to be detained in the C.J. Vellore, until this order is cancelled.

## 37: Intelligence Report regarding sabotage work in Assam

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 292-6

F.28/Cong/42 A-III

March 13, 1943

According to the statement made by A.K. Dutt, who was arrested in Delhi on 13-3-43, *Kanshi Nath Bhattacharya* (identity not established) of the Bengal Volunteer Group, an old friend of A.K. Dutt, said at the end of December 1942 in Delhi that he and a few others in Bengal were absconding and trying to do what they could on the Eastern Frontier, that he was going to Peshawar on a mission, that in his opinion all sabotage should be concentrated on Assam, that he had been in Assam several times and seen good prospect of work there and that the Indian Army could be greatly influenced by carrying on propaganda there. When Dutt opposed the idea of concentrating all sabotage on one place, Bhattacharya insisted that this was the right line, that already heavy losses have been inflicted on Government in a number of different ways by sabotage in Assam where there was chaos and the police were in confusion. He said that he was doing sabotage work in Assam with the help of military people and that his mission to the NWFP was to meet some leaders with a view to getting trained workers, arms and ammunition.

2. K.N. Bhattacharya met A.K. Dutt on his return from the North-West Frontier on 3-1-43 and said that he had met tribal leaders through one Sher Afzal, a deserter from the Sappers & Miners. He had tried not only to get arms and ammunition but also to persuade them to send men to the Assam frontier to fight against the British. His idea was to start guerilla warfare on the Eastern Frontier with the help of armed Pathans. The tribal chiefs agreed with his plans but were ready only to send a few bands to Assam and not all their men. On the Eastern Frontier the object of the guerilla fighting would be to harass the Army chiefly by cutting communications between the front line and the ports. Bhattacharya was confident of the success of his scheme. He suggested to A.K. Dutt, that a Hydro-Electric Power Station in Assam where electricity was generated for military purposes as a target for sabotage by the guerilla bands, but did not mention its location.

3. A.K. Dutt met Sher Afzal on 1-2-43 and was told by the latter that Bhattacharya had been able to organise groups of boys to do sabotage work in Assam, that he (Afzal) was going to the N.W.F.P. to bring tribal leaders to Assam, so that they could see the situation and if satisfied with Bhattacharya's arrangements, they would send their men to do sabotage work in Assam, and that he had Rs 2000 for the expenses for the trip of the tribal chiefs to Assam. On Afzal's return from the N.W. Frontier, a few days after, Dutt met him and learnt that he was halting in Delhi for a few days with the tribal chiefs on his way to Calcutta where Bhattacharya would meet them and take the tribal chiefs to Dibrugarh. Sher Afzal returned to Delhi from Calcutta towards the end of February and told Dutt that he had handed over



his companions to K.N. Bhattacharya in Calcutta and they had proceeded from there to Assam. (Sher Afzal's identity has not been established.)

4. It is reported that Panna Lal Dass Gupta\* (C.L.I.) visited Assam from time to time to supervise the work of his own group and also that of Niharandu Datta Mazumdar.\* He is said to have stated that they had under their control in Assam one 380 bore six-chambered revolver with six rounds of ammunition, eight rifles with about 1000 cartridges and about two maunds of explosive powder. Annada Chaudhury\* is also reported to have paid visits to Assam, presumably as the head of the Eastern Zone of the A.I.C.C.

5. Information received on 7-4-43 was that three upcountry men had recently visited Chittagong from Assam and had sent two men of Chittagong (identity not stated), one of whom was a Jugantar ex-detenu, to Calcutta to make contact with an unknown F.B. member and to request him to meet them at Mymensingh. The Chittagong men were reported to be trying to get information about the whereabouts of the firearms collected by the party from the military and smuggled out of Fort William in Calcutta. On receipt of an urgent message, the ex-detenu left Calcutta on 9-4-43 and returned after visiting Jamalpur and Mymensingh town and said that he had met the three upcountrymen who had visited Chittagong at Jamalpur and that he had brought a letter from one of them to a F.B. member in Calcutta which ran as follows:

'Comrade. We are again compelled to start for Assam. Mr Desai has started for Calcutta with money. Please arrange payment after consultation. E.'

6. A source report dated 20-1-43 sent by C.I.O. Shillong said that the Mrityubahini Corps of Nowgong — an army pledged to death — (organised by Mohendra Hazarika and Laxmi Kant Goswami Radicalists of Nowgong), wearing Khaki dress of the military and carrying guns, had been devising means to use personal violence against persons who were anti-Congress, police informers, etc. and were alleged to have threatened some persons with death.

7. In a report dated 6-3-43, the C.I.O. Shillong, said that this Corps had been rounded up and their guns and uniforms recovered. A subsequent report dated 13-3-43 from the D.S.P. Nowgong said that the Mrityubahini Corps was an offshoot of the Congress Shanti Sena organisations and was composed of the toughest elements of the Shanti Sena. It was formed by the Congress terrorists under the leadership of Mohendra Hazarika and was intended for secret subversive activities. They had no uniforms or arms except the guns that were stolen and perhaps a few others that were smuggled. The corps became identified with the Congress terrorist organisation of Nowgong and each member had to pledge his life for the sake of the country and also pledge implicit obedience to the leader. It had been found that some people from Bengal (e.g. detenus) had contact with Mohendra Hazarika, but nothing definite could be ascertained as to the degree of such contact. It is likely that some other districts of Assam, where terrorists are in action, have similar organisations and presumably there is some sort of link — though the Congress terrorists appear to have concentrated on working more as isolated territorial units. The terrorist gang of Mohendra Hazarika has been practically liquidated for the present by the arrest of almost all the known active members of the *Mrityubahini* in Nowgong district.

8. Bengal I.B. secret information dated 10-4-43 was that according to Dr Ram Manohar Lohia\* and Tarapada Gupta — C.L.I. absconder, 'three groups are working in Assam — (a) the C.L.I. group, (b) N. Dutta Mazumdar's group and (c) a C.S.P. group, which had made contact with the groups. Details are known to Miss Margaret People who was sent to Assam by Dr Lohia probably in January 1943 with instructions to make contact with troops in Assam

and to supervise the contacts already made there. Achyut Patwardhan\* and Dr R.M. Lohia visit Assam when they come to Bengal and supervise the working of the C.S.P. group in Assam for the purpose of organisation but he could not go. According to Achyut and Lohia the organisation in Assam is 'very prospective'.

9. According to C.I.O. Shillong's fortnightly report for the first half of August 1943, Jyot Prasad Agarwala, the Tezpur absconder who had surrendered recently was believed with some reason to be the C.S.P. Link between Jai Prakash Narayan and Assam. . . .

10. According to a statement made to a special agent by Achyut Patwardhan in Bombay in July last, the latter was very satisfied with the work of his party in Assam in contacting the army.

## 38: Sardar Baisakha Singh's support to Aruna Asaf Ali

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), p. 298

F.28/Cong/12-B-IV

March 17, 1943

According to another report, Rai Bahadur Sardar Baisakha Singh, Government Contractor, 5 Jantar Mantar Road, is said to have been assisting Aruna Asaf Ali. On a raid being made in two quarter situated on a service road of Aurangzeb Lane Property of Baisakha Singh though rented in the name of B.D. Joshi, a clerk in the Finance Department of the Government of India A.K. Dutt s/o S.K. Dutt of Bhawanipur, Calcutta, nephew of Dr S. Dutt\* till recently Principal, Ramjas College and P. Vishwanath, a clerk in the Military Finance Department were found and arrested. Mr A.K. Dutt is known to have been concerned with revolutionary activities and certain papers and leaflets and a Secretariat Pass issued in the name of K.V. Shimbhu, a clerk in the Finance Department (since joined the Indian Air Force probably as an officer), a few letters addressed to E.R.K. Menon, clerk, Finance Department, Government of India were recovered. One of the sheets was being used for typing a document on the subject of Gandhi's fast over the typed name of Ram Manohar Lohia.



## 39: Judgement on three young women who were found picketing in the Sub-Court, Tenali, South India

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 1014  
[TNA]

L.Ds No. 816-43

*Dated 30th March 1943*

From  
Khan Sahib Md. Abdul  
Aziz Sahib Bahadur,  
Guntur

To  
The Secretary to Government,  
Public (General) Department,  
Madras

Sir,  
Sub: Political agitation - Civil Disobedience movement Prosecution of Srimati Chittoor Annapurnadevi - Judgement.

Ref: Government Memorandum No. 57731/5 dated 16-3-43

I submit herewith a copy of judgement in C.C.95/42 on the file of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Tenali.

For Dt. Magistrate.  
30-3-43

Public (General) Department  
G.O. No. 1014

In the Court of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Tenali. Judgement in Calendar Case No. 95/42 on the file of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Tenali.

Complaint                Red. S.H.O. Tenali Town  
                                 C.R. 1110/42

Accused                1. Kodali Mamalamba  
                                 2. Santha Devi  
                                 3. Chittoor Annapurna Devi

Offence                A.1 committing a prejudicial Act and distributing pamphlet punishable under Rule 38(5) read with Clause 1(a) and (c)  
                                 A.2 A.3 committing a prejudicial Act punishable under Rule 38(5) read with clause 1(a) of Defence of India Rule.

Finding                Guilty

Sentence                A.1 sentenced to suffer R.I. for 15 months and A.2 and A.3 to suffer R.I. for 12 months each.

Description of the accused:

Name	1. Kodali Kamalamba 2. Santha Devi 3. Chittoor Annapurna Devi
Father's name	1. Gogineni Ramakotiah 2. Lal Chand 3. Kesavaputti Chittayya
Caste or place	1. Kamma. Hindu 2. Hindu 3. Brahmin, Hindu
Occupation	1. . . . . 2. . . . . 3. . . . .
Residence	1. Moparru 2. Lahore 3. Tenali
Age	1. 27 2. 23 3. 17
Date of occurrence	11-9-42
Date of complaint	12-9-42
Apprehension or appearance	12-9-42
Release on bail	—
Commencement of trial	15-9-42
Close of trial	16-9-42
Sentence of orders	16-9-42
Explanation for delay	—
P.W.	1. N. Pothuraju, process Server, Sub Court. 2. Mohammad Khasim, Head Constable, 825
Ex.	A. Pamphlets B. -do-
M.O.	1. Flag

(General)  
No. 1014

### Judgement

The 3 accused stand charged, by the Tenali Police for an offence under Sec. 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules read with 1(a) in that on 11-9-42, they were found picketing in the Sub-Court, Tenali at about 11.30 a.m.

2. The facts of the case are quite simple. P.W.1 is the process server of the Sub-Court, Tenali. At about 11.30 a.m. he saw the three accused, getting into the compound of the Tenali

Sub-Court with national flags in their hands, and with some pamphlets containing prejudicial matter for distribution. When he obstructed them from getting into the Court hall, they asked him to resign the job and join their ranks. When he still persisted, they told him, that because of the fact that Government servants still continue in service, they were forced to come out of the purdah to teach them a lesson. A.1 also distributed the pamphlets in her hand (Ex. A) which contains prejudicial matter. She also had seven covers with her, each cover containing a pamphlet similar to Ex. A and couple of glass bangles, evidently intended for distribution to the members there. A.1 also distributed pamphlets to the people standing close by. P.W.1 immediately sent word to police Station and P.W.2 Head Constable attached to Tenali Station rushed upto the scene and arrested the accused.

3. The accused stated that they were doing this according to the doctrine of Mahatma Gandhi for the salvation of the country, and A.1 pleaded not guilty to a charge under Sec. 38(5) read with 1 (a) and 1(c) of the Defence of India Rules and A.2 A.3 pleaded not guilty to a charge under Sec. 38(5) read with 1 (a) of the Defence of India Rules. But they did not cross examine the P.Ws and had no D.Ws. The case for the prosecution thus stand unrebutted. P.W.1 had absolutely no animus against the accused to foist a case against them. The accused themselves admit the deeds ascribed to them but only contend that according to them it is not an offence. I, therefore, find them guilty and convict A.1 for an offence under Sec. 38(5) read with 1 (a) and 1(c) of the Defence of India Rules and A. for an offence under Sec. 38(5) read with 1(a) of the Defence of India Rules. I sentence A.1 to A.3 to suffer rigorous imprisonment for 12 months for an offence under Sec. 38 (5) 1 (a) and A.1 to suffer rigorous imprisonment for three months for an offence under Sec. 38 (5) i(c) of the Defence of India Rules. The sentence on A.1 to run consecutively.

M.O 1 will be destroyed.

P. Sivasankaran  
16-9-42

Sub Divl. Magistrate, Tenali

## 40: Underground activities in U.P.

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 300-1

F 28/Cong/42-B-IV

*April 3, 1943*

Extract from a note of subversive activities for the fortnight ending March 29, 1943, received with C.I.O. Lucknow dated April 3, 1943, reports quieter situation in U.P. and applauds the police for the arrest of Dhudeo Paliwal and number of other terrorist youths responsible for all the recent cases in which gelignite was used and for some five other cases of sabotage and terrorism. It appears that gelignite was supplied by a contractor at Gwalior, Sagar Singh who has also been taken into custody. Prof. Jang Bahadur Jha of the Agra College who was said to have a large chemical laboratory in his house has also been arrested. Aligarh bomb case which occurred in 1942 has also been worked out. In this case in which two constables were

killed, one Kishan Lal Varma, war technician, has been arrested. Further progress has been made in the Kanpur Railway Station bomb case. The connection of Kanpur terrorists with Delhi and particularly in Acharya Jugal Kishore and Gopi Nath Singh is further established. In Gorakhpur 16 absconders have been rounded up though 2 dangerous terrorists Kailash Pati Misra and Balrup Keori who were roped in after long and hard work have made good their escape. No progress has been made in working out the arson and bomb case which occurred in Benares Hindu University in February last. In the Jaunpur Azamgarh area, statements have been secured about the Khorasan Station burning and Belariaganj dacoity case. In Ballia some indiscipline in the jail met with an exemplary punishment by the District Magistrate. Chittu Pande the notorious has been set free.

There are references to one B.P. Sinha of Patna who was a professor in Lucknow is said to have taken part in the 1942 Movement and was specially summoned to Delhi to work in the underground movement under the orders of Acharya Jugal Kishore and that after the arrest of the latter on 2-1-43 he took his place. He was recommended to be detained indefinitely under Defence Rule 26 (vide letter from R.G. Mellor, C.I.D., Delhi to J.P.M. Johnson, I.P., Special Branch, Bihar Patna).

There is a letter from the Superintendent of Police, C.I.D., S.P., U.P., which quotes extract from the diary of an officer dated February 28, 1943. The extracts runs 'Recently in his correspondence with His Excellency Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi has mentioned that the sabotages which have been committed throughout the country were not in accordance with the Congress programme.'

The publication of this correspondence has created a disruption in the Congress camp. It has already been reported that the present Congress Movement is run by the Congress Socialists who were all along in favour of sabotage. Since this correspondence has been published the true Gandhites have been seriously thinking not to support socialists in this matter and a gulf is gradually widening between the two groups. With a view to know the real feeling of Mr Gandhi on the subject, Aney who was approached by the present Congress High Command, has gone to have an interview with Gandhi. Further instructions are being awaited in the hope that either before or after the breaking of the fast Mahatma Gandhi is said to have communicated his views and further instructions to someone of the interviewers and those instructions will be carried out.

According to a reliable source about the subversive organisation formed by Jai Prakash Narain it was said that his programme is divided into five sections which comprise the enrollment of volunteers the collection of arms and preparations of bombs and explosives; propaganda; the collection of money and payment of allowance to workers and to government servants who are supplying information. Prominent among propaganda activities have approaches to military and police not only by contact from outside but by the enlistment of selected workers within the ranks.

An abstract from the U.P., C.I.D., report for the fortnight March 1, 1943, received with G.I.C., Lucknow, dated March 8, 1943 refers to the continuance of distribution of leaflets inciting hartals, etc. Two more cases in which gelignite was used have occurred in Agra and there is now evidence of direct connection with Delhi Terrorist Organisation and its Gwalior branch. There are still cells of considerable potentiality to be wiped out in Benares, Kanpur and Agra while Jaunpur and Badaun District still harbours gangs of Congress-cum-dacoits who are exploiting the movement. In Ghazipur, many absconders have been arrested while baba Raghav Das has thought it advisable to shift his centre of activities from Gorakhpur. Allahabad

was quieter. At Kanpur usual Congress activities. In the railway station bomb case at Kanpur, an important rebel of Ballia, Jagdish Narain Tewari and one of the Congress leaders who escaped from jail in Bihar with Jai Prakash Narain are said to be involved. Sabotage cases in Lucknow, Bara Banki and Faizabad. In Mainpuri gang responsible for sabotage in Farrukhabad area was cleaned up.

Jai Prakash Sharma of Meerut has made a statement in which he admits his connections with the Delhi organisation and Mrs Asaf Ali a lady who enjoys such amenity as must indicate very influential protection in the centre of Government while Ratan Singh another member of the gang has given information about his association with Ambika Prasad and others saboteurs. It is of interest that Ratna Singh had in his possession a certificate from the publicity officer of Saharanpur in respect of his war work. In Kumaon, registers in the local Ramsay Mission School at Almora were burnt and a bomb exploded in the Tehsildar quarter at Haldwani.

## 41: Extract from the letter of Sahajanand Saraswati\* of All-India Kisan Sabha, to the Provincial Secretaries (reportage No. 1, 1943-44)

Indulal Yagnik Papers, File No. 22  
[NMML]

*The Political Situation:* 1. In September last, the Central Kisan Council in its session at Bombay condemned the Govt. for the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and the entire Congress leadership and for the reign of indiscriminate repression which had followed. It fastened the main responsibility for precipitating the crisis, which gravely imperilled the defence and the cause of freedom of India and the United Nations, on the head of the imperialist bureaucracy. The events of the past months have completely confirmed this.

2. Hundreds of people angered by the repression were misled by the treacherous Fifth Column and misguided patriots into senseless acts of sabotage of means of National defence, of looting and anarchic attacks. The result was that the vast masses of the Kisans specially in Bihar, in Ballia and Ghazipur districts of U.P. in Chanda district of C.P. in parts of Andhra and the Assam Valley and in Midnapore district of Bengal had to go through horrible experiences. Mass collective fines and arrests suppressed the life of whole villages. The political crisis created conditions of insecurity and uncertainty and dislocation of economic life aggravated the food crisis affecting the bulk of the rural population. The Govt. measures have only served to worsen it with the result that starvation and famine face the Kisans in some of the provinces, particularly in the threatened provinces. The Kisans of Assam and the Eastern districts of Bengal had, over and above all this, to face Japanese bombs which destroyed their hearth and home. The Kisans have suffered through the political and economic crisis as the nation has suffered.

3. But the Kisan Sabha, true to its patriotic tradition and in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the Bombay C.K.C., went out among the Kisan masses, fighting sabotage and saving the Kisans from being provoked into anarchic actions against repression. The Kisan Sabha fought against collective fines and against demoralization. It convinced the Kisans that

the bureaucracy can be effectively fought only by the unity of the Hindu and Muslim masses, through which alone Congress League unity can be achieved and a National Govt. of national defence and salvation won.

4. The policy of the Kisan Sabha has been vindicated by the fact that the nation's foremost leader felt that he could no longer remain a helpless witness to the nation's disaster. At the end of December last, Gandhiji re-opened correspondence from behind the bars with Lord Linlithgow. In this correspondence he reaffirmed the staunch anti-fascist stand of the Congress. He categorically disowned and deplored sabotage and anarchical acts. He pointed out that the reported deplorable destruction would most certainly have been averted if the Govt. had awaited his contemplated letter to the Viceroy. He proposed a fresh effort to end the impasse and asked to be put with the Working Committee in order to be able to make it. He suggested that he would be ready to negotiate with the League. He was prepared to consider the whole situation de novo if he were released unconditionally. By this correspondence Gandhiji took a clear initiative for settlement and for the solution of the crisis.

5. But the British Government spurned this offer for an honorable settlement. It precipitated Gandhiji's fast and gambled with his life and created during the 21 days of the ordeal a situation fraught with the gravest peril to India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations. This showed to what length the bureaucracy is prepared to go in its desperate determination to cling to power.

6. At the same time the events of the anxious days of the fast showed that the British Government was fast losing the support of every section of the people. There is a mighty rally behind the demand to secure Gandhiji's release to end the National crisis among the vast masses of people of all parties and communities.

7. Ever growing numbers of Congressmen and nationalists are turning away from the path of sabotage. A fast growing number of Muslims and Muslim Leaguers are realising the importance and urgency of National unity as the only way to end the crisis and to defend the country and win freedom as well as self-determination.

8. The All India Kisan Sabha urges the British Government to take note of the new turn of events to turn away from the disastrous and impossible attempt to crush the Congress and the Indian people. It warns the British Government that the attitude taken by Mr Amery and Major Attlee in the House of Commons recently demanding abject humiliation from the Congress leaders as an essential pre-condition to their release and settlement with India can only lead to untold sufferings to people and jeopardize the cause of freedom and victory over fascism. It also warns the Viceroy that his refusal to negotiate with the non-party leaders for a settlement of the Indian deadlock may further aggravate the situation. The one step which must be taken by the British Government now and immediately in the urgent interest of the two peoples is to release Gandhiji and the Congress leaders, so that unity can be achieved between the Congress, the Muslim League, and other important national organisations, and the entire nation rallied for rearing a National Govt. The All India Kisan Sabha appeals to the Labour and progressive peoples of Britain and America to rally solidly behind the just demand of the Indians and defeat the reactionary policy of Mr Churchill and Lord Linlithgow.

9. At this critical hour in the life of our nation. All India Kisan Sabha calls upon all Kisans:

- a) To unite in a campaign to win Gandhiji's release to end the crisis.
- b) To join hands to stop sabotage and smash the Fifth Column.
- c) To unite all sections of the people in the effort to solve the food crisis.
- d) To organise a unity campaign to the rural areas all over the country to promote



unity between the Hindu and Muslim masses, between various castes and communities and between all patriotic sections of the towns and villages, and to create a mass urge for Congress League unity with a view to forging all in National unity.

10 The All India Kisan Sabha specially appeals to Trade Unions, Student organisations and all patriotic people through out the length and breadth of the country to rally behind this campaign. The All India Kisan Sabha also appeals to the Muslim masses and League patriots to join wholeheartedly in the movement for the release of the national leaders for the solution of the crisis. Unity thus forged will smash the bureaucracy's game to deny power to the Indian people and ensure the establishment of National Govt. and the freedom of the country.

The A.I.K.S. notes that prohibition of meetings, lathi charges, firings, detentions without trial, orders of internment and externment, collective fines on whole villages, humiliating restrictions on the press and other forms of imperialist repression have become normal in India during the last eight months. Even the committee meetings and closed-door meetings are not allowed in many places. Peasants and other rural people are engaged by force in Bihar, U.P. and other provinces to guard the railways. This is a situation which is unparalleled anywhere in the world except in Fascist countries.

The Sabha regrets to note that the ban on the Kisan Sabha in the Punjab and Kerala has not yet been lifted so that the Kisan movement in these two provinces has to work under different names. In the Punjab collections are forcibly made for the war fund by revenue officers.

The August crisis was taken advantage of by petty officials and interested parties like vindictive zamindars for suppressing the movement so that many innocent workers of the Sabha were prosecuted and placed under restriction.

The Sabha cannot accept the plea of imperialists that this is necessary in the interest of the defence of India from Japan. On the other hand it holds that this countrywide and intense repression has created a situation in which the people of India are getting more and more alienated from defence.

The Kisan Sabha in the North West Frontier Province has been completely wiped out and its workers including Comrade Khushal Khan, a member of the C.K.C. arrested and kept in jail.

The Sabha further notes that the axe of repression falls equally on the anti-imperialist patriots, staunch advocates of National Defence and the masses of innocent people. It particularly notes that leaders and organizers of the Kisan Sabhas, Trade Unions, Student Federations, and Communists who have been effectively fighting the policy of sabotage are being prevented in their patriotic work of weaning the people away from the path of sabotage and building the people's morale and unity.

It is particularly to be deplored that prominent Kisan Sabha Workers in most provinces are either kept in prison or under various forms of restriction so that they cannot participate in the normal activities of the Sabha. Orissa where no public meeting has been permitted since the 9th August crisis began and where about 40 important workers including some foremost leaders of the Sabha are in jail, Surma Valley where some of the important workers are detained or restricted, Bihar and U.P. where the Kisans were hit hard by imposition of collective fines and a large number of Kisan Workers were arrested, convicted and detained, Andhra where normal activities of the Sabha are hampered in various ways and Sind where Martial Law prevails in most of the districts, have to suffer specially, even members of the C.K.C. Comrades P.D. Marathe of the C.P. and Shankar Dayal Tripathi of U.P. are kept in detention.

The Sabha therefore demands the restoration of normal civil liberties throughout the country and calls upon the Kisans and the Kisan Sabha units and workers to carry on a countrywide agitation for securing early restoration of civil liberties in cooperation with all other organisations of the country.

## 42: Extract from the report from Bihar of the events during the first half of April dated 20.4.43

File No. 3/52/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Socialist Party – Information has been received that there was a secret meeting of Socialist rebels near Gaya on April the 4th to discuss the future programme. Ram Swarup Singh, an important absconder, urged the necessity of making preparations for the next offensive. He favoured methods of intimidation such as were used at Jinoria near Daudnagar (reported in my last fortnights' report). Complaints were made at this meeting about the insufficiency of arms & ammunitions, particularly the later. It is satisfactory to learn that Ram Swarup Singh was arrested two days later by an officer of the Security Section of the C.I.D. while travelling by train.

## 43: Government of United Provinces to Government of India

File No. 3/14/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Lucknow*

*May 7, 1943*

D.O. No 3905-CX.

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

Your Express Letter No. 3/14/43 - Poll (I) dated April 12, 1943,<sup>1</sup> about the damage to the aeroplane at the Benares Hindu University. I am making enquiries from Benares, as I have no material available to answer your queries. I can give you now the information that this Government had no information of the presence of the aeroplane, and it appears to have been handed out by some one in the Government of India without any reference to this Government or without information of its presence there being communicated. The police investigation is still proceeding, and as the aeroplane was on the University premises, it seems fairly clear that the University personnel must have been implicated in view of the reputation and behavior of the University students, but I doubt whether there is much possibility of the case being worked out.

Vishnu Sahay, Esqr., ICS,  
Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi

Yours sincerely,

D.S. Barron

<sup>1</sup> Not printed.

## 44. Achyut Patwardhan's role in Maharashtra

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 310-11

F.10/IS/42-II

May 11, 1943

In a statement dated May 11, 1943, Shridhar Purshottam Limaye of Poona mentions that in Maharashtra the movement was directed by Achyut Patwardhan. Four departments were set up called the Propaganda Department, Bulletin Department, Funds Department and the Destruction Department. The last department had the work of blowing up of roads, bridges, cutting wires, breaking telephone communications and collect explosives. This department was under Limaye Mama Gokhale and Nana Dharam Adhikari.

There was also attached a translation of a Marathi script found on some of the papers captured from the Satyagrahis which advises them to proclaim independence to instigate Government servants to resign, to capture Government officers, courts, to stop supply of building materials to the military, not to pay fines imposed on villages, to make friendship with police and military and compel them to resign, etc.

## 45. Official Notings on and the text of a pamphlet attributed to Jaiprakash Narayan – (between May and August 1943)

File No. 3/64/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Intelligence Bureau

In the course of searches carried out at Nasik during the investigation of the Poona Capitol Cinema Bomb Case two highly pernicious documents entitled: (1) *A.B.C. of Dislocation* and (2) *Instructions – Sabotage of Communication* were seized. Copies of these two documents are attached.

2. We have good reason to believe that these documents contain detailed instructions for putting into effect Jai Prakash Narayan's scheme of organizing guerilla bands under the name 'Azad Dastas'.

3. These same two documents have also come to notice in the Punjab, printed in small booklet form, where they were seized from Romesh alias Jiwa Ram Paliwal when he was arrested on 8.5.43 while returning from Peshawar to Delhi. Shortly before his trip to Peshawar Romesh, who was connected with the Delhi Congress underground organisation and more recently was working under Ram Nandan Misra and Dr Gairola in the Punjab underground organisation, had visited Bombay. It is almost certain that this booklet was produced in Bombay and was brought by Romesh to the Punjab from Bombay.

4. Attempts to distribute this highly dangerous booklet throughout the country may be anticipated and copies have been sent to all Special Branches, C.I.Ds., I.Bs., Residencies and C.I.Os. drawing attention to this.

15-5-43

*Home Dept. (Sir R. Tottenham)*  
D.I.B. u.o. No. SA/T-71(7) 18/5/43

Intelligence, H.D.,  
Government of India

We fully agree as to the pernicious nature of these documents and assume that all Govts etc. will do their utmost to prevent their circulation. Equally important is it to take every possible step to ascertain the authorship of the documents and the time when they were prepared and issued. No doubt DIB has this in hand and we shall be glad to be kept in touch with any further developments on this point.

Is there any truth on the statement (top of p. 2) that large number of military rifles were looted at Barauni Junction? Also is anything known of the Military pamphlet of No. 7 (p. 19) and how it became known to the author.

R. Tottenham  
19-5-43

I held up these papers pending the conclusion of certain enquiries undertaken by the General Staff at our request.

2. As regards the first point mentioned in the last paragraph of Additional Secretary's note, there has been no case of 25,000 Government rifles and 30,000 rounds of ammunition falling into the hands of looters at the Barauni Junction in North Bihar. Earlier during the disturbances a train was derailed and set on fire and there were some wagons of *ammunition*, part of which was looted or destroyed. The story, as told in this document, is not true — or is at least a very gross exaggeration.

3. As regards the second point. A booklet entitled 'Demolitions, Field Engineering Pamphlet, No. 7 published by the Engineer-in-Chief's Branch in 1940 does exist. It is not a security document, is not serially numbered and is not marked secret. It is, however, F.O.U.O and bears the following warning:

'Not to be published. The information given in this document is not to be communicated, either directly or indirectly, to the Press or to any person not holding an official position in His Majesty's Service'.

I understand from the General Staff that this Pamphlet has very wide distribution among the Military Engineering staff, including lower ranks; leakage of its contents may, therefore, have occurred almost anywhere. The Pamphlet was superseded by another document entitled 'Military Engineering, Demolition, 1942', which is apparently still unknown to the author or authors of 'A.B.C. of Dislocation'.

4. Further enquiries are in progress.

31-5-43

Reference para 3 and 4 of my u/o No. SA/T-71 (7) dated 31-5-43 which I promised to inform

H.D. of the results of our enquiries about the Military pamphlet No. 7 referred to at para 19 of the Congress 'underground' publication 'Instructions — Sabotage of Communications'.

The publication has been examined by the Engineer-in-Chief's Branch who report that parts of it, particularly the instructions for the use of picric acid described on page 19, are based on formulae given in Field Engineering Pamphlet No. 7 of 1940; they note however, that the instructions have been wrongly compiled and would, therefore, lead to failure in certain cases.

The General Staff Branch report that the field Engineering Pamphlet No. 7 of 1940 was originally produced in the U.K. and was reprinted in India, when at least 2000 copies were put into circulation. The classification of the pamphlet was 'Not to be published' (which is equivalent to 'For Official use Only'). Publication so classified are in general circulation to officials, including subordinates who require them for the performance of their official duties. When obsolete, they are destroyed, unless there is some valid reason for their retention. G.S. Branch are of the opinion that it would be comparatively easy for a dishonest clerk to obtain a copy or to have the relevant portions copied.

Enquiries by Provincial Special Branches about the Congress publication have so far been inconclusive. It has not been ascertained definitely who its author is or where exactly it was prepared and printed, though it is suspected that this was done in Bombay.

*H.D. (Mr Vishnu Sahay)*

D.I.B. u/o No. SA/T-71(7) dated 17-6-43

Anybody could have stolen a copy of this pamphlet. We may await further developments on the other points mentioned at A in Addl. Secys. note of 19/5.

V. Sahay

A.S.

We may ask DIB whether any definite information regarding the authorship of the pamphlet or the places of its printing has since come to hand.

19-8-43 U.S. (I)

S.J.L. Olver, 25.8.43

DIB

We have not been able to find out definitely who the author of the pamphlet is though we suspect that it is Jai Prakash Narain.

27.8.43

Home Department (Mr Olver)

The DIB will no doubt let us know if the authorship is definitely established. The papers may be recorded.

Signed, 29.8.43

A.B.C. of Dislocation

(Secret)

I offer here a plea for the special consideration of those of our fighters for Indian freedom who have been engaging in the work of dislocation as well as of those who wish to undertake this form of activity. Much valuable energy and resources are lost and workers sacrificed

unnecessarily because of the ignorance of our workers and the lack of adequate knowledge required for successful actions. This plan should be supplemented by each group of workers with simple and precise instructions regarding the technic of underground activities. It is obvious that in the present phase particular attention should be paid to the problem of building up a sound decentralized organisation and the work of preparation both in respect to man-power and materials.

PAHILA AZAD

Azad Dastas

'The mass upsurge which marked the first phase of our Revolution has now declined. This should cause us no undue anxiety. It is in the nature of mass upheavals that they do not remain for long at the height of their intensity. Either a mass rising must secure within a short time its objective or its intensity must wane. The waning of its intensity, however does not mean that all is over with it. In revolution ups and downs are natural. The masses move forward and retreat and they move forward at one tremendous leap: for certain reasons they failed to reach their objective and retreated. It is certain that they shall advance again.

Three factors were responsible for the initial retreat of the Revolution; (i) lack of an organisation to lead the resurgent masses; (ii) absence of a full programme of the Revolution (iii) failure of all parts of the country to rise together.

The last of these is self-evident. The first two require some explanation. In those parts of the country where the people rose in all their strength, there was a tremendous release of energy. This energy was largely wasted because there was no guidance or direction as to how it should be spent. The people very early and with comparative ease completed the negative aspect of their task, viz. the destruction of the civil authority of the usurper power. But having destroyed the police stations, they did not know what further they had to do' they did not know how to create their own power and resist the reconquest of the liberated areas. The waste of energy and opportunity and the helplessness of the people are well exemplified in the case of the thousands of villagers who looted the military stores at the Barauni Junction, B.N.W. Rly. in North Bihar. It is reported that the people took possession of nearly 25,000 rifles and 30,000 rounds of ammunition, apart from other stores. With that material a fine people's militia could have been raised and a revolutionary government could have been organised in few districts, which could have held in a few districts against the enemy for some time. The militia and the establishment of the revolutionary government might have influenced the police and the armed forces in the neighboring districts and it was not improbable that the liberated areas had secured further adherents and expanded their territories.

The masses will take sometime to recoup their energy. Objective forces, such as the food and price situation, repression, propaganda, turns in the war will also take some time to create the psychological atmosphere that would require only a spark to produce another mass explosion. We should utilise the present firstly to remove the deficiencies that were discovered to exist at the beginning of the Revolution, and secondly, to produce as soon as possible those factors which would again lead to a mass upheaval. One method (we should emphasise that it is only one of other methods) of doing this is to create in every district a band of shock troopers, a sort of advance guard, who should possess the proper technical and political training, and who should, in the manner of guerillas, wage ceaseless war against the enemy.

Let us call band AZAD DASTAS in Hindustanee. The idea of these DASTAS, in the form of

guerillas, is widely current. It is necessary to give concrete shape to these ideas and to get on with the work without delay and without talk. In some Provinces these DASTAS already exist; their work in those parts has to be systematized.

It is intended to give directions and suggestions for the organisation of these DASTAS.

The nearest equivalents to our AZAD DASTAS would be European guerillas. The dictionaries define a guerilla as 'one engaged in irregular warfare generally in small independent bodies'. The term is derived from the Spanish word 'guerilla' meaning war. It is said the guerillas were the main force which prevented Napoleon from ever completely conquering Spain. Guerillas played an important part in the Russian Revolution and in occupied Europe today they are continuously harassing the Hitler regime. In occupied India our AZAD DASTA can become the instruments of complete paralysis and demoralization of the British rule. They can in time become the leaders of the mass insurrection and the nucleus of revolutionary people's army of the Republic of India.

There are 250 districts in British Occupied India. In a district of average size, 250 AZAD might be organised in five Jathas of 50 Azads each, which should further be divided into 25 Dastas of ten Azads each. It is suggested that every member of the Dastas should have the sur-title Azad added to his name; so that if his name is Sher Singh, he should be known as Sher Singh Azad. In this manner our Azad would mean the same as the Spanish 'guerilla' or the Russian 'Partisan'. To be known as Azad would be synonymous with being a member of an Azad Dasta (a guerilla unit) of a Dasta as Azad Dastadar.

*Discipline & Oath:* Each Dasta should be formed around a leader who should select and recruit his Azads and to whom the latter should pledge implicit obedience. All Azad and Azad officers must take the following oath of allegiance.

I, a citizen of the Republic of India and true son of Mother India, do solemnly pledge that I, as an Azad, shall not cease fighting the British usurper till the Republic of India is established and the free flag of the Republic flies from one end of the country to the other.

I pledge my unquestioned loyalty to the Indian Revolution and do solemnly declare that I shall be ready to lay down my life in its service.

I pledge further to obey implicitly the orders of my officers and to observe strict military discipline.

Should I by weakness, cowardice or evil design, violate this oath and betray the interest of my people, may I suffer any punishment, including death, at the hands of my comrades.

When a Dasta is organised, its members will confirm their leader by vote or may elect another leader from among themselves. Their leader once elected, they should give him unquestioned loyalty. It should be the concern of the leader to see that his Azads are properly clothed and fed and his Dasta has the necessary equipment and secures the necessary training. He should function, as far as possible not dictatorially but democratically, the decisions of the Dasta being as far as possible the result of joint consultations.

The AZADS and their officers should, as far as possible be young men with good physique and active habits.

*Who Should be the Officers:* THE AZAD DASTADARS and Jathadars may be political workers, school-teachers, college students, deserters from the army or the police forces. They should have some education including political education. The initiative in organizing the dastas must be taken by such leaders. A Jathadar may select four suitable men and charge them each with the responsibility of recruiting nine Azads, to form in this manner four Dastas should get specific sanction from the District organization for each dasta to operate.

After this sanction has been secured, each Dastdar with the help of his Jathadar shall collect the necessary equipment and arrange for the necessary training of his Azads after which his Dastas should begin to operate in his locality.

For the formation of the Azad Dastas it should be possible to issue appeals to those who have deserted from the Army to join or to form Dastas. Where we contact with Indian regiments we should try to persuade suitable soldiers and officers to desert with their arms and form or join Azad Dastas. This should be one of the important activities of the Army Dept. We should also try to persuade armed policemen to desert for the same purpose.

The experience of guerillas elsewhere shows that it is not possible for a central organisation of them to be formed. Our Azad Dastas too cannot have a central organisation. They can only be given general guidance and help the dissemination of technical advice. In the Provinces too it may not be possible to have a centralised organisation, but a loose coordination must exist between the districts and the Provincial Azad Dastas should be able to keep in touch with the district organisations. In the districts, however, there should be closer coordination and the five Jathadars must work together, so that there should be no confusion or duplication in their action. They should also be able to pool their resources whenever it is necessary.

To ensure smooth working and maintenance of discipline and also to ensure that the Azad movement does not get out of control and follows the policy we suggest an Azad Subedar who should be responsible for the general guidance of the Azad movement in the entire Province and to whom should be subordinated all the District Azad formations. The Subedar should appoint Azad Ziladars from amongst the Jathadars, to whom should be subordinated the jathadars and all the Azad formations in the district. The Dastadars should, of course, be responsible and subordinate to their respective Jathadars.

*Finance:* The financing of the Azad Dastas is a serious problem, but it is not insoluble if the Dastas are active and in touch with the people. It is impossible for the Dastas to be financed from the centre. Nor has it ever happened in history that guerillas were financed by a central authority. Particularly in the matter of food and clothing, guerillas have always been known to obtain their requirements from the people among whom they operated. The very basis of the operation of guerilla bands is that such support should be generally available to our Dastas.

Our Dastas should make willing collection of grain and other foodstuffs from the villages near which they operate. Appeals should be issued to village people to give the Azads what they can spare. It is estimated that there are a million sadhus in our country who do not work and are yet fed by the people. Our Azads if organised to the full strength herein suggested shall only be a sixteenth of this number and if the people are approached properly, they would not refuse to feed them too. Bazaars may be asked to contribute cloth and other necessities for the Azads. In a district of 20 lakhs there will be 250 Azads on the average. It should not be difficult for the district to feed and clothe such a small number of people. The only condition is that the Azad must be active and should on no account molest the people.

Another source of income for guerillas is raids on the enemy. Our Dastas should also utilize that source. They may loot mail bags, small post offices, revenue collection before they reach headquarters (so that it would be easy to loot them) other government property such as grain shops and other stores of the usurpers.

In this manner the Azad Dastas must finance themselves.

It should be mentioned here that it would be inadvisable for our Dastas to get mixed up with professional dacoits or other criminals.

*Plan of Operation:* Past experience in Europe and Asia has shown that guerillas operate



best in hilly or jungle tracts. There are in every province of our country many such tracts. These should be the main bases of our Azad Dastas. But it may be possible, in fact, it has been shown to be possible during the present Revolution itself, that guerillas may be able to operate in plain country also and have their bases there, when they are firmly rooted among the mass of our people.

What is the plan of operation of the Azad Dastas? Firstly let us see what place these Dastas have in the general plan of our Revolution. Guerilla fighting has always constituted an important part of a people's war, or a revolution, but it has never been its main part. The Russian and Chinese guerillas of the present days do not constitute the main part of armed forces of their country. But they serve to spread the spirit of resistance to the enemy far beyond the reaches of the regular forces, and thus help in mobilizing the whole people against their foes. In the conquered areas, particularly guerillas keep up the spirit of resistance, harass and demoralize the enemy and prepare the people for a general rising.

Our Azads have a similar task. The main part of our Revolution is, of course, an open rebellion of the whole people. Such an open rebellion broke out in August and September last. A similar, nay, vaster rebellion is our immediate objective, and we prepare for it in various ways. An integral part of this work is the organization of Azad Dastas. In the absence of a mass rising, it is our Azads who will carry ceaseless war unto the enemy, who will harass him and dislocate and demoralize his administration. Their continuous conflict with the enemy will keep up and radiate the spirit of resistance and also be a training to the people in general in the acts of resistance. The Azad movement, further, will put in the field a tested and trained cadre of revolutionaries, who by virtue of intimate contact with the people, will become their natural leaders. In this manner, the Azad movement would form a valuable part of the National Revolution and an important method of preparing for a general mass rising.

With the nature of guerilla work clear in our minds, we may proceed to a detailed consideration of the plan of action of our Azad Dastas. The plan may be divided into three parts: (1) Dislocation of communications and war-effort (2) Depriving Govt. treasuries and such like of monies (3) Raids for destruction of the centers of enemy's authority and for disarming them

(1) Dislocation

See 'Instructions Regarding Dislocation' published elsewhere separately below.

(2) Depriving Govt. Treasuries etc. of Monies

In this connection the following actions are suggested:

- i) looting of mail bags;
- ii) looting of post offices and railway stations
- iii) looting of railway trains carrying government money.
- iv) looting of revenue collections before they reach headquarters;
- v) looting of government grain shops and other government stores.

(3) Raids on Centers of Enemy Authority

The following raids may be carried out:

- (i) raid on police stations for disarming and destruction of records;
- (ii) raid on chowkies, patwari's office, registration office, chungli office and other small and not-too-well guarded offices and destruction of the records contained therein and of other properties, where possible.

Looting of mail bags has been found very successful in Karnatak and parts of Gujarat: In

Karnatak a number of railway stations have also been burnt down by dislocation bands. In Gujarat in the Broach District two police stations were raided by trained bands, and disarmed and records were burnt. In the second raid only 27 guerillas, whom we shall call Azads, took part: This was due to detailed planing and disciplined attack.

*Arms and Equipment:* There is much irresponsible talk today and unnecessary running about for arms particularly rifles and revolvers. Many people seem to think that nothing effective can be done without fire-arms and they spend all their time either in talking about them or in securing and keeping them in safety. Often enough the arms when secured are useless, for there is no ammunition or there is no one who can use them.

We are anxious to emphasize that since killing and terrorism are no part of our programme, possession of arms is unessential for us except as means of self-defence for our Azads. They shall also be of value, when, in the event of a mass rising, the opportunity arises to form units of the country's revolutionary army. For present action, however, arms are not an unavoidable necessity. Many effective forms of guerilla activity are possible without any fire-arms whatever such as dislocation of communications, looting of mail bags, etc. burning of offices and station. During such actions a few country weapons are sufficient for the protection of the Azads. In Karnatak where guerilla activities are the most wide spread there is very little of fire-arms used.

Our anxiety is to remove the mentality, which is fairly common, that without rifles and revolvers nothing is possible. We have already indicated that the greater part of the Azad activities can be carried out without such arms at least for the present and for some time to come. If every district in India were doing today what, for instance, Belgaum is doing, we should have succeeded, without any large possession of fire-arms in bringing the administration of the enemy to near paralysis. And that would surely have been a signal for the people to rise again in all their force.

Raids to disarm the enemy shall provide training to the Azads and enable the unfit to be eliminated. They shall also serve to undermine the foundations of the enemy's rule and hearten and embolden the people.

The equipment necessary for an Azad Nasta is suggested below:

- |                               |                 |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| a) Pliers or wire cutters     | - 2             |
| b) Hack saws                  | - 2             |
| c) Hammers                    | - 2             |
| d) Axe                        | - 1             |
| e) Spades                     | - 4             |
| f) Pick-axes                  | - 2             |
| g) Lathis                     | - 10            |
| h) Spears                     | - 5             |
| i) Materials for incendiaries |                 |
| j) Two ropes 2" thickness     | - length 12 ft. |
| k) Copper wiring 1/18 SWG     | - length 10"    |

*Training of Azads:* The question of training of Azads is important. Training includes political as well as technical training. As far as technical training is concerned, for the initial stages, at least, no special training is required except what comes through practice. For instance, how to climb a telegraph pole or how to use a plier or a hacksaw or how to make an incendiary packet (following written instructions) is a matter of a little practice or patience. This type of training is thus largely self-acquired.

Training can be given only on the 'relay' basis. In one centre a trainer trains up, say 5

selected Azads. These trained Azads then train separately other small batches of Azads and so on. Any training centre where a large number of Azads and a large amount of equipment have been collected is strongly deprecated.

We would further suggest that since the simpler forms of Azad activities do not require any special training, the plea that trainers are not available, should not be made an excuse for not immediately getting on with the work.

*Immediate Task:* At present Azad activities are being carried out in a very few parts of the country. There, too, the organisation has to be improved in many ways. In the greater part of the country, however, we have to begin on a clean slate and our Azad Dastas have to be organised anew. The first thing to do is to form the Dastas and Jathas. When a sufficient number of them has been formed, action may begin.

The plan of action has already been discussed. Ordinarily, people are inclined to indulge in heroics and romanticism when they come to deal with guerilla fighting. We suggest that we approach the task with sobriety and a practical sense. Altogether too much time and effort have been wasted on trying to blow up bridges and on spectacular actions. Blowing up of bridges and a similar action are at present beyond the scope of our Azad Dastas. Later on when they have functioned for some time, select Dastas of intelligent and tried Azads might be formed for this purpose and the necessary expert advice and guidance might be made available to them. But at least for the present we must concentrate on wide-spread, simple, easily-learnt actions. The actions we particularly recommend are: (1) cutting of telegraph and telephone line; (2) the various forms of railway dislocation mentioned in the Instructions below; (3) incendiarism — burning of the enemies' offices, stores, etc. (4) looting of mail bags, post-offices, etc.

These activities would require no particular training and, if practised on a sufficiently wide scale, would prove to be very effective. Their effectiveness is to be judged by the effect produced both on the enemy and the people.

From this point of view, wide-spread Dislocation of even a petty type is to be preferred to a big but isolated action. The former trains up a larger number of persons, spreads the spirit of resistance over a much larger area, encourages and emboldens the people more and causes much greater demoralization in the ranks of the enemy than the latter. We are not opposed to big actions, but where resources are limited and beginning has to be made, we stress the dispersed rather than the concentrated form of action.

## **Instruction**

### *(1) Sabotage of Communications*

The essential nature of our present Revolution has been described by the AICC Radio as 'atomization of the country'. By atomization is meant the 'break-up of the artificial shackles of unity imposed upon the country'. It means 'not only . . . the putting out of action of rails and roads that coil round the country like a black serpent and collects its blood in central reservoirs', but also 'the much vaster effort of putting out of action the relation between village produce and city manufacture and the system of currency and taxation'. The second effort is considered the much more important of the two and greater emphasis is rightly placed on it, because it involves mass effort and is therefore revolutionary action of a deeper nature. But the destruction of rails and roads is also important and the AIC Radio considers it 'indispensable'. This action in August-September was the work of the masses, who instinctively knew that the rails and

roads were the vipers that sucked their blood and made the rule of the foreigners possible. The intensity of the mass upsurge having declined for the time being, the cutting up of these vipers is not the work of our Azad Dastas, which too have their roots among the masses and draw their sustenance and sanction from them.

The chief means of communication are:

- i) Telegraph and telephone lines and installations;
- ii) Railways;
- iii) Roads and highways;
- iv) Postal services;
- v) Broadcasting and wireless telegraphy

We shall take these one by one.

1) 'Telegraph and Telephone lines and installations. In this connection we shall select only the poles, insulators and wires and the receiving and transmitting instruments as our targets. The first three can be got at in open country for the last it is necessary to enter stations and telegraph offices. The first three are, therefore, easy targets.

a) Poles. These are of wood or steel. The wooden poles can be either cut with an ordinary saw or burnt down with the help of some kerosene, rags and a match-box. The steel poles can be cut by hack-saws. It takes half-an-hour to saw an average telegraph pole.

It is not advisable to cut any pole. Select a pole that is at a corner where the telegraph line takes a turn. If such a pole is cut through half way from the other side of the angles the tension from both sides would be sufficient to bring it down. Then again after every few poles there is a pole secured to the earth by wires known as guy-wires. Such a pole is a superior target; when its guy-wires are cut, the tension in the wires will bring the pole down even when it has been partially sawed.

When only a few wires are running over a pole, it saves time and labour to cut the wires rather than the poles.

b) Insulators. These are usually of porcelain and of glass. A hammer or a piece of stone may be fastened to a bamboo pole and the insulators may be broken by just hammering at them. Time permitting, the insulators must be broken even when poles and wires have been cut.

c) Wires. All telephone wires are of copper; telegraph wires are of copper or sometimes steel. These wires can be cut by pliers or wire cutters. The instruments can be bought at any hardware store in town; if they are not available in the market, they can be made to sample by our smiths.

For cutting wires, it is necessary to climb the poles. Climbing is easy and can be learnt by a little practice. With a piece of string rope 12 feet long a loop can be made at the top of the pole and the Azad who has gone up to cut the wires may support himself by the loop.

Not any wire anywhere should be cut. Let a band of at least 3 Azads go for the job. One of them should remain on the ground. The other two should climb adjacent poles . . . one of the poles should have double insulators; as explained above every six or seven poles there is a double insulator pole. Now both the Azads who have gone up should cut the wires on inside of the two poles – i.e. the wires that are between the two poles, and they should do so almost simultaneously. This will make detection of the spot of damage more difficult.

Another method to put the lines out of action is to take a length of thin bare copper or brass wire, climb up a pole and wind one end of the wire around the pole and the rest of

the wire around the telegraph or telephone wires; the winding should be so done that it is not visible from the ground. This would ground all the messages and the line would be out of order.

The tools required for all these operations are: ordinary saw, hack-saw, plier or wire cutter, copper or brass wire, 12 feet of strong rope, kerosene, rags, match-box, bamboo pole and a hammer or a stone.

d) Receiving and Transmitting Instruments. Where access to stations is possible, these instruments can be destroyed by hammer blows.

Note. Live telegraph or telephone wires are harmless, as the voltage in them never exceeds 50 volts. A slight shock that may be felt is nothing to be afraid of; if the hands are wrapped in dry cloth no shock will be felt.

e) Railways. They may be broad-gauge, meter-gauge or 'light'. Only a small portion of the total track will have double lines, the rest only single. Only over short lengths are trains run by electricity; otherwise they are run by steam which is generated by burning coal or to a small extent burning oil. Electric trains are run with D.C. at 1500 volts.

(A) The vital points to be studied in connection with steam driven railways are: a) the water works near watering stations; b) coal stacks; c) the railway tracks; d) bridges; e) the signalling mechanism; f) the telegraph and telephone lines along the track and the instruments inside stations, and g) the engine. Except for a), b) and c) all points are vital for electric railways too.

a) Water Works. Without water engines cannot run; therefore water works are important. Generally then works are at some distance from the stations – so they can be easily got at. At the water works there are engines, pumps and pipe lines running up to the tanks. The vital parts of the engines and pumps can be destroyed by a heavy hammer. The pipe lines can be cut by a hack saw or the nuts and bolts can be removed at points with a spanner or pipe-tongs.

b) Coal Stacks. These can be set on fire by any ordinary method.

c) Tracks. Rails can be cut with a hack-saw; it takes 45 minutes to do that. Cut a portion, say a foot line and leave it in place so that the damage may not be apparent to a driver; this will derail the train.

Another method to derail is to remove fish-plates; these are steel plates that join two rails together, and are secured to them by four bolts, a pair to each rail. The nuts are unscrewed by a suitable spanner, universal spanner or pipe-tongs.

d) Bridges. For demolition of bridges high explosives are required. For the present we shall leave them out of our general instructions. Where, however, the necessary explosives and expert advice are available, this item too should be taken in hand.

e) Signalling mechanism. Where there are no electric signals as on railways run exclusively by steam the signalling mechanism consisting of handles, wires, the signals and lanterns; to put this out of order, cut the wires, break up the red and green glasses of the lamps. The signalling mechanism is very important and is easily dislocated.

f) Telegraph and telephone lines and instruments, described already in section i) above. We lay special emphasis on the destruction of these lines and instruments, as without them trains cannot run and their destruction is easy.

g) Engines are vital parts of a railway system, and there is only a limited number of them available. But to damage them special knowledge is required. It is desirable therefore to establish contacts with drivers, cleaners, oil-men etc., and get the work done through them.

Emery powder – one pound to the gallon – added to the lubricating oil will damage delicate moving parts and disable the engine. This is a simple method which can be easily carried out with the co-operation of the railway men. Special attention should be paid to it and our Labour Dept. should be asked to help.

Regarding this last item, care should be taken not to start the actual sabotage till enough railway men have been enlisted.

(B) The vital points in an electric railway system are: the powerhouse, transmission lines, receiving stations, sub-stations, overhead lines, in addition to points under (A). To do damage to these requires special knowledge and access to stations. Sometimes switch-gear and transformers are located in the open; they can be destroyed by rifle shots or stones thrown at them. There is one point, however, where we recommend we should concentrate; it is the tower of pylons that carry the overhead lines. To destroy these does not require any knowledge or training and can be attended to by our Azad Dastas; the legs of corner towers are to be cut by hack-saws.

CAUTION. Take care that the overhead lines do not fall upon or touch the body as the tower falls; else you will die.

## *(2) Industrial Sabotage*

It is not possible to give technical details regarding sabotage in factories, mills, workshops, mines etc. Regarding mines it might be possible to send instructions sometime later.

As for factories it must be noted that effective sabotage can be done only through workmen inside them. Therefore, as far as this kind of sabotage is concerned the most important thing to do within as short a time as possible is to organise sabotage bands among the industrial workers. In every important industrial unit there should be a sabotage band which should act from instructions from above.

Workmen so organised would usually possess the necessary technical knowledge; otherwise mechanics and engineers should be available in the factories; who would be sympathetic and instruct the bands. The formation of these bands is the best preparation for industrial sabotage. This should be an important part of the Labour Dept.

## *(3) On Incendiaries and Explosives*

While incendiaries could be handled with comparative safety by untrained men, the greatest care should be taken in the production or employment of explosives, and only trained operatives should be set on the work.

(A) Incendiaries. It is frequently forgotten that an incendiary can do no more than ignite – just START a fire; that the fire so started can spread and do much damage only if it burns a considerable time UNNOTICED and combustion materials are contiguously located; and lastly while no incendiary can ignite an incombustible material like concrete, brick-work or metal; even combustible material cannot burn unless it has an adequate supply of air.

The standard incendiary in modern warfare is the termite bomb of a minimum weight of a little over two pounds. It is made of a magnesium alloy which when ignited by burning termite within it would burn for several minutes with an intense heat. Termite itself is a well dried mixture of one part of coarse aluminium filings and three parts of red oxide of iron; when it burns there is no flame, but molten iron at 3000 degrees C. is produced along with a slug of molten aluminium oxide floating above the iron. Thus termite cannot set fire to materials high above it. It can ignite only materials with which the white-hot molten iron and slag can come into contact. To ignite termite we may use a mixture of one part of fine

aluminium dust (such as is used in paints) and two and a quarter parts of potassium chlorate, but even this mixture cannot be easily made to burn. A mixture of one part of sugar and two-and-three fourths parts of chlorate will catch fire on mere contact with concentrated sulphuric acid. If a blend of one part of sugar-chlorate mixture and two parts of aluminium chlorate mixture is interposed between layers of the two mixtures, combustion will spread to thermite at the bottom.

From this description it will be evident that some of the materials like aluminium dust required for a thermite incendiary are not freely available every where and the preparation of the incendiary is by no means easy. Further although this incendiary gives a very high temperature, the *quantity* of heat it affords is in comparison small.

After a good deal of experiment we have evolved a simple and very inexpensive blend for our purpose, costing only about 4 annas for an 8 ounce charge, which would burn for at least 4 minutes and is capable of igniting even wood above it, provided a clear air-space of at least 3 inches is allowed over the charge for the flame to play with unimpeded air supply. The ingredients used are 10 parts of potassium nitrate (nitre or salt-petre they call it in Bombay), 2 parts of sulphur, 2 parts of dry saw-dust and 1 part of any oil, such as lubricating oil waste. The nitrate and sulphur are separately well-powdered and sieved to get a fine grain. The mixture should be intimate. The charge may be placed in a card board box, and at its centre, in a small well made with a cylinder of wood, about an ounce of an igniting mixture of 1 part of sugar, 2 parts of sulphur and  $7\frac{1}{4}$  parts of potassium chlorate is placed and into the igniting mixture is inserted, mouth downwards a 1-dram bottle containing concentrated sulphuric acid, the mouth having been securely closed by a piece of rubber torn from a common toy balloon and tied tight over the mouth. The acid corrodes the rubber and after 2 to 3 hours comes into contact with the igniting mixture to which it then sets fire. The time device for igniting described here has been the most successful of several tried by us; and the incendiary itself, by its silent action, is superior to other proposed.

(B) Explosives. An explosive is a substance which upon suitable treatment develops a gas at a high temperature and pressure; and it is the pressure of the gas exerted equally in all directions which produces the blast with its destructive effect.

(1) Gunpowder. The first explosive used in history was a mixture of 75 parts of potassium nitrate, 15 parts of wood charcoal and 10 parts of sulphur, ground separately to fine dust and intimately mixed. This mixture is still the simplest to prepare and is called black powder or gunpowder.

Black powder burns in the open with a dense cloud of smoke, because 56% of the product of its combustion are solid. When it is burnt in a shell or a bore hole in the material to be destroyed, if the pressure developed by a given charge is sufficient high, the shell or material will burst and the fragments flying outwards in all directions will constitute the splinters that injure persons they may encounter. For the bursting pressure to develop, the shell will have to be sufficiently thick and well closed, or the bore-hole will have to be tamped air-tight with wet clay, after the introduction of the charge. If the container is not sufficiently strong for a given charge, when only a fraction of the charge has burnt the pressure developed will be sufficient to burst the container, after which the remainder of the charge would burn off quietly in the open, the energy from its combustion being wasted without destructive effect.

[(1) Gun powder – (2 paras on the qualities of Gun powder not printed – Ed.)]

The ignition of a charge is affected by a fuze, which is a flexible hose of spun jute fibres,

files along its length with black powder. The hose is waterproofed by impregnation with asphalt. It requires machinery to prepare and so has to be bought for use from dealers in ammunition stores. One end of a length of fuze is cut square at right angles to the length and imbedded in the charge, while the emergent end is cut at a slant with a razor blade in order to expose a larger area of black powder for easy ignition. A 2 foot length will allow one minute's time for the operator to withdraw to a safe distance.

If an interval longer than one minute is desired, upto ten minutes or slightly longer could be secured by inserting just enough of the emergent end of the fuze into the cold end of a lighted cigarette, so that the cigarette is held up in the air and does not get put out by contact with cold surfaces. Only in the nights will the glow be visible, and a thin wisp of smoke from the burning end will be invisible by night while being scarcely noticeable by day-light.

In case a fuze is not available, a quick-match may be improvised by filling a drinker straw with the igniting mixture of sugar-chlorate-sulphur described under incendiaries. This mixture will burn exceedingly fast and so the straw will have to be inserted into the cigarette for time.

In case very long intervals are desired, the emergent end of the fuze may be inserted into a small charge of incendiary set to ignite by the time-device described above.

The destructive power of black-powder is intrinsically poor and limited by the characteristic property of black powder which requires that it should always be ignited in a container or bore-hole, closed or tamped to prevent the gases from its combustion escaping before the bursting pressure develops.

(2) High Explosives. For quick demolitions, what are called high explosives like nitro-glycerine, T.N.T., gun-cotton and picric acid are employed. In contrast to black powder these possess much greater destructive energy and when they are 'detonated' as described in the sequel, they get converted almost instantaneously into a gas — within a few thousandths of a second. The gas at the moment of detonation occupies only the space previously occupied by the solid which gave birth to it — But being in such quantity and at such high temperature, that, under ordinary atmospheric pressure, it would have occupied nearly a thousand times that volume, it exerts in all directions a pressure as many times atmospheric — several tons per square inch. This pressure would develop even if the high explosive is unenclosed or contained in no material stronger than paper and it would exert its destructive effect upon all structures to which it may be exposed.

The word detonation is used to describe this rapid conversion of a high explosive to the gaseous state. On simple ignition by fuze, however, most high explosives will not detonate, but will burn off quietly like gunpowder — unless and in only a few instances, the high explosives charge is in such large quantity, that after a certain amount of it has burnt wastefully, the remainder may be raised to so high a temperature that the flame shoots through the entire mass with what is called the velocity of detonation characteristic of the high explosive.

There is, on the other hand, a certain class of unstable bodies like mercury fulminate and leadazide which detonate violently on every provocation — whether by ignition, percussion, or even contact with concentrated sulphuric acid. These bodies are called detonators, and if a small quantity of any of them is compressed carefully in a charge of high explosive however large, its detonation by ignition with a fuze would initiate the detonation of the entire charge of high explosive whose full energy will thereby be available for purposes of destruction.

(3) Chlorat. Oil Mixtures. The simplest high explosive that we could most easily compound is an intimate mixture of 9 parts of potassium chlorate and one part of kerosene. This is, however, expensive, to the extent that its major ingredient is costly.



The most powerful high explosive known is 'blasting gelatine' which is nitroglycerine gelatinized by 7-8% of collodion cotton — a variety of gun-cotton. Since however, the mixture is not very stable in the tropics, and the ingredients it requires are difficult and dangerous to prepare, we cannot, with the present resources, contemplate its manufacture as a possibility.

(1) Picric Acid. Next only to blasting gelatine in destruction ability is the high explosive picric acid, in the cast form. The raw materials required for its preparation are crystalline phenol (carbolic acid, melting point 41° C) concentrated sulphuric acid (Sp. Gr. 1.84; 95% strong) and concentrated nitric acid (Sp. Gr. 1.4; 65% strong); while the pots used for manufacture may be the battery jars of 100 or 120 lb. water capacity made by Indian manufacture as at Morvi, out of acid proof earthenware.

(a) Sulphonation. Melt 50 lbs. of phenol out of its drum into a jar. The drum is supported inclined over the mouth of the jar; heat its sides with a blow-lamp, when the phenol will run out of a hole at the rim, while another small hole diametrically opposite will admit air into the drum as the melted acid flows out in a thin stream. Into the jar, then, add 100 lbs. of sulphuric acid. Stir with a stout glass rod (1" diameter, digesting the mixture over a oil bath at 120° C for not less than 3-4 hours. Cool. This process requires scarcely any attention.

(b) First stage nitration. With a large beaker transfer 45 lbs. of the sulphonated phenol to a jar cooled in a large tub of water, and add 30 lbs. of cold water or the mother liquor from a previous charge. Stir vigorously, while adding 15 lbs. of nitric acid, in SMALL quantities at a time, spread over a time interval of 2 hours so that the temperature never exceeds 70° C and red brown fumes of nitrogen oxides do not arise.

(c) Second stage nitrogen. Transfer the whole of the charge from the first stage, without allowing it to cool, into a third battery jar buried in asbestos powder or ashes in order to conserve the heat of the reaction. The temperature of the charge should not be less than 60° C. In the course of one hour add 15 lbs. of nitric acid, stirring vigorously after each little addition, when the temperature will rise to 120° C. Stir in a second lot of 15 lbs. and a third lot of 15 lbs. increasing the rate of addition if the temperature tends to fall below 110° C. Finally add a last lot of 12 lbs. nitric acid rapidly, disregarding nitrous fumes and finish before the temperature drops below 100° C. The second stage of nitration thus requires 57 lbs. of nitric acid in all, and 5-6 hours. Allow to cool. Then add 40 lbs. of water, stir up and settle. From the crystals of picric acid decent drain off the spent acid which may be rejected except for the quantity used in diluting the sulphonated phenol in the first stage of nitration. Spare acid or wash waters, as they contain dissolved picric acid, must not be thrown away every day in the same place — as that would lead to localised accumulation of the explosive and eventual accidents.

(d) To the well drained crystals add enough water to submerge them, stir up vigorously by the hand, protected by gloves — and settle; drain out the wash water and repeat the washing two more times, draining well each time by leaving the jar inclined. Dry the well-washed and well drained crystals in the sun, on an asbestos-cement board. Crystals not properly nitrated change red in the sun, while if they are not washed acid free, they will be hygroscopic, absorbing moisture from the air. The yield from 50 lbs. of phenol should be about 100 lbs. of picric acid.

Picric acid crystals are pale yellow when dry and deep yellow when wet, and very bitter to taste. The operator's clothes may stain yellow in working, but the dye will wash off from linen. If, however, the operator does not protect himself by rubber gloves, his hands will acquire an almost permanent and tell-tale yellow which can only wear out slowly. The crystals melt at 120° C (121.6° C if pure) and their solubility in water is 1% (cold) and 5% (hot).

Picric acid is very stable and safe to handle, provided it is not allowed to contact any metal other than tin, since it forms an explosive series of salts, of which the lead picrate is the most dangerous. Picric acid will not be detonated even by a 2 gramme fulminate detonator (see later), if it is wet or cast into a block. But if a well at the centre of a block is filled by about an ounce of a 'primer' of 57 parts of potassium nitrate and 43 parts of ammonium picrate -- a fulminate detonator buried in this primer will, when ignited, initiate the detonation of first the primer and thence the entire block.

The preparation of picric acid slabs requires THE GREATEST CARE. The crystals are melted in a glass beaker over an oil bath at a temperature NOT HIGHER THAN 122° C fusion being facilitated by stirring with a glass rod. Molten picric is volatile and HIGHLY INFLAMMABLE. The melt is baled out cautiously into moulds of cardboard or rustless tins. After a block has solidified a well could be bored in it with a wooden twist drill to take the primer and the boring could be returned to the melting pot.

(5) Ammonium picrate, the major ingredient of the primer is prepared by adding liquor ammonia drop by drop, in excess to smell, to a boiling solution of picric acid drained in water. The salt precipitates and after cooling and settling the crystals are drained on a suction filter and dried in the sun.

(6) Mercury fulminate Detonator. The detonator most easily prepared is mercury fulminate. Detonators are very sensitive bodies and only small quantities of them should be prepared at a time as they should be handled carefully in locations far removed from where high explosives are made or stored.

Pour 22 ounces of nitric acid (Sp. Gr. 1.36) over 2 ounces of mercury in a glass vessel and stir to dissolve. Cool and pour the solution into 20 ounces of mentholated spirit in a large flask of 10 lbs. capacity. Warm, if necessary, for a short time, if the reaction is sluggish to start. Once started the action proceeds vigorously and the flask fills with fumes, the fulminate separating as a white powder. Towards the end the fumes reddened, but subsequently clear up, and in about half an hour the reaction will have subsided. Settle, Decant, and wash three times with water, draining each time thoroughly. Dry the powder first between folds of filter paper and then spread out in a warm dry dark place. Preserve the powder in a cool place in a paper covered stoppered bottle as it tends to absorb moisture and decompose in light.

A mixture of 8 parts of fulminate and 2 parts of potassium chlorate is used in detonators. The mixing is done with a soft brush or feather. Rubbing or pressure may lead to detonation. 1 gram of the Mixture will suffice for chlorate-oil mixtures but 2 grammes are desirable for the primed picric acid block. The quantity is compressed carefully in a copper tube ¼ inch in diameter and 2 inches long made out of thin sheet. Compression is by slowly loading a wooden plunger (or an old graphite rod for a discharged torch light cell), until a final weight of 2 cwt. is reached. The weights should be laid gently as otherwise the fulminate will detonate. Handling fulminate requires the greatest care.

Ignition of the detonator is by fuze; the square cut end is inserted into the copper tube and while holding it pressed the tube at the top pinched by pliers, so that the fuze is held tightly in position, as thus:

The pinching should not be anywhere near the fulminate charge -- else it will explode; and once the fuze has been fixed in the manner described no pull should be applied to it. The tube is buried in the primer or explosive, taking care to see that while it is held tight in the charge, its pinched end is wholly above the charge and emerging clear of it.

(C) Demolitions. For quick demolitions, picric acid is the standard explosive in France, while gun cotton is the standard in England.

We have just now no practical experience in the use of picric acid for demolitions. If we use standard blocks of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  lb. the number of such blocks required for any destruction are specified in Military Pamphlet No. 7 of 1940 issued by the Government of India which gives the following formulae:

a) By applying surface charges: The blocks are held 'TIGHT' along the whole length of the object to be destroyed and to obviate any air gap, a layer of wet clay is interposed.

i) For brick-work or masonry, arch rings, piers, walls;  $N$  is  $\frac{3}{5} \times BT^2$

ii) For steel work-round;  $N$  is  $\frac{1}{2} d;^2$  flat;  $N$  is  $\frac{1}{10} \times bt^2$

iii) For rails, 90 lbs. or lighter one block applied against the rail the space between the web and the block being completely filled by wet clay; three blocks applied at a fish plate, between the middle pair of bolts.

iv) For timber: Flats  $N$  is  $\frac{5}{2} \times BT^2$  Bounds:  $N$  is  $\frac{5}{2} \times D^2$

In these formulae B.T.D. refers to the breadth, thickness, diameter in feet; b.t.d. to the same dimensions in inches; and  $N$  to the number of blocks required subject to a minimum of one block for a 6" length.

b) y pressure or concussion charges — for concrete and other structures. Tins containing 10 lbs. or 25 lbs. are used, covered by 20 sand bags to a tin.

The same military pamphlet suggests the addition of 5-10% of linseed oil to petrol stores at roadside distributing stations; while larger dumps are best destroyed by springing a hole in the tale with surface charges of explosive and either allowing the oil out or better setting fire to it after it has run to the ground.

(D) SMOKE Bombs. We have no practical experience of the production or use of smoke bombs. Every smoke is characterized by what is called its total capacity power, measured in a specified way under specified conditioned, and published data agree in allocating to the smoke from burning phosphorous the highest capacity; a smoke screen from phosphorous oxide is produced when shells exploding disperse yellow phosphorous in the air. But by reason of its high cost in the black market, the great difficulty in obtaining it at all, and its inherently dangerous nature, yellow phosphorous could not be considered by us as a raw material for smoke bombs.

The U.S. Bureau of Mines have, however, devised a simple composition which on burning is claimed to give a satisfactory smoke. It is formulated as follows:

	%
Zinc dust	34.5
Carbon tetrachloride	40.8
Sodium chlorate	9.3
Ammonium chloride	7.0
Precipitated magnesium carbonate	8.3

The sodium chlorate could be replaced by nearly an equal weight of pot. chlorate. All the ingredients of the mixture should therefore be available to us. But we must anticipate one obvious limitation of such a smoke source. One lb. of the mixture is said to burn for two minutes, and unless a smoke generating device builds up a screen for us almost instantaneously or within a few seconds, it is not likely to help us in covering a retreat which it is intended to do. Experiment alone can decide if the mixture formulated above will serve our purpose.

In all cases, further, it must be recollected that the effectiveness of a smoke is very largely dependent on prevalent atmospheric conditions — principally the humidity of the air and the wind velocity, if there be air currents.

## 46: Note for H.E. — Discontinuance of Bi-weekly Reports (extracts)

File No. 3/51/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Dated 17 May 1943*

1. .

2. Owing to the decline in the activity of the Congress movement throughout the country the volume of the reports has become meagre, and the significance of the incidents reported has become considerably less. In the circumstances it is submitted that the expenditure of paper involved in the circulation of the reports to Hon. Member, etc. is no longer justified, and the circulation may be discontinued forthwith. It is further submitted that in the present circumstances regular bi-weekly situation reports are no longer required from or to the provinces and that it will be sufficient if they send to us and to the India Office specific reports of important incidents connected with the Congress movement as they occur. It is proposed to inform Provinces and the India Office accordingly. The case is submitted to P.S.V. for H.E.'s orders on these proposals.

R. Tottenham,  
Addl. Secretary

As Proposed  
L – (Linlithgow), 19-5-43

[Letter issued on the basis of the above Note – Ed.]  
Confidential  
Government of India  
Home Department

*New Delhi, the 22nd May, 1943*

To All Honorable Members of Council.

### **Memorandum**

Sub: Biweekly progress reports on the Congress movement

With the decline in the Congress movement most Provinces have ceased sending nil reports and are reporting only when anything important occurred. The volume of these reports has become meagre and the significance of the incidents reported has also become considerably less. In the circumstances Provinces have been informed that regular biweekly situation reports are no longer necessary and that it will be sufficient if they send to us and to the India Office specific reports of important incidents connected with the Congress movement as they occur. It has also been decided to discontinue forthwith the consolidation and circulation of the reports by the Home Department.

Under Secretary to the Government of India

# 47. Government of U.P. to Government of India

File No. 3/14/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

S. No. 14

## Express Letter

From  
D.S. Barron,  
Secretary to Govt. of UP,  
Home Department

To  
The Secretary to the Govt. of India  
Home Deptt. New Delhi

*Dated Lucknow May 25, 1943*

With reference to Mr Vishnu Sahay's express letter No. 3/14/43 - Poll (I), dated April 30, 1943,<sup>1</sup> I am directed to say that it appears that no less than 3 aeroplanes were sent for demonstration purposes to the IAF hangar at Benares. They were

- (1) Comper Swift Aircraft received from Aircraft Inspector, New Delhi, on 28-3-41
- (2) Miles Hawk, Airframe with Wings, received from Jamshedpur on 3-6-42.
- (3) Gipsy Moth received from Jamshedpur on 3-6-42

It was No. 3 on this list which was damaged. The IAF Hangar, and the office belonging to the Master General of the Ordinance Department appear to have been in the charge of Chowkidars engaged by the Benares Hindu University. There were 5 Chowkidars attached to the Engineering College whose duties included looking after the hanger and the MGO's office. So far as can be ascertained, a gentleman named Mr F.C. Smith is the officer-in-charge of the MGO's office and Mr K.M. Auklasaria, Chief Inspector, IAS, is in charge of the IAF hanger. They are both Govt. servants and work in collaboration with Mr Phipos, Principal of the Engineering College, Benares. The arrangements appear to have been reasonably adequate for normal protection, but quite insufficient for protection against sabotage.

2. The police investigation is proceeding. There is reason to suspect the complicity of a man named Chunni Lal Sharma, an ex-student of the Benares Hindu University, who visited Benares towards the end of January and made contact with a number of other students. Unfortunately, the investigation has made little progress in the way of procuring evidence upto-date.

D.S. Barron

Not printed



## 48: Activities of Babha Raghav Das in U.P.

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 314–15

F.28/Cong/42-E

June 10, 1943

According to a U.P., C.I.D. report dated June 10, 1943 Babha Raghav Das was the moving spirit in U.P. and he was assisted by Swami Nath and Chandra Shekhar Asthana of the Kashi Vidya Pith as well as by P. Narain of the same institution and some important members of the local Congress party who were released from detention sometime ago. From Swami Nath's statement reunification of the organisation in the eastern districts are indicated while it seems that Chandra Shekhar has gone to build up rebel machinery in the west. The general scheme to be followed is that laid down in the Bombay pamphlet the ABC of dislocation,<sup>1</sup> 24 page production giving elaborate instructions as to the formation on Azad Dastas, the area and provincial organisation and technical details of the plans of sabotage. Training in methods of sabotage has already been imparted to a number of people in Benares and Mughal Sarai. A number of organizers are visiting districts. Leaflets also play an important part. Many have been received from Bombay while others were prepared locally. People like Agha Zaidi of C.S.P. and Jaunpur and the Lucknow student Venky have been to Bombay and there is direct contact between the Central Directorate in that city and Kanpur and Lucknow. Mrs Asaf Ali has been pressing for the restoration of the disintegrated rebel centres in those cities and has promised supplies of money and paper as well as leaflets etc. The Bombay Organisation appears to be functioning strongly as is evident from information about the visits of provincial organizers for instructions and obtaining material and also by the spate of leaflets issuing from there, chiefly the Congress bulletins which appear as regularly as clock work. An interesting indication that all rebels do not see eye to eye is to be found in a comparison of Congress bulletin No. 351 dated May 26, 1943 and a Forward Bloc leaflet called Azad Hind and dated May 25. The former pretends to be anti Axis but accuses Churchill of deliberately fostering Japan in order to counteract American influence in the Far east and of deliberately sacrificing China. Azad Hind on the other hand is openly fifth column extol the virtues of Germany and Japan and tries to show that India would win freedom only through the Axis Countries.

1. See Doc. No. 45.

## 49: Aruna Asaf Ali's activities in Delhi, contact with Sir Srivastava's Daughter

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 313–14

F.28/Cong/42-E

June 10, 1943

There is an abstract from the statement of Rajinder Paul Puri alias Paul alias Kamal of Hoshiarpur. Puri relates how he was introduced to Mrs Asaf Ali through his friend Prashar.

Aruna enquired from Prashar if the news about the burning of boxes had appeared in the paper. She also told me that her letters to me would be signed Bhabi. She told Prashar that she was weak because she had to keep indoors. She could not afford to go out in the interest of work she had undertaken. At the arrest of M.D. Shah a rumour spread in the city that important papers had been recovered from him and Aruna instructed Babu Triloki Nath of Delhi Cloth Mills to tell Dewanji to spread a rumour that the literature recovered from Shah was simply congress bulletins and no papers of any importance. Aruna was of the opinion that Dewanji was an expert in broadcasting rumours. Then again Paul relates, how he accompanied Shah and some others to paste labels bearing Indian names on the sign boards of the roads having English names, Shah was arrested red handed who managed to escape after paying Rs 100 to a police man. Again Paul relates how he carried letters from Aruna to Sarla Srivastava, daughter of Hon'ble Sir J.P. Srivastava, Member-in-charge, Civil Defence Department. Sarla had expressed a desire some time back according to Aruna to court imprisonment. So she wrote to enquire whether she was willing even now. Sarla, however, declined to express her readiness to raise funds, however, and to obtain for them the confidential reports of the Government of India. Aruna again wrote to Sarla that she should force her father to resign on the issue of Gandhi's fast and in case of his refusal to resort to hunger strike. But Sarla replied saying that as her father has taken the line of Hindu Mahasabha, he could not follow her advice. Again, Aruna wrote to Sarla to get a dinner arranged in the honour of Governor of U.P. at the Imperial Hotel cancelled in sympathy with Gandhi's fast. Sarla expressed her inability as it had been fixed up long before Gandhi undertook fast. It was found later on that Lady Srivastava and her daughter did not attend in sympathy with Gandhi's fast

## 50: A Report of a Police Inspector from U.P. on sabotage cases in Benares (Final Report) – (dated 15.6.43)

Govt. of U.P. Office of the I.G.P., U.P., C.I.D. Records File No. 13/2/43  
[U.P. State Archives]

14.6.43

### *Occurrences*

- (1) Benares-Partabgarh Line – close to Ry. Stn. Kapsethi fish plates and bolts found missing – Good train derailed on 21-10-42.
- (2) Benares-Partabgarh Line – close to Benares. Fish plates and bolts removed on 21-10-42.
- (3) Benares-Raja Talab Line – close to Harduttpur Ry. Stn. fish plates and dog spikes removed on 24-10-42.
- (4) Benares-Aunrihar Line – telegraph wires and near Rajvart Ry. Stn. on 24-10-42.
- (5) Bet. Ry. Stn. – Sarnath & Kadipur – fish plates and dog spikes removed on 26-11-42. A patrol train came to grief.
- (6) Bet. Ry. Stns. – Sarnath and Kadipur Fish Plates and dog-spikes removed on 3-11-42.
- (7) Railway Station Raja Talab house in a cottage set fire to on 8-11-42.

(8) Seed depot of V. Charamanpur, P.S. Rohania set fire to on 21-11-42.

I beg to submit that the cases noted above were investigated by the local police and GRP. In the course of their investigation they neither arrested saboteurs nor fastened reasonable suspicion against any in this connection.

On 19-11-42 Mr Indra Kumar, Inspector reached Benares to supervise the investigation and to enquire into the sabotage case, and from the various statements, he listed out 151 names. He was relieved by me on 10-2-43. From their statements it became quite clear that after the arrest of Mr Gandhi and other Congress leaders in the month of August 1942 meetings were held at Benares by Dr Gairola of the Benares Hindu University and other Congressmen in which it was decided to make the present Govt. rule impossible by dislocation of traffic, wire cutting, loot, incendiarism and other acts of sabotage. Prompted by foolish ideas false sense of patriotism the outlaws thought it an easy task to paralyse the mighty British Govt. established by law in the country while engaged in war with foreign powers. With this object in view the Congress rebels formed a party consisting of old and previous convict congressmen. Students and ex-Students of Benares Hindu University, Central Hindu School, Benares, Kashi Vidya Peeth teachers and rustics. They did the crimes noted overleaf and many others. They continued the destructive work till their gang was split up. names of the outlaws responsible for the crime are given under:

*Benares*

(1) Krishnadeo Upadhyaya Vakil V. Gangapur Dist. Ganjari. P.S. Rohania. An old congressman & organiser. He toured the Dt. and recruited outlaws for the party during unrest arrested u.s. 34/88 DIR on 26-1-43.

(2) [Not printed - Ed.].

(3) Ram Adhar Singh - V. Molikot, P.S. Mirzamurad. Old congressman who worked as leader and organiser throughout Benares during the rising by the Congress. Arrested u.s. 34/88 DIR on 21-1-43.

(4) Mahadeo Singh - Old Congressman: leader and organiser who toured the Dt. during the Congress rebellion and enlisted recruits for destructive work. Arrested u.s. 129 DIR 10-2-43.

(5) Basudev Singh.

(6) Jumna Dube r/o V. Ghosila, P.S. Mirzamurad. Brother of Benares State Police S.I. very cunning & deceitful. He used to collect funds for the rebels and often used forceful methods. Implements for opening bolts & fish plates were kept in this man's custody. He was responsible for Benares Kapsethi line offences and for the Churamanpur seed stores case. Arrested u.s. 129 DIR on 16-4-43

(7) Jata Shankar Brahim V. Mohan Serai, P.S. Rohania. Previously he was an employee in the village uplift scheme from which he resigned before courting arrest in connection with Satyagraha of 1941.

He was responsible for Raja Talab, Benares - Kapsethi line sabotage cases and for the seed store case of Churamanpur made a clean breast of the conspiracy but later declined to speak out the truth. He was arrested u.s. 34/88 DIR on 20-1-43. His name was disclosed by Mahadeo Singh, Chandike Pd. Chetnarain Singh, Kesho Singh, Bala Singh, Satnarain, Deomurti.

(8) [Not printed - Ed.].

(9) Ram Harpal Singh.

(10) Shrada Pd. Singh V. Jagatpur, P.S. Rohania. Ex-student of the Central Hindu School, Benares and a cycle repairer. An expert in opening bolts and fish plates. Lines close to



Benares-Raja Talab Ry. lines is one of the F.I.R. accused in Ry. Station Hardutpur burning case pending in court u.s. 35 DIR. He was named by Kesho Singh, Bala Singh, Satnarain, Deomurti, Sobhnath & Ram Narain Singh. He was arrested on 14-1-43 u.s. 35 DIR responsible for Raja Talab sabotage.

(11) Shakal Narain Singh - V. Jagatpur, P.S. Rohania. A teacher in M.B. Primary School, Benares (Gaighat) . . .

Accused in Hardutpur Ry. Station burning case in which charge sheet has been submitted by S.I. G.R.P. Cantt. Benares.

He has been named by Keshos, Bala Singh, Satnarain, Deomurti, Sobhanath and Ram Narain Singh.

He was arrested u.s. 129/435 DIR on 3-4-43 Responsible for Raja Talab sabotage case.

(12) Jokhan Singh V. Jodarpur, P.S. Rohania. Very active worker though a recruit. Ex-student of Central High School.

Responsible for setting fire to Raja Talab Ry. Stn.

He was named by Kesho S. Bala Singh, Satnarain, Deomurti, Sobhnath & Ramnarain Singh. Arrested on 31-1-43.

(13) Ram Naresh Singh.

(14) Kamta Pd. s/o Seeta Ram Pande r/o V. Sathwa. P.S. Cholapur.

An old and active Congress worker. Responsible for acts of sabotage on Benares-Aunrihar Line. Named by Chandike Pd. Shambhu Singh, Deomurti & Bala Singh. Arrested on 4-4-43 up 129.

(15) Parasnath Misra.

(16) Jagannath Pande. V. Jurtipur, P.S. Ubhaon.

An associate of Deomurti (No. 2) and a leading Congress worker of Ballia Dt. wanted upto 141.301, IPC, 34/38 DIR and 435 IPC for the offences committed during the disturbances of Aug. 42, he was arrested at Benares on 4-3-43 made a confession to the Police.

#### *Dt. Ghazipur*

(17) Baldaoo Pande V. Khanpur, P.S. Saidpur. A teacher at Saidpur. Responsible for offences on Benares-Kapsethi line and for various offences committed during the congress rebellion in Ghazipur Dt. When arrested at Benares on 11-3-43.

He was named by Chandike Pd., Shambhu Singh., Sheojaggi Singh, Bhriguanath Singh, Deomurti and Sangram Singh.

(18) Dharamdeo Singh V. Mainpur, P.S. Nandganj, Dt. Ghazipur.

He was President of student federation at Ghazipur and belongs to the school of Mr Subhas Chandra Bose.

He belongs to the group of those terrorists who are avowed enemies of the British Govt.

When the Congress rebellion broke and after the arrest of Mr Gandhi in August '42 this outlaw collected a huge mob to storm Nandganj Police Station but the shots fired by the Police in self defence blunted the teeth of this youth's ambition who later disappeared after committing many offences. He is now living in the garb of a Sadhu. He was named by Shortjaggi S., and Aangram Singh., and wanted from Ghazipur as a proclaimed offender.

He is believed to be responsible for offences committed on Benares Tumrihal line.

(19) Kamtalal Kayarth.

(20) Marjad Tiwari.

When I commenced the enquiry & found that 11 of the chief saboteurs were at large but

now there are only 3 saboteurs, all of Ghazipur Dt. still absconding. It cannot be said as to how long will it take to arrest them. It doesn't seem proper to keep the enquiry pending in the hope of further development following their arrest and confession.

One of the accused Jumna Dube (brother of S.P. Benares State Police Mr Suraj Pd.) who was also custodian of implements used in opening fish plates, bolts, cunningly & deceitfully pointed out the possibility for the recovery of incriminating articles from the possession of Kedar Dube r/o V. Nevada, P.S. Mirzamurad, Dt. Benares. On Search one heavy usable iron wrench evidently the one in the use of the outlaws was found . . . and leaflets and some telegraph wire . . . from the outside and unsafe premises of Kedar. It transpired on subsequent enquiry that Kedar has never taken part in any subversive movement and is a loyal and peaceful subject. Once Kedar was tied to a tree by Jumna Dube and his associates for refusing to subscribe anything to Congress funds and since then there existed enmity between them. The articles were evidently planted to implicate Kedar. The recovered articles have been deposited in the Malkhane of G.R.P. Cantt. Benares for further enquiry and may be disposed off when no more needed.

Due to the unwillingness of the accused to speak out their savage and inhuman methods adopted in the commission of brute crimes, in the open court in the face of their co-accused, the evidence on record is insufficient for securing conviction in the case. I am therefore closing the enquiry leaving the arrest of the three absconding saboteurs Dharamdeo Singh, Marjad Tiwari and Kamtalal Kayasth (who are also proclaimed offenders) to Ghazipur Police.

I may add here that with the help of my sources and I.B. staff I have arrested during this enquiry at Benares 6 rebels, proclaimed as absconded offenders, wanted for loot, incendiarism and other acts of sabotage — since the Congress rebellion of August 1942 from the Dts of Ballia, Ghazipur & Benares.

The gang of the outlaws has been broken and the lawless-ness suppressed.

Yours sincerely,

Harnam Singh  
Inspector I.B. C.I.D.,  
U.P.

Police Club  
Benares

14-6-43

Concluding report of the Inspector of the Benares sabotage cases is submitted for your perusal and information. The cases could not be sent up to court but they have been worked out. I have instructed the Inspector to prepare a concluding diary and this report is not sufficient. Inspector Rana Harnam Singh undoubtedly arrested some absconders and deserves encouragement the enclosed . te of S.P. Benares may kindly be perused. The delay in submission is regretted.

Signature illegible



# 51: Commissioner of Police, Calcutta to the Additional Secretary, Govt. of Bengal – Reg. arrest of Babu Kishori Lal Datta

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. W-554/43  
[Bengal State Archives]

Confidential

*Office of the Commissioner of Police  
Special Branch, 14, Lord Sinha Road,  
Calcutta  
17.6.43*

From  
C.E.S. Fairweather, Esq., C.I.E.I.,  
Commissioner of Police,  
Calcutta.

To  
The Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal,  
Home Department.

Sir,

In accordance with the provisions of Rule 129, Clause 2 of the Rules framed under the Defence of India Act 1939, I have the honour to report that acting under the powers vested in me under Rule 129(1)(a) BABU KISHORI LAL DUTTA (aged 35 years) son of the late Sarat Kumar Dutta of village Kachia P.S. Bhola, District Barisal and of 48, Harrison Road, Calcutta, was arrested and committed to the Presidency Jail on 16-6-43.

I request that the Government be pleased to issue orders under Rule 26(1) of the Defence of India Rules for his further detention in jail. His History Sheet is being submitted to Government by the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., Intelligence Branch, Bengal.

The Government order may be issued before the 29th June 1943.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

For Commissioner of Police,  
Calcutta.



## 52. DIG of Police to the Additional Secretary, Govt. of Bengal<sup>1</sup> – Reg. arrest of R.K. Sen Gupta

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. W-173/43  
[Bengal State Archives]

Secret

*Intelligence Branch,  
13 Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta,  
Dated 24th June, 1943*

No. 5326-C/S

To  
Additional Secretary

Ranjit Kumar Sen Gupta son of Mati Lal of Swarnagram, district Dacca and of 5/C Ram Krishna Lane, Calcutta, has been arrested to-day under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules. He is a leading and important member of the R.S.P. A request to make him a security prisoner and his history sheet will follow.

It is requested that he may be remanded to the custody of the Deputy Inspector General of Police for 15 days.

For Deputy Inspector General of Police,  
I.B., C.I.D., Bengal.

No 18956  
1034/43 wp/akp.

Intelligence Branch, C.I.D  
13, Lord Sinha Road,  
Calcutta, the 29th June, 1943

From  
The Deputy Inspector-Genl. of Police  
Intelligence Branch, Bengal.

To  
The 2nd Asst. Secretary,  
to the Govt. of Bengal.

Sir,  
With reference to your Memo No. 7671 Def. dated 25.6.43 forwarding a signed order (in duplicate) directing detention of Ranjit Kumar Sen Gupta for a period not exceeding 15 days until the 8th day of July 1943, I have the honour to inform you that the order was duly served on him on 25.6.43.

DS/HE.  
29.6.43

I have Honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant.

Signed for Deputy Inspector-General of Police, I.P.

No. 19783  
1034/43(wb) (AKB)

*Intelligence Branch, CID,  
13, Lord Sinha Road,  
Calcutta  
Dated 7-7-43*

To  
A.E. Porter Esqr., C.I.E. I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal

Sir,

With reference to your Memo No. 7671 Def. dated 26-6-43 directing the detention of Ranjit Kumar Sen Gupta in police custody for a period not exceeding 15 days until the 8th day of July, 1943, 1943, I have the honour to request you to issue orders for his release.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant.

DS/AM  
7/7/43

for Deputy Inspector General of Police,  
Intelligence Branch, C.I.D.  
Calcutta

Ranjit Sen Gupta is due for release to-day, as no formal release order is necessary a letter of authority to release will perhaps meet the case.

1 [Letters dt 29.6.43 and 7.7.43 regarding this case are also appended with this document - Ed.]

## 53: Demonstration by students in Bengal<sup>1</sup>

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 316, 317-19

P28/Cong/42-A-III

*June 25, 1943*

Dr Maitryee Bose was the leader of the Students War Council which contained the C.S.P., C.I.I. and R.S.P., R.S.P. was not included because of the suspicion of the misappropriations of funds.

At a meeting of students it was decided that the following students were to be in charge of the school and college students demonstrations noted against each.

- 1 *Sasadhar Ganguly* - Vidyasagar College, University and the schools around.
- 2 *Chitta Das (RSP)* - City College and St Paul's College.
- 3 *Rabi Das Gupta* - St Xavier's College and Asutosh College.
- 4 *Nripen Mazumdar* - Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy College and School and other schools in North Calcutta.
- 5 *Sourin Bhattacharji* - Schools in South Calcutta.

## **(2) Activities of Kiran Shankar Roy and others**

F. 28/Cong/42-A-III

*June 25, 1943*

For some time in the past absconders who belong to the official Congress Party and had taken to the sabotage movement against the directions of the party by joining up with Annada Chowdhury and his bunch, have been sending their emissaries repeatedly to Kiran Shankar Roy to give his opinion as to whether they should now surrender to the authorities. These men include Ajoy Mukherji, Tulsi Das, Ashutosh Roy Chowdhury and others of Midnapore, Dasrathi Ta of Burdwan, Atulya Ghosh of Hooghly, Sushil Palit of Bankura and one Saroj Ranjan of Balurghat. Kiran Shankar Roy has some of the absconders contacted through the emissaries sent by them and gathered that it was becoming increasingly difficult for them to remain underground due to the hostile attitude of the masses and scarcity of food. After consulting other members of his party he at first decided on directing the absconders to surrender as proposed by them, but subsequently withheld permission on receipt of information from Mr Nalini Ranjan Sarkar to the effect that Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar had given him to understand that one of the foremost acts of Lord Wavell on assumption of office would be to grant a general amnesty to the Congress prisoners. In such an eventuality Kiran Shankar Roy thought that there was no point in surrendering now.

## **(3) Movement Gathers Momentum in Assam**

F. 28/Cong/42-A-III

*June 25 1943*

(Copy of D.C. No. 8237/A.S. (100 43/S.P. dated Shillong, the 25th June 1943, from the D.I.G. of Police, Assam, to Asst. Director (S), Intelligence Bureau, Govt. of India, New Delhi). Reference your office No. 10/R.A./43 dated the 10th June 1943 and in continuation of my D.C. No. 12980 S.E. dated the 6th November 1942, I write to inform you that the dacoity case mentioned therein has since been acquitted by the Additional Sessions Judge, Sylhet.

During the period under report C.D. Movement flared up in its worst form in this province. At the outbreak of the movement, Assam was quiet but as time went on, the mass movement began to gather momentum till it burst out in the shape of violent mass attack and arson on the Government and other public buildings, destruction of telegraph and telephone wires and bridges on important public roads. Simultaneously with the mass movement acts of sabotage were committed on the railways and roads. There were seven attempts. No clue was found in four of these derailment cases while one ended in the conviction of seven persons, for being sentenced to capital punishment, two to ten years R.I. and one being released under section 562 Cr.P.C. for three years. On appeal, H.E. the Governor of Assam upheld the sentence of death passed on one of them while reduced the death sentence passed on the three others to ten years' R.I. each. The remaining two cases are still under police investigation.

In the districts of Nowgong and Kamrup, the congress volunteers wearing Khaki uniforms and posing as military officials, started a new campaign to collect firearms from the villagers representing to them that the guns were wanted by the Deputy Commissioner. Seventeen guns were thus taken in Nowgong District. All these guns have since been recovered. Seven guns which were stolen in Kamrup District are still untracked.

The murder of an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police by the Congress workers was reported from Nowgong District. The Assistant Sub-Inspector was reported missing on 30.10.42. He

was decoyed from his house but his so-called friends on the pretext of being helped in securing the arrest of one Mohendra Hazarika and another Lakshmi Prasad Goswami — two notorious political absconders. He fell a victim to their trap and was brutally murdered. The case is still under investigation. The Assistant Sub-Inspector's spy was also murdered along with him by the same party.

At present the province is quiet. The people are more concerned with the food-problem and its solution.

Besides those convicted in the railway sabotage case, action as detailed below has been taken against persons engaged in subversive and anti-war activities.

1. Externed from certain areas of the province.	18
2. Detained in jail under Rule 26 and 129 of DIR.	248
3. Movements and activities restrained within particular areas.	11
4. Convicted in connection with the C.D. movement.	683

1 This serial number, covers three documents of the same date - [Ed ]

## 54: Intelligence Report on activities of Congress Socialist Party in Bihar

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 319-20

F. 28/Cong/42-P.5

June 28, 1943

Intelligence Bureau - Secret - Extract from Bihar Special Branch Political Situation Report (Weekly) dated 28.6.43)

Provided with identifiers from British territory the Nepal authorities surrounded and searched suspected C.S.P. hiding palaces in the Tarai. They found no important leaders present but collected a large quantity of interesting documents showing Congress or C.S.P. connection with various parts of India. In a village near Hanumannagar, Nepal officials had previously discovered a large collection of books, a typewriter, circulars etc. These included a typewritten appeal by Jai Prakash Narayan 'too American Brothers' a Hindi circular by Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali, instructions for the use of explosives in destroying communications, and two silver 'Gandhi rupees'; there was apparently evidence also of musketry practice in the neighbourhood and of the consumption of about four maunds of rice daily by volunteers. Swami Parmananda Sarswati, mentioned in a Nepal report as the Mehanth of Chatra Math (one of the places searched), may be identical with an important absconder in the Maulania dacoity which occurred in Champaran in June 1929. The documents are believed to be under examination at Katmandu.

Meanwhile a number of individuals suspected to be C.S.P. 'trainees' were collected in Bihar. On June 13th Katihar (Purnea) Police found two suspicious strangers near a landing ground, and arrested them after a struggle. They had in their possessions a .455 Webley revolver, a dagger, and a mill grenade. Though they gave false names and addresses, they appeared to be Narsingh Narain Singh, a leading absconder in the Rupauli murder case, and another

absconder named Narsingh Mandal. There is reason to believe that they fled from Nepal after the Hanumannagar incident.

Bajinath Jha (or Missir) was apparently one of the seven prisoners rescued in the Hanumannagar raid. He is an old revolutionary suspect of Darbhanga district absconding since August 1942. He was arrested at Samastipur on June 20. The same day a police raid in Madhubani resulted in the capture of Ajodhya Lal Das of Rajaully – one of the absconders shown in the 'Nepal List'.

In the early hours of June 23, a strong Saran police force with C.I.D. assistance made a most successful raid near the village of Katalpur. In this operation, and the ensuing pursuits, a total of 25 suspects was bagged, including the 7 most notorious absconders of the district. The latter included the congress 'dictator' the C.S.P. secretary and other dangerous saboteurs and political criminals, three at least of whom are believed to have attended Jai Prakash Narain's training camps. At Siwan in the same district, a printed Hindi 'oath of allegiance' form was found; this seemed to be the one prescribed for the C.S.P. Azad Dasta, and probably was brought back from one of the Nepal training camps.

In Muzaffarpur, with the assistance of a military officer, three absconders were arrested. One was the district C.S.P. 'dictator'; another was accused in the August 1942 Sitamarhi court raid case.

Bhagalpur reports suggested the formation of 'suicide squads' in that district. Local members of the C.S.P. were convinced that Gandhi would stage another fast early in August; in anticipation, Jai Prakash's followers were preparing for renewed sabotage and lawlessness. Muzaffarpur information from socialist sources indicated the opening in Bihar of four guerilla training centres.

## 55 Government of Orissa, to the Government of India

File No. 3/31/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret.  
D.C. No. 2024 C

*Cuttack, June 28/30, 1943*

My dear Tottenham,

I regret the delay in replying to your secret D.O No. 2105-D/43 – Poll (I) dated the 11th March, 1943<sup>1</sup>, but I gave a general appreciation of the position in my Fortnightly Report extracts for the second half of March and you have had from time to time copies of the judgments in the more important cases.

Figures collected from District Magistrates show that 533 cases in all were launched in connection with the congress disturbances of last year, out of which rather more than 500 have been disposed of. The special Court Ordinance was brought into force in the dists, of Cuttack and Balasore where the bulk of the cases occurred. In Koraput the ordinance was not brought into force and cases were dealt with by the ordinary Magistrates and by Additional Sessions judge who was appointed to dispose of some of the cases there. Out of the cases



disposed of, about 38 in all have ended in acquittal or discharge of the accused, including 2 which ended in acquittal on appeal.

29 cases still remain pending at Cuttack, the bulk of which were on the file of the Special Magistrates and will have to be transferred for trial by ordinary Magistrates in view of the decision of the Federal Court,<sup>2</sup> about half of these will now be tried by the Court of session.

I enclose short summaries in respect of two cases which have been disposed of in respect of which judgements have not been forwarded to you.

Yours sincerely,

1 Not printed.

2 See Doc. No 27 in ch. III.

*Enclosure-1*

**Ersama P.S. Case (Cuttack District)**

A mob of about 700 persons, armed with various kinds of weapons, drawn from a number of villages in the jurisdiction of the Ersama P.S. arrived at the police station of the morning of 16 the September, 1942. The Sub-inspector and the Assistant Sub-inspector in charge of the station requested the mob to refrain from violence, but this infuriated the mob, which seized the Sub-Inspector and kept him in confinement. The other members of the police staff were forced to remain inactive on pain of being put to death while the mob started on its work of destruction, shouting that the British Government should go away from India and that policemen should resign their posts and burn their uniforms. There were also cries such as 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai' and 'Swadhin Bharat Ki Jai'. The doors, windows and furniture of the police station were smashed and set on fire. They then looted the Ganja and opium shops. The loss to Government property is estimated at Rs 3,500. A collective fine of Rs 5,000 was later on imposed on 13 villages.

75 persons were sent up for trial under section 147, 436 and 341 I.P.C. and rules 35(4) and 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules. Judgement was delivered by the special Magistrate, Cuttack, sentencing one of the persons to rigorous imprisonment for six years and simple imprisonment for one month and to pay a fine of Rs 500, in default to undergo rigorous imprisonment for one year more. Nineteen others were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for four years each. The rest were acquitted under section 258 Cr. P.C.

*Enclosure-2*

**Nimapara Firing Case (Puri District)**

On the 16th September, 1942, at 5.25 p.m. in accordance with a pre-arranged plan, the people of the villages of Hansapada, Bhatbanda, Chanarpada, Miniganj, Andhia, Dihasahi, villagram and some buries (low class people) of Dihrbari assembled at Parabati field and held a meeting. An assistant Sub-Inspector had been deputed to take down notes. In the meeting, some one asked the audience not to pay rent and revenue to Zamindars and Governments. A mob of 500 then proceeded to the police station and tried to persuade the police to resign. At that time the divisional Inspector was going on a cycle to the police station. The mob requested him to give up his job, and wanted to enter the compound forcibly. They were repeatedly asked not to enter, and began to throw stones and brick-bats which hit the police staff. Finally

the order to fire was given and eleven rounds were fired in all. One person was killed and few were injured. the mob began to disperse, but soon after fire was seen in the P.W.D. bungalow, which was soon extinguished by the police staff, who also frustrated an attempt to set the post office on fire.

On the 19th September, 1942, the villages of Hansapada and Chaurapada were raided under the supervision of the superintendent of police, Puri, and a number of arrests, including the three important leaders, Moheswar Mahanty, Lakhan Barik and Dharm Sahu, was made. Charge Sheets, were submitted against 27 persons under sections 147, 353, 436/511 I.P.C. 35(1). 121 and 34 read with 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules. All of them were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from 3 years to 1 year and 6 months.

'A collective fine of Rs 1,500 was imposed on the villages concerned. The villagers subsequently filed petitions expressing their regret and praying for mercy. As it appeared that this was an isolated instance of lawlessness in that area, and as the subsequent behaviour of the villagers was reported to be satisfactory, Government passed orders holding the realization of the fines in abeyance and have now cancelled the fine on result of reports from the local officers which indicated that the expressions of regret were genuine!

## 56: Army officers in league with rebels

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 321-2

F. 28/Cong/42-E. 5.

June 29, 1943

(Extract from U.P. C.I.D.'s brief note on subversive activity for the fortnight ending June 21, 1943 received with Central Intelligence Officer U.P. & Ajmer, Camp, Nainital No. 1-3/A.G./43 dated 29th June, 1943).

Once again the province has been entirely immune from sabotage and terrorism organized by Congress rebels. The arrest of absconders proceeds satisfactorily, but many of the bigger men continue to evade the police. A further step in the clearing up of the Benares Organizing centre was taken when P. Narayan of Kashi Vidyapith was arrested in Lucknow, and development of the Lucknow Cawnpore Link with Bombay was further checked by the arrest of the student Venky. On the other hand interrogation of Ram Charan Pande in Allahabad shows that there was another direct link between that city and the 'Central Directorate' in Bombay. It appears that the cells created in Benares, Allahabad and Lucknow — Cawnpore had not established contact with each other but that they were endeavouring to do so when their existence was discovered and police arrests and searches broke them up. The number of leaflets appearing in the province has very greatly decreased, no doubt largely due to the same action.

In a statement which P. Narayan made it was alleged that Jai Prakash Narain, Ram Manohar Lohia and Baba Raghav Das were arrested in the Nepal Terai but subsequently rescued. This story is corroborated by a report from Bihar, but it is not absolutely established that these three leaders were actually in the party of rebels concerned. There is no trace of Chandra Shekhar Asthana of the Kashi Vidyapith but it transpires that an army officer in the U.P. has

been assisting him in his R.S.P. activities, and know of the existence of the Wireless Transmitter in the Congress office in Benares. That transmitter has been examined by experts and proves to be a set of considerable power and lacking only an amplifier and an aerial. It had not however been constructed by experts.

The information as to any army officer's participation in rebel activity is interesting in view of a lengthy and detailed statement made in Delhi by one Asoka Kumar Dutt, which discloses a grandiose scheme of Jai Prakash Narain to train rebels on military lines, secure the assistance of army officers and men, and stage a concerted outbreak at some later date, the main features of which were to be the cutting off of Delhi from the outside world, the staging of armed rising in other parts of India, and the slaughter of British troops and officers. A military officer was closely associated with this scheme and Dutt's gang, and a list of army officers and men who had promised to assist is alleged to have been prepared. Much of the many paper schemes drawn up and circulated by the rebels is imaginative bombast and it is impossible to say what, if any, progress has been made in implementing such a scheme as this of J.P. Narain's.

## 57: Government of the United Provinces to all District Magistrates of United Province

File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of the United Provinces,  
Confidential Department.

Secret

D.O. No. 4685–C.X.

*Dated Naini Tal, June 29, 1943*

To

All District Magistrates.

Dear Sir,

Various rumours are now becoming current about the celebration of the first anniversary of the outbreak of the rebellion, and I am, therefore, desired to address you about the precautions to be taken for that, or for any similar event.

2. There is no reason to apprehend an outbreak on the scale of the disturbances of August last – most of the Congress leaders are in jail – the rebellion has ended in failure, and those who were active supporters of Congress through a mistaken belief in Congress propaganda have found to their cost that the administration still has a long and powerful arm. Whatever the celebration may take therefore, it seems safe to assume that it will not be widespread and will not attract any large measure of popular support. Nevertheless, the possibility of some form of celebration, either on August 9 or some other convenient date, cannot be ignored. Some of the leaders have succeeded in avoiding detention, among them Ram Manohar Lohia and Jai Prakash Narain, and there is evidence to show that these men have been trying to build up an organisation with the assistance of local absconders and supporters.

3. It is impossible to forecast what form the celebrations may take, or even whether it will occur on August 9 or be postponed till some more favourable occasion. One rumour suggests that Mr Gandhi will start a fast unto death on August 9. He has not so far made any announcement of his intention to do so, but it is a weapon he has employed more than once in the past, and, in spite of the failure of his last attempt to use it, it is by no means improbable that he will resort to it once more. Congress leaders have almost invariably followed an opportunist policy, and they may be expected to time whatever move they might make to coincide with circumstances that can be turned to their advantage. A fast by Mr Gandhi, a crisis in the food situation a threat of Japanese-threat diversion – any of these might afford a suitable background for a Congress move, and precautions must be taken accordingly.

4. According to information available to Government, orthodox section of the Congress propose to celebrate August by a satyagrahi jatha, one thousand strong, which will march to Mr Gandhi's place of imprisonment. Satyagrahis will be selected from each province and will proceed on foot to the destination with posters, flags and slogans. The rest of the programme of the orthodox section consists of the usual items hartal, flag hoisting, meetings and resolutions. Should any such jathas materialize, they should be promptly stopped and members arrested if necessary. Other manifestations of this programme should be dealt with in the usual way. The section likely to give more trouble is the Congress Socialist Party men, led by Ram Manohar Lohia and Jai Prakash Narain, which is believed to have broken away completely even from lip-service to the Gandhian ideal of non-violence and to be openly talking of violence and sabotage. Not all their followers are in jail and they may be expected to celebrate a suitable occasion by attacks on communications, on Government servants, particularly mail runners, on Government buildings, arms licensees and in a similar fashion. For reasons already given, they are unlikely to try to enlist popular support and will probably operate small armed gangs. An interesting recovery in this connection is a series of pamphlets on the subject of sabotage, produced in Bombay, of which copies are known to have reached the U.P. A copy of a letter to all Superintendents of police from the C.I.D. is enclosed, giving extracts and fuller details of the contents of those pamphlets.

5. Should further information about plans for celebration become available, you will be informed. Meanwhile, precautionary measures should be taken in hand.

- (i) A close watch should be kept on all suspects, particularly on those with C.S.P. affinities and persons recently released.
- (ii) Any person whose activities give rise to suspicion and who is unable to give a satisfactory explanation should be arrested under Rule 129 of the Defence India Rules. (This must not be interpreted to authorize general arrest of Congress sympathizers just prior to August 9 in order to keep them out of possible mischief.)
- (iii) Educational institutions are particularly fertile field for agitation and incitement to sabotage, we should keep a careful eye on all such institutions and particularly on universities.
- (iv) Arrangements for collective responsibility for Government property and for protection of railway lines and other means of communication have been slackened during the harvest-time and the hot weather. They should now be unobtrusively overhauled, and you should satisfy yourself that you are in a position to apply full scale protection within 48 hours.
- (v) Superintendents of Police must check protection arrangements for factories, public utility concerns and other important vulnerable points.

(vi) You should watch the food supply situation with a special care to avoid the coincidence of a food shortage with August 9.

(vii) You should give special attention to checking stocks of explosive substances and materials used for the manufacture of explosives.

6. Recent information shows that there is a tendency to revive Khaddar Bhandars and Khadi centres. This may be a perfectly harmless move, arising spontaneously from shortage and high price of mill made cloth and deserving of every encouragement. At the same time, it must be remembered that such institutions were very largely used by Congress in the past as organizing centres, meeting places and centres for distributions of funds and propaganda, and the two main present organisations, the All India Spinners Association and the All India Village Industries Association, were largely used for financing congress movements. You must, therefore, examine very closely any developments along these lines in your district and ascertain who is responsible for the organisation and the sources of funds and materials; where everything is above suspicion, no action need be taken, but, if you are at all doubtful about any institution, it should be kept under close surveillance, or even, if necessary, closed down.

7. Finally, I am to remind you that the policy of Government has not changed. You have at your disposal all the special powers conferred to deal with the August rebellion of last year except those given by the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance and should any disturbances occur, you must make the fullest use of whatever powers may be necessary to suppress them.

Yours sincerely,

D.S. Barron

To  
All District Magistrates,  
United Provinces

Copy forwarded for information to:

- (i) All Commissioners.
- (ii) All Superintendents of Police.
- (iii) Inspector General of Police, with 7 spare copies.
- (iv) Assistant Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., with 3 spare copies.
- (v) Headquarters, Central Command, Agra.
- (vi) Headquarters, Lucknow District, Lucknow.

## 58: Translation of an Oriya letter from Trilochan Senapati, Orissa leader, to Smt Jamini Mukherji

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 322-5

F. 28/CONG/42-O

July 2, 1943.

My dear Jamini,

After a long time I am getting an opportunity today to write to you. On receipt of your letter I went at the time of the 'festival' one day at about 8 p.m. I went to you when compelled by

Mahendra although I was not inclined to go at night and called you at your door. The door was bolted from inside. You responded but you were chatting with some one. When you did not open the door, I came back to the temple along with Mahendra and returned the same night to Balasore on account of urgent work. Since then there was no opportunity to meet you. During the last 5 months there has been no correspondence between you and me. I mention below the reasons why I am indifferent to you now-a days:

Since last March there is a warrant for my arrest. Had I been arrested I would have been now in Jail. But he (you must have known Naba Krushna Chowdhury) has placed the charge of the entire movement in Orissa on me. So I had to remain outside throwing dust in the eyes of Government. Now the Government has declared a reward of Rs 50 for my arrest and has widely circulated the warrant all over India. But it won't be easy to arrest me. My whereabouts are not known to anyone. If I am here today, tomorrow I shall be elsewhere but I am now 'somewhere in Orissa'. I have to go outside Orissa twice a month for the sake of finance and other matters. How can I write to you from all these places wherever I stay, I keep myself confined to a room and get the work done by others. The fate of the whole of Orissa now rests on me. So I shall have to remain like this. This is more difficult than the jail life. I had not gone home for 5 months and nobody knows where I am. I was here and in the meantime I am aware that my younger brother Kailash has been married. I am quite ignorant of this. It was however expected since there has been a lot of trouble at my home this year regarding my marriage. My marriage was settled in a very rich family and a lump sum dowry was expected. But I objected to it and was eventually compelled to disclose that I shall not marry anyone except you. There was an objection to it on the ground of caste. Then I had to say that I had no caste distinction. I shall not marry anywhere else and rather I shall remain unmarried. At this my parents and relations abused me and they remarked that education makes the youths not to obey the words of parents but to be self-guiding. There are a lot of facts and it is impossible to pen them here. If I get a chance to meet, I shall narrate everything. You should not mind these things. Our marriage must take place next year. I may rather give up society (kith and kin) and everything. My property cannot be inherited by any one else. The only difficulty is that I shall have to live separate. Let it be, what do I care? Let the world know 'What is the meaning of true love'. Don't worry, you should not mind these things. I know that these facts will upset you. Still I request you for my sake not to get worried. What is good of getting worried unnecessarily. This is the goal of the world. You know what we the educated society of our age are going to do. Once Narendra Babu, the manager of Gopinath Temple, Remuna, was telling me that you had spoken to your father not to marry anyone except me. So your father sent Narendra Babu to me. I told him to go at once but just after that my fate has become so. I was therefore unable to go. The replies of both of us to our parents are similar. We will show the world a new way. All shall support us in the long run in this progressive age. What is the trouble then? I have so to say left home. This is going on my 'revolutionary life' if I can build it up in the right way, I think I can be a man. Educational qualification is not of too much importance in the world. If a man makes use of his education already acquired in a befitting manner, then he achieves progress rapidly. You can follow this if you would have read the life history of Hitler, Stalin etc. They are 'not even matriculates' Hitler has written at one place in his biography that had he had a higher education, he would not have been so great because he had tried to think after acquiring some education how he would improve in his life. He is now fighting against the whole world and who does not know his name today? Stalin is also

the same. Rabindranath Tagore (who is the author of 'Post Master') only read up to class IX of matriculation. How could he be a world renowned poet? That is of course his God-gifted talent but we can certainly have something if we endeavour. Those who have become great in their lives have had to undergo a series of difficulties. I am now having that. Your life should be similar. You must have heard the name of Malati Devi of Orissa. How has she prepared a revolutionary life and who does not know her in Orissa? She is the wife of Naba Krushna Chowdury. Have you heard the history of their marriage? Naba Babu is Oriya and Malati Devi is a Bengalee. Both of them were students in the B.A. class in Santiniketan. There they had love. At last they got married and joined politics. Now they are the renowned leaders in Orissa. I hope your life should be in the model of Malati Devi. I have joined politics and you have no other alternative than to join it. I hope you will agree with me and I shall get your cooperation. Thus we can prepare our lives in the right way from the time of our marriage. You should not disbelieve the bearer of this letter. Send a reply per bearer who will deliver it to me at my destination. I am enclosing a blank envelope in which you can send the reply and the bearer cannot read. Don't make use of my name either on the letter or on the envelope because the bearer will have difficulty in carrying it to me. I wrote my ideas. You should let me know your ideas. On receipt of your letter I shall try to meet you although it is impossible on my part to go to Balasore. Convey my regards to your father and my love to Laxmi.

## 59: Governments of Bombay and Madras to the Government of India

File No. 3/69/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
Home Department Political (I) Section

Sub: Reports from Provinces regarding hunger strikes undertaken by security prisoners -  
Bombay and Madras provinces.

CONFIDENTIAL  
No. 6546/4-C-1297

*Home Department,  
Bombay Castle, 15th July 1943.*

From  
D. Symington, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To  
The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

Reference Government of India telegram no 7159-Circular, dated the 8th September 1942.<sup>1</sup>

2. On 5th July 1943, 200 prisoners in the Dharwar Temporary prison in this province consisting of 160 undertrials, 39 Class II security prisoners, and I 'C' Class convicts sentenced in connection with civil disobedience movement went on hunger strike – their grievance being that their ration of cereals has been reduced by 2 ozs. I am to state that the reduction in cereals has been made in order to prevent waste and also to bring their scale more or less in conformity with rationing outside jails.

3. Out of the above, 45 prisoners continued to fast till 9th July 1943.

Yours obedient servant,  
Illg.,  
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department

File No. 3/69/43

CONFIDENTIAL

*No. 6545/4-C/1369  
Home Department,  
Bombay Castle, 17th July 1943*

From  
D. Symington, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department

To  
The Secretary to the Government of India  
Home Department.

Sir,  
In continuation to my letter No. 6546/4-C-1297, dated the 15th July 1943, I am directed to state that out of the 45 prisoners who were on hunger strike till the 9th July 1943, 10 prisoners continued to fast till the 13th July 1943. No further reports will be sent.

Yours obedient servant,  
Illg.  
For Secretary to the Government of Bombay  
Home Department

File No. 3/69/43  
Government of Madras  
Public Department

Secret

EXPRESS LETTER NO. S/1945-2/43

*Dated, 20th July 1943*

From  
Home, Illustre, Madras

To  
Home Illustre, New Delhi

Political agitation – Central Provinces Security prisoner Seth Poonamchand Ranka – Notice of fast.



Ref: Govt. of India, Home Department, Circular Telegram No. 7159, dated 8-9-1942

I am directed to say that the Central Provinces security prisoner Seth Poonamchand Ranka, confined in the Central jail, Vellore, in this province, has given notice of a fast proposed to be undertaken by him from 21-7-1943. A copy of his note is enclosed for information. The Government of the Central Provinces and Berar have also been informed of it.

Illg.

For Chief Secretary to Government

File No. 3/69/43

*Enclosure*

True translation of a note dated 15-7-1943 presented by detenu Poonamchand Ranka (belonging to Central Provinces) addressed to the Mayor of the Old Female Yard, Central Jail, Vellore:

Shri Mayor Sahab,

Keeping Mahatma Gandhi free from all sorts of bindings is not only useful for India but for the world also. In order to attract attention of the Government towards this question, I have determined to begin the fast and silence for seventy four days from 21-7-1943 to 2-10-1943. In keeping the fast, fruits will be taken.

And hence it is requested that arrangements should be made for milk, fruits etc. for the diet from the coming 21st instant.

Sincerely,

Poonamchand Ranka,

Central Jail, Vellore,

Dated: 17-7-1943

Superintendent

1 Not printed.

## 60: Activities of National Youth League

Government of Madras, U.S. Files, File No. 2/1944

[TNA]

No. 4092/C

*Dated: 16th July, 1943*

National Youth League – Activities of

Please refer to my No. 2085/C of the 27th April 1943.<sup>1</sup>

On certain information received the houses of following were searched at Bezwarda:

1. *B.A. Ramchandra Rao s/o Basavaraju Venkata Subha Bezwarda*

A number of prejudicial documents was seized from his house. He is a member of the Krishna

District National Youth League Working Committee, and participated in sabotage activities in furtherance of the Congress rebellion.

2. *Jasti Narayana Rao, a Kamma Youth, Governorpet, Bezwada*

He recently joined the National Youth League. In the course of interrogation he admitted that in the second week of April 1943 he received Rs 500 in hundred rupee notes, by insured post from Bombay intended for S. Ranga Rao (assumed name of S.R. Kulkarni of Hyderabad, the organizer of the National Youth League at Bezwada, who was arrested on 2-4-1943). The following address was found on this insured cover:

'V. Giro, 56 Sivaji Park, "Saraswathi Sadan", Mahim Bombay'

As Kulkarni was by then in jail he wrapped these notes in a plain cover and returned them by 'Express Delivery' post to V. Giro, Bombay. His house was searched and a prejudicial document entitled 'We do not want White-man's rule' was seized.

3. *N.S. Ramayya, Head Master, Board Elementary School Mudunur, Gudivada Taluk*

He was arrested in March 1943 for possession of prejudicial literature and is being prosecuted.

4. *Poleshetti Venkatalakshmi Narasingarao. A Vysya Merchant, Bezwada*

He was arrested on 26-6-43. His house was also searched but nothing incriminating was found. On interrogation he admitted that he also received an insured cover for Rs 300 on 27-6-43 intended for S.R. Kulkarni but he refused to take delivery of it and eventually it was returned to Bombay.

All these have admitted that they have been receiving letters etc. intended for S.R. Kulkarni and passing them on to him.

Enquiries about the remittances sent from Bombay Bezwada and other places were made by the Bombay Special Branch which revealed that Messrs, S.V. Gore, A.V. Gore of Vasudeo Keshav & Company, Kharak Bazar, Mandvi, sent them. On their arrest they gave out that one S.R. Ketkar was responsible for using that accommodation address for remittance sent by him on the plea of helping the distressed families of persons who had gone to jail for their political views. S.R. Ketkar was arrested and he admitted having sent remittances from Bombay to several places in India for the relief of distressed congressmen but which is not believable. The Bombay Special Branch have asked their Government to detain S.R. Ketkar under rule 26(1) of the Defence of India Rules, while they have recommended that A.V. Gore, who had knowledge of these remittances by S.R. Ketkar through his firm, should be detained for two months under rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Superintendent of Police,  
Special Branch, C.I.D.

No. 4093/C

Copy to

The Assistant Director (S)

Intelligence Bureau,

New Delhi, for information

1 See Doc 3<sup>rd</sup> in Chapt. IX.



# 61: Statement of a Congress detenu Ram Sevak Matraprasad Pandey giving certain secret information about the Congress underground organisation

File No. 3/70/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

SECRET

*No. S.D. VI/6560  
Home Department (Political)  
Poona, 16th July 1943*

From  
H.V.R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., ICS  
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay  
Home Department

To  
The Secretary to the Government of India  
Home Department, New Delhi

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith for your information a copy of a statement made by Ram Sevak Pande who is being detained in this Province under rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules.

Yours obedient servant,  
Illeg.

For Additional Secretary to the  
Government of Bombay  
Home Department

Statement of Ram Sevak Matraprasad Pandey, Hindu, aged about 28 years, occupation Nil, residing in Room No. 16, 2nd floor, Govind Building, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay, Native of Village Kalana, P.O. Handia, Tehsil Handia, Dist. Allahabad.

That I am a B.A., LL.B. of the Allahabad University, having passed my law examination in the year 1935. We are four brothers. Eldest brother Pandit Ram Sunder Pandey is a cultivator at my native place. Second brother Ram Saran Das is a Sadhu at Barabanki UP living on his own estates. Third brother Ram Charan Pandey who was arrested at Allahabad in the second week of 1943, was a general clerk in the A.I.C.C. Office at Allahabad, which post he held for 10 years.

From 1935 to 1936 I worked with the Tata's Old Mills Co. Ltd. (Allahabad Branch) as an Accountant. From 1936 to 1937 I practised under the Oudh Chief Court at Barabanki. My brother Ram Charan Pandey got me a job in the A.I.C.C. Office as an Accountant on Rs 50 p.m. in 1937 (end). I worked there till 1940 when during the C.D. movement I left the office

and joined Kamala Nehru Hospital as an Accountant on Rs 60 and I worked there till February 1941 when the A.I.C.C. Office was reopened after the individual C.D. movement. I went back to the A.I.C.C. Office as an Accountant on Rs 80 p.m.

The paid staff of the A.I.C.C. Office at Allahabad just before the commencement of the 1942 movement comprised about 20 hands, including Secretaries, Clerks, Peons, Mails etc. The Secretaries were:

Foreign Department: Dr Balakrishna Keskar

States Department: Dwarkanath Kachan

Office Secretary: Sadiq Ali

In August, 1942 most of the office people with the necessary office files accompanied the Working Committee which met in Bombay prior to the A.I.C.C. Session. I was left in Allahabad with a few persons from the office including the peon Gangasaran Jagdeo. Gangasaran Jagdeo has been in the employ of the A.I.C.C. Office at Allahabad for the last over 10 years. Before the local (Allahabad) A.I.C.C. members who included Lalbahadur Shastri, Keshadeo Malaviya, left for Bombay for the A.I.C.C. Meeting they had given the cyclostyle machine from the A.I.C.C. Office to the local workers apprehending that the office will be locked up by the Police. After the general round up of the Congress leaders in Bombay and other provinces the Police suddenly took over the office premises on a Sunday while I was at my home at Kalana, about 20 miles from Allahabad. This was Sunday August 9th and hence no office files and other papers could be removed from there. I had locked up the safe and some of the Almirahs in the A.I.C.C. office and the keys remained with me. I produce the keys. At the time Police took charge of the A.I.C.C. Office I was away at my native place. After the arrests of the leaders for about 15 days I did not know what had become of the A.I.C.C. office staff which had gone to Bombay. I, therefore, wrote two or three letters to the milkmen at Jogeshwari, Bombay Suburban Dist. (Satyadeo, Ramadhar and Bhagedoo) who are my relatives, asking what had happened to my brother, Ramcharan Pandey and others. But I did not get any reply from them. One Krishnandas a member of the office staff who had gone to Bombay returned to Allahabad and informed me that the office staff in Bombay was still free, and that I would receive some money from Bombay for the distribution of pay of the office staff at Allahabad. In a few days time I received Rs 1,100 through a messenger and I distributed the same to the staff including myself. It was three months salary. These and myself were told to seek other employment.

In August 1942 after the arrest of the Congress Leaders the A.I.C.C. Office staff in Bombay rented from No. 30 on the 2nd floor of Petladhis Mala, No. 69/87, Cathedral Street, Bombay. My brother Ram Charan Pandey, Sadiq Ali, Gandadhar B. Patkey, a typist, and peon Motiram comprised this A.I.C.C. office staff. They were using the room for office as well as for residential place. My brother was looking after accounts and correspondence etc. while Sadiq Ali used to keep in touch with the underground A.I.C.C. members viz. Mrs Kirpalani. During this period of underground work the person who used to be in charge of the A.I.C.C. office was known as Ramesh and hence my brother was then known as Ramesh. Sadiq Ali was known as 'kakaji', which name is given to the person who remains in contact with the underground Central A.I.C.C. Directorate. I came to know, after my arrival in Bombay in September 1942, that whenever Sadiq Ali used to be away from Bombay, Mr Girdhari Kirpalani of the Housing Company, Jhelangir Wadia Building, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay, used to act as Kakaji. This continued till September 1942 when Dr Balkrishna Keskar and Dwarkanath Kachru acted as Kakaji in place of Girdhari in the absence of Sadiq Ali. About three months afterwards

Dr Balakrishna Keskar left Bombay and has not yet returned. The present Kakaji is Dwarkanath Kachru. From August 1942 to February 1943 our office used to get information on slips of paper from the underground Directorate through Kakaji and Ramesh used to get the accompanying drafts typed by Gangadhar B. Patkey, the office typist, and used to return the same to the sender after signing the same in token of having taken down the information for being incorporated in the propaganda literature. The office used to stencil the papers and pass them on to the Bombay workers for being typed, printed or cyclostyled as they desired. I do not know where the cyclostyling or printing was done in Bombay. Printing etc. was not done by us at all. We used to get the required number of bulletins etc. for our propaganda work. We used to send them to the cover addressed in different provinces. (Current list attached.) Sometimes we used to post about 200 envelopes a day. Our office was also receiving covers addressed from different provinces and redistributed them through couriers.

The addresses which I have given are accommodation addresses in the various provinces for the receipt of A.I.C.C. bulletins, Instructions etc. by post. Important instructions used to be sent by courier from Bombay.

When I returned to Bombay in March, after Mr Gandhi's fast, Sadiq Ali, who was a friend of mine, mentioned to me that Gandhi had not expressed dissatisfaction or otherwise with what individuals were doing as he had told them they could act as free men, but as far as he himself was concerned, he disapproved of secret methods and activities involving violence. Sadiq Ali himself then said that he himself felt that Gandhi was right and so decided to go to the U.P. to do constructive work. I then asked him what was to become of the A.I.C.C. Office in Bombay. He told us that we should try to get jobs in Bombay. Meanwhile he and my brother would go to Allahabad and try to get me my old job at Kamala Nehru Hospital.

Ram Charan and Sadiq Ali . . . left Bombay together in a week to go to Allahabad. Thereafter I have not seen either as both were arrested. It was at about this time that the A.I.C.C. news bulletin also stopped. All this time I used to hear that the more extreme members of the High Command viz. Ram Manohar Lohia, Asaf Ali, Jai Prakash and Achyut had a separate machinery of their own and conducted their own affairs irrespective of our propaganda activities.

Sadiq Ali was arrested in Delhi sometime in April and Ram Charan Pandey was arrested at Allahabad in the second week of May 1943.

In the month of September 1942 I came to Bombay to try for the job of an Assistant Manager in the Tata's Oil Mills Ltd. (Allahabad Branch) but I did not succeed. I used to stay in the A.I.C.C. office and under instructions from Sadiq Ali I used to look after my brother's work who was then out of Bombay. In November last my brother returned to Bombay and I left to my native place. When I was working in place of my brother I was known as Ramesh. This office was then in Cathedral Street. In the month of March I returned to Bombay and Ram Charan Pandey and Sadiq Ali left for Allahabad. I was left in charge of the office which in my absence had been changed to room No. 16 on the second floor of Govind Building, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay. On my arrival I did not see the typewriter nor the office files in the office. Since my arrival in Bombay there has been absolutely no work due to the split mentioned above. Myself, Gangadhar B. Patkey and Madhav M. Mhaskey were the only three persons staying in the room then. Gangasaran Jagdeo who is known as Jamuna Prasad came to Bombay in April last. Patkey and Gangasaran Jagdeo are the ex-employee of the A.I.C.C. Office. The former a typist and the latter a peon. Mhaskey being a friend of Patkey had come to stay in the room free of charge, on the understanding that his address will be used by us for the receipt of our letters.

On the 14th May 1943 when I read in papers about the arrest of my brother (Ram Charan Pandey) I became anxious to go home. A meeting of the Gandhi-ites leaders was to be held in Delhi on 23rd May 1943 and for that Mrs Kripalani, 'Baba Raghavdas,' Dwarkadas Kachru, 'Mrs Asaf Ali' and some others whose names were not disclosed to me were to go to Delhi. Suddenly the venue of the meeting was changed and Dwarkanath Kachru wanted to send someone to Calcutta and Delhi to inform the persons that the venue was Benares and not Delhi. As there was no courier available I took the opportunity and left for Calcutta on the 16th May 1943. The meeting was to consider the probabilities of doing constructive programme in the present circumstances. As far as I know Mrs Asaf Ali was the only non-Gandhite representative in the meeting. At Calcutta I met Baba Raghvadas on the Bathing Ghat near Howrah Bridge on the 19th May 1943. When in Calcutta he is invariably to be seen on the bathing ghat between 7 a.m. and 9 a.m. and that is the time and place for meeting contacts. I informed him of the change of venue of the meeting and wanted to see Mrs Kripalani but he told me that he would inform her and I should proceed to Delhi.

Mrs Kripalani used to stay in Bombay as much as possible to be in close touch with her husband in jail, and I used to arrange to send her parcels to the Secretariat. She used to stay always with Dayabhai Patel at his house in Marine Drive, but after his arrest she stayed on for about three weeks and then left Bombay for Allahabad, to see her mother, Mrs Mazumdar, and then to Calcutta.

I then left for Allahabad arriving there on the 20th May 1943. At Benares I broke the journey and conveyed the message about the change of venue to our Contact Dr D P. Maitra, Homeopath, opposite Nishat Talkies, Godola, Benares. I gave the message through the Dr's servant, as I was in a hurry to catch my tram. On the 21st May 1943 I left for Delhi returning back to my native place on the 23rd May 1943. At Delhi I met Shamlal in Gandhi-Ashram (Khaddar Shop) in Chandni Chowk, Old Delhi. I enquired of him whether anyone had come but he stated that none had come. Shamlal is an employee in the shop. I remained at village Bahampur, P.O. Hanuman Ganj, Dist. Allahabad, about 10 miles from Kalana and where my wife was staying due to ill health, for about 6 days and left for Bombay on the 30th May 1943. At Barabanki I broke the journey to see my brother Ram Saran Das. I arrived in Bombay on the afternoon of the 1st June 1943 and I was arrested on arrival at our office.

In Bombay I used to get letters concerning my family affairs at the following cover addressed:

1. Dr Miss Lila Nadkarni, Jamuna Nivas, French Bridge, Bombay.
2. Ramkalawa Tewari Panwala, Chira Bazar, Sonapur Naka, Girgaum Road.
3. Chotalal M. Shah & Co. Bharucha Building, 1st floor, Princes Street, Bombay.
4. Satyadeo, Ramadhar and Bhagadoo, behind Bharat Boot Factory, Post Jogeshwari, Jogeshwari.

Whenever I wanted replies to my letters on any of the above address I used to sign as Lila, or Ramkalewa or Satyadeo or Ram Dhar or Bhagadoo etc. as the case may be. For the address of Chotalal M. Shah & Co., I used to sign as Ramesh Chandra, but this was soon dropped as Ramesh came to be known to many people.

5. Madhav M. Mhaskey c/o Ruby Thread Co., 16 Shenvi Wadi, Kande Wadi, Bombay 4. For this address I used sign as Madhav.

I know Dr Miss Lila Nadkarni, M.P. B.S., Resident Medical Officer, Kamala Nehru Hospital, Allahabad for over a year since she has taken up a job there. In September last when I first came to Bombay I had brought certain articles from Dr Miss Lila Nadkarni to be delivered

to her mother and thus I know her mother. I had told her mother that some letters for me will be arriving there in the name of her daughter and that they should be given to me which she had been doing. It is not only myself but Patkey, Sadiq Ali, Gangasaran Jagdeo and Ram Charan Pandey also used to get their letters at that address. Ramkalewa Tewari Panwala is a co-villager of mine. Chotalal M. Shah & Co., are the auditors of the A.I.C.C. and thus I know them. Satyadeo, Ramdhar and Bhagedoo are my co-villagers as well as relations. Madhav M. Mhaskey is our room-mate.

The following are the assumed names of the persons in our A.I.C.C. office circle.

Dada	- Mr Kirpalani'
Dadi	- Mrs Suchita Kirplani (Also known as Behen Ji).
Didi	- Baba Raghavdas, a member of the A.I.C.C.
Doctor	- Dr Ram Manohar Lohia
Kadam	- Mrs Asaf Ali
Kusum	- Acyut Patwardhan
Kakaji	- The person I contact with the underground A.I.C.C. Directorate
Ramesh	- The person who looks after the underground office of the A.I.C.C.

Satya	}	Sadiq Ali
Satyaprakash Ji		
Sushila		

Lila	}	Ram Sevak Pandey brother of Ram Charan Pandey
Ramesh		
Ramesh Chandra		

Dwarka Nath Kachru is Kakaji at present and Gangadhar B. Patkey will be Ramesh since Ram Sevak Pandey has been arrested

Jamuna Prasad - Ganga Saran Jagdeo ex-peon of the A.I.C.C. Office.

#### Current Cover address in different Provinces

##### *Punjab*

- 1 Dr Kitchlew' (Court), 1 Prakash Guru Bazar, Amritsar
- 2 Mr Jagannath, Frontier Shop, Karnadeoshi, Amritsar.
- 3 Vedprakash Nanda, The Amrit Ghee, Lyallpur
- 4 Dr Parmanand, Homeopathic Dispensary, Chowk Khanewal, Multan District.
- 5 Lala Ram Nath, Pleader, Haveli Khan Zaman Khan, Kinari Bazar, Delhi.

##### *Sind*

- 6 Hukumatrai Dayo Gobindram, c/o Harbux & Co., Bunder Road, Karachi.

##### *Madras*

- 7 M. Chitta Ranjan c/o M.D. Bhaktavatsalam, P.O. Thyagarayanagar, Madras.
- 8 S.B. Ramamurthy, Clerk Municipal Office, Hindupur, Anantpur District.
- 9 Mr Sarathi, Standard Drug Co., Naina Naikera Street, Park Town, Madras.
- 10 Mr S Krishnaswamy, Compounder, Harley Nursing Home, Madura.
- 11 Mr Jnanasundar 26, West Tower Street, Madura.
- 12 M.V. Jagadisam Iyer, Gopalapuram, Tennur, Trichinopoly.
- 13 K.D. Donge, Indian Hume Pipe Co., Arkonam

14. Mr A. Ramachar, Car Street, Bellary
15. Bondlela Krishnayya Chetty, Arecanut Merchant, Bazar Street, Chittor

*United Provinces*

16. H. Dutt, c/o N.K. Roy, 37/97, Bhavan, Benares.
17. Mr Ganesh Das, Agent New India Assurance Co. Ltd., Rajadarwaja, Benares
18. Govardhan Pathak, Holland Hall, University Hostel, Allahabad.
19. Kashinath Azad, Kulbhaskar Ashram, Allahabad
20. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Zero Road, Allahabad.
21. Pandit Sureshchandra Dwivedi, Govind Aushadhalaya, Chowkhamba, Benares.
22. Dr S.P. Maitra, Homeopath, Opposite Nishat Talkies, Godolia Benares
23. Madan Mohan Varma, Editorial Department c/o Aj. Benares.
24. S. Krishnakumari, European Quartesr, Theosophical Society, Benares.
25. V.K. Mehta, Room No. 77, Rajputana Hostel, Benares Hindu University.
26. Hindustan Agricultural Association, Kanpur Restaurant, Hazrat Ganj, Lucknow.
27. Hyder Mahdi Rizvi, 104 Purana Killa, Lucknow.
28. Dr S. Zutshi, Lalbaug, Lucknow.
29. Dr Raghubir Sahai, Aminabad, Lucknow.
30. Mrs Bhudeo Sharma, Brahmanpuri near Ghanter Maharaj House, Aligarh.
31. Chandra Mohan Agnihotri, Station Road, Aligarh.
32. Maband Hussain, Duty Hostel, New Block, Aligarh Muslim University.
33. Ahmedally, Mumtaz Hostel, Aligarh.
34. National Medical Stores, Sabzi Mandi, Agra.
35. V.N. Agarwal, National Book House, Jivani Mandi, Agra.
36. Brijgopal Sharma, Room No. 21, Bishop French Hospital, Rajaki Mandi, Agra.
37. Mr Khaliqur Rahman Quidwai, P.O. Boragaon, Barabanki.
38. Hakim Mohomed Hadi Raza Khan Mahir, Katra Abootarab, Lucknow.

*Bihar*

39. Mr Matadin Kanodia c/o Syed Amir Nawab, retired Excise Inspector, Bhitkhna Pahadi, Post C. Bankipore.
40. Babu Baidyanath Sahai, Purandharpur P.O. Bankipore.
41. Proprietor Babu Rameshwari Prasad, Union Press, Opp. Hori Gate, General Hospital, Patna.
42. D.R. Prashad, North West Corner of Nawalkishore Road, Patna.
43. Wagsaransingh, Organiser, Nevjivan Insurance Co., Kadan Kuwa, Patna.
44. Basudeo Jha c/o Jogeshdas Esq., Imperial Bank, Patna.
45. Lal Babu, Bhakti Niketan, North of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan Building, Kadam Kuwa, Patna.
46. Nawalkishore Prashad No. 1 Advocate, New Talkies, Kadam Kuwa, Patna.
47. Babu Jogeshwr Prashad, Advocate, Kadam Kuwa

*Bengal*

48. Brandayan Paul, 111/1 Sova Bazar Street, Calcutta
49. Niren Tulukdar, 26/4 Raja Brajendra School, 2nd Floor, Calcutta.
50. Girish Chandra Dutt, 45 Amirali Avenue, Calcutta
51. Man Mohan Bhattacharya, Superintendent, College Street Market, Calcutta.



## 62 Commissioner, Bhagalpur to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files, File No. 91 (Bhagalpur)  
[Bihar State Archives]

Confidential

*Commissioner's Office,  
Bhagalpur,  
The 18th July 1943*

D.O. No. 692 C

My dear Godbole,

As reported in my last fortnightly confidential report, the situation in the Banks subdivision is still far from normal. The absconders Mahendra Gope, Sridhar Singh (wrongly typed as Sridhar Gope in the fortnightly) and Bhubneshwar Missir are again at work. Now Siaram Singh has put in an appearance (near Sultanganj), and the pusillanimous conduct of the police officers who arrested him and allowed him to escape will encourage him and other leaders in their career of outlawry.

The number of dacoities is staggering, and the special reports show that the wretched victim are often severely assaulted, and I believe that rape is fairly often committed, though the informants and other witnesses will never admit this. In the Bhagalpur district alone there have been 632 special reports so far this year (537 dacoities).

I have come to the conclusion that this flood of dacoity and other crime will not stop, in fact it will get worse, unless certain energetic steps are taken. The steps which are required are:

(1) We must dispel the idea which is gaining ground that a man can commit the most serious crime with impunity, that he will get away with it either through terrorization of witnesses, or through the confusion prevailing in criminal law and administration at the present time.

(2) We must do our utmost to see that adequate punishments are inflicted. It is essential to press for the death sentence in bad cases of dacoity with bodily injury to the victims. It is essential also to press for the death sentence in the case of the notorious leaders who have organized and led dacoities, kidnapping, and other crimes (for example Parsuram Singh). Sentences of a few years' imprisonment have no terrors for the gang leaders. They expect to serve at most only a year or two of their sentence and to get out when a Congress Ministry returns. Some of the small fry (many of whom often go hungry) do not in the least mind a term of imprisonment with regular and ample food. Sentences of whipping in addition to long sentences of R.I. will take some of the gilt off the gingerbread.

The present position is I think that District Magistrates have been told that the Penalties Enhancement Ordinance is to be used only for cases arising out of the disturbances of last August and September. It should now be made clear that it is applicable to all dacoities, at any rate in this division, where the prevalence of dacoity is undoubtedly an aftermath of the insurrection, and may link up with the next outbreak. But the death penalty or whipping in addition to imprisonment, should not be pressed for except under the orders of the District Magistrate.

(3) Speedy trial of important and bad cases is essential. Mr Prideaux has just visited Banka

and has decided which of the cases from that subdivision shall be tried in Bhagalpur. I have asked him to see that priority is given to important cases. The committing magistrates will be asked to lose no time. In the case of Parsuram Singh, who has organized many dacoities, and almost certainly some murders, we must press for the death sentence.

(4) Prosecutors. In the trial of serious cases of semi-political crime it is most important to have prosecutors who are efficient and who have their heart in the job. In Bhagalpur there is now nobody in my opinion qualified to conduct the prosecution when Parsuram Singh, for example, comes before the court of Sessions. It will be necessary to ask for the service of a really good criminal lawyer from outside the district; perhaps from Patna, and it will be worth while to pay him fees which will be attractive.

(5) We must do our best to check the tendency of the judiciary to let dangerous criminals out on bail. The public prosecutor should obtain the orders of the District Magistrate about which applications for bail must be opposed, and which are the most important. If necessary, the High Court must be moved to get orders of release on bail reversed. In application for bail before the High Court the Government case must be fully represented in the case of men whom it is dangerous to let out on bail. If the High Court let them out, we must in really dangerous cases, make use of rule 129 and apply to government for orders against Defence of India Rule 26(I) (b).

One difficulty here is that the District and Sessions Judge Mr Ramaswami who has just joined in Bhagalpur, is giving only one day's time in cases of bail applications from the Sadar subdivision. This gives very little time for the Public Prosecutor to consult the District Magistrate and to obtain and consult the necessary papers.

One danger is that political agitators who get out on bail even temporarily may get in to touch with the underground organisation outside the jail, and may succeed on return to the jail in communicating plans to other political inmates of the jail. Thus Mrs Saraswati Debi after a period on bail has come back to the Bhagalpur Central Jail. The excuse is I believe that her husband was not prepared to stand surety any longer. But the motive may be quite different.

(6) The police: I have learnt since coming to Bhagalpur that the morale of the police is unsatisfactory. They are definitely afraid of the future, in case a Congress Ministry should come into power again. Many of them are half-hearted in the pursuit of the Congress absconders. This half heartedness is well illustrated by the arrest and escape of Siaram Singh. I am told that some of them are afraid of offending Siaram Singh. There are two answers to this attitude of the police:

- (a) They must be made to realise that no matter how much they may be afraid of some future Congress Government, they have equal reason to be afraid of the present Government if they neglect their duty. Police officers who fail in their duty or discharge it half-heartedly should not only be suspended, if there is a good case, should be criminally prosecuted, apart from departmental action.
- (b) Something should be done, if possible to reassure the police and to remove their fears of retaliation by a Congress Government. The problem is admittedly very difficult and has doubtless been considered before. I do not know whether it is possible for the Central Government to give any guarantee against victimization. An extension of the right of retirement on proportionate pension is a possibility, but this has its obvious dangers. The problem has its positive side too. A police officer may hope for recognition from a political party if he secretly or passively refrains from acting against its members now. If possible some sort of manifesto should be issued to the police to restore their morale.

(7) Use of fire-arms by police. The frequent cases of police failures due to their going on dangerous missions unarmed, or with insufficient arms, are a matter for executive orders by the police authorities. Apart from that there is a general unwillingness to open fire even when there is no other way for preventing the escape of dangerous criminals. Government has given general assurances, but I think that further special assurances should be given to police officers working in what may be called the 'danger zones', where the insurgent gang-leaders are operating or may operate. The indemnity should cover not merely cases where the policeman was clearly justified in firing (for that would be of little value) but cases of error of judgement or excess of zeal, in fact all cases except cases of malice or bad faith.

We may at any time have to deal with desperate men who have been trained in Jai Prakash Narain's camps in the use of fire-arms and explosives. The present kid-glove methods will be useless in dealing with such men. It may become necessary to shoot with very little warning when the police officer is certain that he is confronted by such desperadoes. When a desperate criminal is captured by the police and there is any fear of his escape one policeman should invariably keep him covered with his revolver or gun.

(8) Chaukidars. The Superintendent of Police, Bhagalpur tells me that the rural police have practically ceased to function. There are two main reasons:

- (a) they are terrorized by the gangs, and
- (b) they themselves sympathize with the gangsters and even help them. The second reason applies only to a small proportion of chaukidars. But there is another reason. In this district they have had no new uniforms for three years in the Sadar Subdivision and for two years in other subdivisions. When they put their uniforms on they have to appear in rags. No man can retain any self respect under such conditions (I am taking this question up separately). There have also been some delays in payment of chaukidars (this also is being taken up separately). I must say that the job of a chaukidar in the disturbed areas is no enviable one. If he does his job conscientiously he is quite likely to be murdered or mutilated or have his house burnt down. The best way to stop this is to bring some of the miscreants to book. I am convinced that if one gang member is hanged the moral effect on the rural police and on the whole population of the disturbed area will be tremendous.

(9) Rewards. I am told that very little publicity has been given to the rewards offered by Government for the arrest of absconders. The rewards should be made widely known not only to all members of the police but to all chaukidars and the general public.

(10) Warnings. I propose that a general notice be issued throughout the division warning people against assisting the Congress leaders and other absconders and criminals and offering good rewards for assistance given in securing their arrest. In the Banka subdivision (minus thanas Dhuraya and Rajaun), and perhaps the following thanas — Sultanganj, Shahkund, Bihpur, Tarapur and Rupauli, some more impressive warning is needed. I propose that the warning attached to this letter be issued for these areas. It contains the threat of punitive police, and I think that Government must now be prepared to post punitive police in the bad areas if necessary. A force of 200 to 250 men should be posted in the area if this warning fails. Government can perhaps obtain the necessary men from outside the Province. If Government agrees that the threat of punitive police may now be used for the bad areas, I propose to have numbers of copies printed in Hindi and widely distributed in the Banka subdivision etc., and to use the publicity officers with the publicity van and Loud Speaker van for the same purpose. The National War Front has so far been of no use in anti-insurgent and anti-gangster propaganda.

(11) I request that in view of the possibility of further trouble in August early orders may be passed on the points raised in this letter; particularly on para 2 (applicability of the Penalties Enhancement Ordinance to dacoities), para 6 (warning and assurance to police), para 7 (Indemnity for use of fire-arms by police) and para 10 (warning to disturbed areas with threat of punitive police).

Yours sincerely,

J.W. Houlton.

Y.A. Godbole, Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government, Bihar,  
Political Department, Ranchi

## 63: Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar to all Commissioners and to Chief of Police, Bihar: Revival of Congress disturbances

File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Govt. of Bihar  
Political Department  
(Special Section)

### **Express Letter**

No. 1927 C

*Ranchi, the 18th/19th July 1943*

From

Y.A. Godbole, Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government

To

All Commissioners of Divisions  
All District Magistrates including the Additional  
Deputy Commissioners of Dhanbad

All Inspector General of Police, Bihar,  
All Deputy Inspectors General of Police

All Superintendents of Police and Additional Superintendent of Police, Dhanbad  
and Jamshedpur.

Information received indicates that renewed attempts to create disturbance may be made by Congress or kindred organisations during the next month. It is not possible to say when these are likely to commence but there have been strong indications in certain limited areas of a

renewal of rebellious activity about the 9th August. In Muzaffarpur District, there have been during the last fortnight two attacks by armed gangs on post offices which were looted and burnt.

2. There is definite information that special demonstrations are planned to take place round about the 9th August to celebrate the anniversary of the 1942 outbreak and to infuse fresh life into the movement. These demonstrations are likely to take the following forms:

- a) An all India Jatha is to be formed by contingents of selected Satyagrahis from every province to make their way to Poona and make a demonstration on 9th August 1943 outside the place where Mr Gandhi is confined. The contingent from Bihar will probably be about 100 and is due to start round about the 1st August.

The departure of this party or series of parties must be prevented if possible. If the names of the selected persons can be ascertained before hand, information will be sent to the C.I.D. and to Superintendents of Police. Superintendents of Police will then be in a position to use their powers under the Defence of India Rule 129 to arrest these persons pending receipt of orders of detention under the Defence of India Rule 26 (1) (b) from Government. Arrangements will also be made by the Inspector General of Police to watch routes out of the province in order to apprehend any untoward situation.

- b) Local Jathas. Simultaneously i.e. presumably about the 9th August but quite possibly earlier, local jathas of not less than 5 persons with posters, flags and slogans are to start from various places in the provinces to march on to the jails. It will be easy to identify these Jathas. No prior information is necessary, but they should be arrested at the earliest possible moment after the start and should be kept in police custody for a short time and be released without charge after crucial dates have passed, unless the situation develops seriously. These arrest will be under Rule 129 or sections 54 of the Criminal procedure code according to the circumstances of the case.
- c) Other demonstrations - A general hartal is contemplated on the 9th August and a hartal of student for 3 days. Collective spinning is to be organized on the same date. Congress flags are to be hoisted on all buildings, and meetings, processions and flag hoisting are to be widely organized to pass resolutions to carry on the struggle.

The programme follows familiar lines and calls for no new instructions. The instructions already issued dealing with Independence Day will hold good. Meetings and processions will be banned and the orders already issued for dealing with the hoisting or flying of Congress flags will be enforced. It is not necessary to take any action in advance with regard to hartals. In the event of a large scale hartal the provisions of Defence of India Rule 81D should be borne in mind. Government in the Educational Department will issue instruction for dealing with the proposed hartal of students.

It is not unlikely that in connection with the programme outlined above demonstrations may be made not only outside jails but outside other Government buildings such as collectorates (vide paragraph 2(b) above). Superintendents of Police should be warned to be watchful and any attempts to take processions to or to hold meetings outside jails should be dispersed by force if necessary and before they reach the jail.

4. Apart from these activities it is probable that the more extreme elements will attempt to revive the campaign of disorder and sabotage and will make use of the present economic

hardships of the poorer classes to enlist support. For this no date can be fixed. But it is known that a recrudescence is intended for the beginning of August and as already mentioned there have already been two incidents in north Bihar indicating a very early resumption of activity. District Magistrates should therefore review the local position in consultation with their Superintendents of Police. Much larger police forces are now at the disposal of Government than were available last year and increased police forces of Armed Police have been placed at the disposal of all districts. These should be utilized to the best advantage bearing in mind that they should not be unduly dispersed and that an adequate striking force should be kept in hand to meet emergencies. Further instructions regarding the disposition of provincial reserves of police will be issued by the Inspector General of Police.

5. District Officers have already been addressed on the question of village patrols. In order to prevent sabotage to communications it is essential that village patrols should be in working order before any revival of last year's movement.

6. A special watch will be kept on persons who were convicted by the Special Criminal Courts and have come out of jail on expiry of the sentence or on bail being granted by appellate courts.

Chief Secretary to Government

Memo No. 1927 CPC, Hinoo, Ranchi, the 18/19th July 1943.

Copy forwarded to the

Headquarters 101 lines of Communication Area

501 lines of Communication Sub-area Eastern Army

Secretary to Government, Education Deptt. of Inf.

Chief Secretary to Government

## 64: Correspondence between the Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana States and the Dewan – Revival of August Movement

Bharatpur Agency (Eastern Rajputana States) Bundi State (Pol.) File No. 50  
[Rajasthan State Archives]

D.O. No. 1557/70-P/42-II

Secret

*Bharatpur Agency  
Camp Bundi  
The 20th July 1943*

### **Congress Activities**

My dear Robertson,

Although there is no definite evidence that there is any intention on the part of the Congress to create disturbances on August 9, 1943, which is the anniversary of the day on which last

year's disturbances commenced, this is always a likely possibility. There have certainly been rumours to that effect and one version is that Gandhi may ask permission for a meeting of the Working Committee and, if refused, he will march to the place of Mr Gandhi's confinement in Poona and endeavour to get his release or get arrested in the attempt. Finally, the intelligence Officer of Mhow Area mentioned a warning letter issued by the Military; no such communication has been received, but it is relevant to quote the following extract from the weekly secret Report of the intelligence Bureau:

'Secret reports continue to testify to the preoccupation of the underground leaders with plans for the revival of the Congress movement, in its violent as well as non-violent aspects, on the anniversary of Gandhi's arrest or as soon as a suitable opportunity offers'.

2. In view, however, of the possibility of such trouble, it is very necessary that all concerned should be on the *qui vive* and have their arrangements, especially railway protection arrangements ready to be laid on at short notice. I bring this to the notice of the Darbar/Bharatpur Government so that they may be prepared to take prompt action in case of necessity. The Police Assistant to the Resident had warned the Superintendent of Police, Ajmer, and the Superintendent of Railway Police, Indore accordingly.

Yours sincerely,  
(Political Agent, E.R. States)

To  
A.W. Robertson, Esquire, OBE, DFC,  
Dewan, Bundi

Noted and referred to the Dewan Sahib.

I.G. Police,  
23-7-43

Secret

23-7-43

### **Express Letter**

From  
Political, Bharatpur

To  
Dewan, Bundi  
Mantri, Kotah  
Dewan, Karauli  
Dewan, Bharatpur  
Police, Dholpur  
Dewan, Jhalawar

No. 1688/70-P/42-II dated Camp Dholpur the 7th August 1943

Reference My D.O. letter No. 1557/70-P/42-II dated July 21st.

2. Kindly take immediate action under the Darbar's/Bharatpur Government's version of

the Defence of India Rule 56 to restrict or prohibit public meetings, processions or assemblies on August 9th.

Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana States

*Dated Bundi the 11th Aug. 1943*

Secret

No. R/616

From

Dewan, Bundi State

To

The Political Agent, E.R.S.,  
Bharatpur

I have the honour to refer to your Memorandum No. 1688/70-P/42-II, dated the 7th August, which was received here on the 10th August.

There were no public meeting, processions or assemblies in the Bundi State on the 9th August, 1943.

Dewan, Bundi State

## 65: Government of India to all Provincial Governments

File No. 44/29/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

Government of India

Home Department

### **Express Letter**

From

Home, New Delhi

To

All Provincial Governments and

Chief Commissioners, Delhi

Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg and Baluchistan.

No. 44/37/43 – Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 21st July 1943*

In the Memorandum enclosed with our letter No. 43/46/41 – Poll (I) dated 21st January, 1942, on the subject of the treatment of security prisoners, we laid down certain principles which



we considered should govern the treatment of security prisoners, Provincial Governments were asked to accept these principles or to refer to us any points on which they were in difficulty. We received no such reference and we concluded, therefore, that all Provincial Governments accepted the general principles laid down and were prepared to base their practice in the treatment of security prisoners on them.

2. As you are doubtless aware, we are under continual pressure, which is renewed with each successive session of the legislature, to liberalize the conditions of detention of security prisoners. We have so far resisted this pressure. Our stand has been based on the view that the Government of India could not be expected to intervene in matters of detailed treatment of security prisoners in Provinces and that their general responsibility for the administration of the Defence of India Rules, and of Security prisoners detained thereunder, was satisfied provided that they ensured that uniform standards were maintained in matters of importance. The validity of this stand depends of course on the extent to which Provincial Governments do in fact adhere to our principles in their treatment of security prisoners, and to the extent that the principles laid down do in fact cover all matters of real importance concerning the treatment of security prisoners. On the first point, we believe that considerable divergences of practice in respect of these matters of principle have been allowed to creep in; we would respect the request made in our letter of the 21st January, 1942, that these principles, which we consider hold equally good today, should be accepted by Provincial Governments and that if you find any difficulty in accepting them, you should refer the matter to us without delay. In the attached Memorandum we indicate some of the directions in which we understand that Provincial practice has diverged from our principles. On the second point, we consider that correspondence and interviews, neither of which were treated as matters of principle in our Memorandum of 21st January, 1942, should now be so treated, we think further that principles, should be enunciated embodying the view we have from time to time expressed on the separate treatment of Congress security prisoners, and the succeeding paragraphs of this letter lay down the further principles which we propose to adopt.

### **Treatment of Security Prisoners**

#### *3.(a) Correspondence - Non-Congress Security Prisoners*

We consider that uniformity of treatment in this respect is essential. The lack of this uniformity has been one of the communist grounds of agitation and it is in our view impossible to justify any such lack of uniformity on the ground of differing needs and conditions in different provinces. We attach importance, therefore, to the principle that class I security prisoners should be allowed to write four and to receive eight letters per week and that class II security prisoners should be allowed to write two and receive four letters per week; and we would strongly deprecate any departure from these scales except in special individual cases. Withdrawal or curtailment of the privilege of correspondence as a jail punishment is, of course, a different matter. We understand that the special 'Goonda Class' security prisoners maintained by Bengal, the United Provinces and the North West Frontier Province are permitted no correspondence; we have no objection to the continuance of this practice as an exception to the above general principle. We also consider, as a subsidiary principle, that, whatever may be your general attitude towards correspondence between security prisoners, the mere fact that both correspondents may happen to be in jail should not constitute a bar to a security prisoner corresponding with a member of his family.

*(b) Interviews – Non-Congress Security Prisoners*

We consider that in this respect also uniformity is desirable as a matter of principle, and we would propose adopting the scale of one interview per fortnight for class I security prisoners and one interview per month for class II security prisoners. This is of course without prejudice to the question of interviews between security prisoners and their legal advisers, on which subject we are about to address you and we consider that such interviews should be allowed in addition to the normal scale laid down above.

*4. Congress Security Prisoners*

We consider that the following principles should govern the treatment of Congress security prisoners and we attach the same importance to their uniform observance as to the observance of the general principles previously laid down in respect of non-Congress security prisoners:

1. *Classification and Segregation:* We would urge that as far as possible security prisoners detained in connection with the Congress movement should be completely segregated from non-Congress security prisoners. We realise, however, that this must depend to some extent on the accommodation available and may not always be possible. We consider, as a matter of principle, that where such complete segregation is possible one single special class of Congress security prisoners should be maintained, the general position of this class in respect of diet, scales of accommodation, amenities, etc., being as nearly as possible midway between the normal class I and II. Where shortage of accommodation is found to render complete segregation impossible, then we consider, as a matter of principle, that Congress security prisoners should be classified on the same basis as the non-Congress security prisoners with whom they will have to associate.

2. *Diet Allowances:* We consider that the general principle enunciated in paragraph 3 of our Memorandum of 21st January, 1942, holds good. As indicated in the preceding paragraph, we consider that the treatment of Congress special class security prisoners should, in matters of diet as of other amenities, be midway between that of classes I and II.

3. *Personal Allowance:* We consider that the principle enunciated in our Memorandum of 21st January, 1942 holds good in respect of Congress security prisoners also.

4. *Receipt of Funds from External Sources:* We consider that the principles enunciated in paragraph 5 of our Memorandum of 21st January, 1942, hold good in respect of Congress security prisoners also.

5. *Family Allowances:* We consider that, as laid down in our letter No. 44/6/4? – Poll (I), dated the 28th November, 1942 the principle governing the grant of allowances to members of the families of Congress security prisoners should be that of sanctioning an allowance only in cases of absolute and proved necessity. The liberalized formula set forth in paragraph 6 of our Memorandum of 21st January, 1942, should be held to apply to non-Congress security prisoners only.

6. *Parole:* We consider as a matter of principle that the conditions governing the release of Congress security prisoners on parole should remain those laid down in our letter No. 44/29/43 – Poll (I) of 6th May, 1943, and that these conditions should be strictly interpreted.

7. *Correspondence:* We consider as a matter of principle that Congress security prisoners, whether divided into two classes or maintained in a single special class, should be uniformly treated in the matter of correspondence, and we would propose that they should be allowed to write two and to receive four letters per week, this correspondence being allowed only with

members of their families and being restricted to purely personal matters only. As a subsidiary principle, we consider that, whatever may be your general attitude towards correspondence between security prisoners, the fact that two members of the same family happen both to be security prisoners should not act as a bar to their being allowed to correspond with each other.

8. *Interviews:* We remain of the opinion expressed in our letter No. 44/6/42 - Poll (I) of 20th February, 1943 in which we inclined to the view that, since letters to near relatives were already allowed, interviews with such relatives on personal and domestic matters would do little harm, provided that jail administration was strict and the interviews were properly supervised. We still feel however, that at the present stage, we cannot press provincial Government which desire to maintain the existing restrictions to relax them; and we cannot at present insist, as a matter of principle, on uniformity of practice in this respect.

Addl. Secy. to the Government of India

New Delhi, 21st July 1943.

Copy is forwarded for information to:

1. Secretary to the Governor-General (Personal)
2. Secretary to the Governor-General (Public)
3. External Affairs Department
4. Political Department
5. Director, Intelligence Bureau.

### Memorandum

#### *Enclosure*

Divergences of practice in respect of matters of principle regarding the treatment of security prisoners laid down in the memorandum attached to Home Department letter No. 43/46/41 - Poll (I) dated 21st January 1942, and in Home Department letter No. 44/37/43 - Poll (I) dated the 21st July 1943.

1. *Segregation:* In our Memorandum of 21st January 1942, importance was attached to the principle of complete separation of security prisoners from all other classes of prisoners. It is understood that, in the Central Province, security prisoners are in some cases allowed to mix with convicted prisoners.

2. *Diet Allowances:* The principle laid down in our Memorandum of 21st January 1942, was that the diet of class II security prisoners should be a distinct improvement on that of 'C' class convicted prisoners. It is understood that class II security prisoners are in the Punjab, Bihar, Central Provinces and Sind treated in matters of diet as on a par with 'C' class convicts.

3. *Personal Allowances:* Our Memorandum of 21st January 1942 opposed on principle the grant of personal allowances to security prisoners. It is understood that personal allowances have been granted to five Congress security prisoners in Assam.

4. *Receipt of Funds from External Sources:* Our Memorandum of 21st January 1942 laid it down as a principle that the legitimate needs of security prisoners in the way of extra amenities should be met by allowing them to receive limited funds from outside sources. It is understood that class II security prisoners in the United Provinces, both Congress and non-Congress, are not allowed to receive such funds; and that in the Punjab the purposes to which Congress security prisoners may put such funds are restricted.

5. *Family Allowances:* Our Memorandum of 21st January 1942 set forth a formula for the liberalization of the grant of allowance to security prisoners' families. As far as can be judged, in what is admittedly a matter of degree, our views have only been fully accepted and put into practice in Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab. It is important that a clear distinction should for this purpose be made between the treatment to be accorded to the families of Congress and non-Congress security prisoners.

6. *Parole:* We have no detailed information of the extent to which the principle laid down in our Memorandum of 21st January 1942 and reiterated in our letter No. 44/29/43 – Poll (I) of 6th May 1943, has been put into practice in provinces. We have, however, recently received a representation from a Province in which conditions for the grant of parole set forth in our letter of 6th May, 1943, are being strictly interpreted, urging the need for greater uniformity in the practice of the various Provinces in this respect and pointing out the embarrassment caused by the absence of such uniformity. Instances were quoted where other Provincial Governments had released security prisoners on parole, in one case for a period of over six months, and in another case for the performance of the Sradh ceremonies, it is difficult to give more detailed guidance than that already given in our letter for 6th May, but it is suggested that as a general rule, release on parole to attend religious or social ceremonies would not be in accord with the principle laid down in our Memorandum. (Central Provinces Government letter N . 1745-1395-III of 6/8th July, 1943).

## 66: I.G. of Police, Bihar to all Police Officers in the State

File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Memo No. Con. 72/143

*Patna, the 23rd July 1943*

Secret

To

All S.S.P. (including Addl. S.S.P. Dhanbad and Jamshedpur)  
S.R.P., E.I. Rly, and A.S.R.P., O & T Rly  
All D.I.Gs

Sub: Revival of Congress Disturbances

In the Government of Bihar (Special Section) letter No. 1927 dated 19-7-43,<sup>1</sup> instructions have been issued with regard to the action to be taken in dealing with demonstration in connection with possible attempts to revive political lawlessness.

In para 2 of the letter, details have been given to an all India Jatha which is likely to proceed to the place where Mr Gandhi is confined and orders have been issued to prevent the departure of contingents as far as possible. In order to apprehend those who manage to get away from their starting point it will be necessary to watch routes leading out of the province. All S.S.P. will arrange to watch main road along which contingents are likely to

travel, Rly S.S.P. Shahabad, Saran and Champaran, will take special measures to watch important roads and river crossing into the U.P. Contingents from Bihar and the eastern provinces will probably travel by rail and special precautions by S.R.P., E.I. Rly/B.N. Ry. and A.S.P.P. O&T Rly will be necessary. Satyagrahis will probably entrain at wayside stations, and unless they are anxious to court early arrest, which will be unlikely in most cases, will confine demonstrations to periods when trains are clear of stations, or at unimportant stations, where there are no police. To combat these tactics, plainclothesmen will be deputed by the S.R./A.S.R.P. to travel on all west bound trains from the 30th July. If Satyagrahis are found on trains, plainclothes men will send information from the first stopping station to the nearest G.R.P. station or R.P.P. Platoon headquarters ahead, where arrangements etc. will be made to arrest them. When arrests are made those arrested should be removed promptly and no demonstrations should be allowed.

In this connection railway police will make contact and co-operate with the railway police of adjoining provinces.

C.J. Creed  
Inspector General of Police, Bihar.

Copy to -  
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bihar, Ranchi  
101-lines of Communication Area  
152-lines of Communication Sub-Area

1 Doc. 63

## 67: Government of India to All Provinces

File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

From  
Sir Richard Tottenham,  
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of India

To  
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners  
(Except Panth Piploda)

### **Express Letter**

*New Delhi, the 28th July 1943*

Sub. Action in the event of revival of serious disorders

Continuation of our express letter No. 3/68/43 - Political (I) dated 24th July<sup>1</sup> 1943 on the above subject.

2. As you are doubtless aware, one of the Congress Plans for August 9th is that 1000 pledged Satyagrahis should proceed from all over India to the Aga Khan's Palace at Poona. For this purpose, quotas have, we understand, been allotted to each Province. We are not aware how far these quotas have been filled in the various Provinces; out of the Delhi quota of 50, however, it is understood that only about 8 persons have so far volunteered; and it appears, therefore, that the response may not be very large. Nevertheless, we have no doubt that you will agree that all possible steps should be taken to prevent these jathas from leaving their home Provinces; and this is the policy that we are asking Chief Commissioners to adopt. The methods are left to your decision.

3. You will doubtless also have considered the advisability of resort to Defence Rule 56 or to the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, to restrict or prohibit public processions, meetings and assemblies on or about August 9th. A further point which we must leave to you to decide, having regard to the desirability on the one hand of issuing a clear warning to the public in advance, and the possibility on the other hand that such action might be interpreted as displaying undue apprehension, is whether to publish a general notification on some date before August 9th, banning such processions, meetings and assemblies, or whether simply to instruct District Magistrates to pass *ad hoc* local orders as and when the necessity arises. In either case you would no doubt consider whether the restriction or prohibition should apply to all meetings and processions or only to those connected with the Congress. We further consider that no display of the Congress flag should be allowed. It is the emblem of an association of which both the governing body and the majority of the local bodies have been declared unlawful; and action could, we suggest, be taken under Defence Rule 59.

4. There is little doubt that the magnification in the Press of a volume of minor incidents, in themselves unimportant, was a factor of some importance in speeding the disorders last year. We consider it most important that the Press should not, on this occasion, be allowed to create a false impression of a widespread recrudescence of disorder by the reproduction of a large volume of report of local incidents, in themselves of minor importance. Such a result can most effectively be avoided by control at the source from which the news emanates, and we trust that you will have no hesitation (after such consultation with your press as may be possible) in taking the necessary steps to limit the volume, and restrain the presentation of reports on this subject. We would suggest for your consideration, in addition to any other means you may decide to adopt, the possibility of stopping or considerably delaying the transmission of all telegrams referring to disturbances on or about August 9th or purporting to report a revival of the movement. We should be glad to receive information regarding any measures which you may propose to adopt in dealing with the Press.

R. Tottenham,  
Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of India.



## 68 Government of Central Provinces & Berar to the Government of India

File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

No. C.P. & Berar-Pol. & Mil.-841/549-Cor.

Secret

### **Express Letter**

From  
C.P. Nagpur,

To  
Home, New Delhi

*Nagpur, the 31st July 1943*

Please refer to your Express letter No. 3/68/43 - Poll (I) dated the 24th July 1943<sup>1</sup> regarding the possible revival of serious disorders. The Provincial Government feels no uneasiness about the revival of disturbances or demonstrations as it anticipates no difficulty in promptly suppressing them. What the Provincial Government feels somewhat uneasy about is in communications because the length of railway line to be patrolled is so great, the opportunities for acts of this kind are numerous after dark and the means of affecting such acts are simple. The Provincial Government accordingly suggests that serious acts of sabotage should be made triable by Court Martial, *irrespective* control a situation within a reasonably short space of time or not. It might happen that although the Police and Military are quite capable of controlling disturbances they are not in a position to prevent the wrecking of trains or the tearing up of the permanent way. If outrages of this kind take place the remedy would appear to be to place all lines which are affected or appear to be likely to be affected i.e. the railway lands concerned, within the jurisdiction of Courts Martial. This would apparently mean that a military officer would have to be empowered to exercise Martial Law within the railway jurisdiction concerned

2. As regards arrangements which would be necessary in the event of its becoming necessary to have recourse to martial law the subject was discussed by His Excellency the Governor at a conference with the Area Commander and the Inspector General of Police on receipt of the late Defence Coordination Department's letter of the 20th February 1942 referred to in paragraph 3 of your letter under reply. Decisions were taken at the conference in regard to the more important matters connected with Martial Law administration. A skeleton scheme was drawn up by the Area Commander, copies of which were supplied to District Magistrates. Since those discussions took place considerable experience has been gained during the last August disturbances. The police force has been strengthened and more effectively armed and arrangements for adequate transport facilities have been made. The civil authority is now far better equipped to deal with internal disturbances. Recourse to martial law in this province would, the Provincial Government feels, be only necessary in the most extreme emergency which is not likely to arise, so far as one can foresee, even under the most unfavourable

conditions. The Provincial Government has however, taken note of the consideration set forth in paragraphs 3 and 4 of your letter under reply.

Secretary to Government,  
Central Provinces and Berar,  
Political and Military Department.

1. Doc. 54, ch. III – See Doc. 67 *supra* also.

## 69: Government of Bengal to the Government of India — Revival of disturbances

File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of Bengal  
Home Political Department

*Dated 4th August, 1943*

From: No XVII, S.I. 1924

### **Express Letter**

N.B. This is an original message sent by post to save telegraphic expense and undue use of the wires but intended to be treated, on receipt, with the same expedition as if it had been telegraphed. To save time and formalities it is worded and signed as if it had been so despatched.

From  
A.E. Porter, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal

To  
The Secretary to the Government of India  
Home Department

No. 1264 P.S.

*Dated the 4th August, 1943*

Sub: Action in the event of revival of a serious disorder

Ref: Government of India, Home Department Express letters No. 3/68/43 – Poll (I) dated the 24th<sup>1</sup> and 28th July,<sup>2</sup> 1943.

The Government of Bengal agree that there is no reason to anticipate any organized and widespread trouble in Bengal principally owing to their determined and sustained attack on all terrorist groups, to the presence of large numbers of troops in the province, to the attitude of the Muslims and to general public preoccupation with problems of food supply distribution and high prices. Instructions have, however, been issued to the police in all districts emphasizing the need for unceasing vigilance.



2. The difficulty of taking preventive action in the present circumstances is accentuated by the fact that Defence Rule 26 is not available to the Government of Bengal and Regulation III of 1818 cannot be expediently used in many cases. The Provincial Government are consequently driven to rely, for the time being, upon the use by their police officers of Defence Rule 129 and an extension by them of the period of detention under the Rule 26 are resorted to them. They would, however, feel considerable reluctance to resort to this procedure in any early date, the Government of India will reach a decision upon the proposal which has been put before them by the Provincial Government for the enactment of legislation applicable to Bengal, such as is referred to in paragraph 3 of the letter dated the 24th July. The difficulty and labour involved in preparing cases for trial, the uncertainty and delay of proceedings in trial courts and the ingenuity displayed on appeal in reversing convictions make them sceptical of the effect to be expected from prosecuting persons, known to have been implicated in the commission of offences, should disturbance occur.

3. The Provincial Government entirely agree that the declaration of martial law in any part of the Province must remain as a last resort and, bearing in mind the considerations set forth in the letter dated the 24th July, they consider it to be unlikely that a situation should arise in Bengal, in which it would be proper to have recourse to it. Instructions, however, have been issued in full detail both to civil officers by the Government of Bengal, and to army officers by the Eastern Army; and the Government of Bengal are confident that every preparation has been made, which is necessary for bringing martial law into operation at once should necessary arise.

4. The Government of Bengal have no definite information of any intention to conduct *jathas* to Poona but if any action along these lines is attempted they would be prepared to prevent them from proceeding outside the Province, and with that object they would adopt the procedure, to which they took resort in 1941 of permitting 'Satyagrahis' to proceed to the border of that Province, arresting them there and deporting them back to their districts. They are communicating this intention to the police in every district and to the District Magistrates in the border districts.

5. The Provincial Government are of the opinion that, in Bengal, it would probably be a definite mistake to prohibit or restrict public processions, meetings or assemblies, on or about the 9th August, generally by a previously promulgated order. They have at present no reason to expect that any demonstration are planned which are likely to interfere with the public peace, and any general announcement prohibiting demonstrations would, they consider, only serve to excite feeling and to act as a provocation. They have recently directed District Magistrates to withdraw any general orders, requiring previous notice to be given and previous permission to be obtained for the holding of meetings, assemblies and demonstrations; but the orders passed by the Provincial Government under Defence Rule 56 remains; and under paragraph 2 of those orders it is still open to District Magistrates to employ their powers for the purpose of preventing demonstrations likely to be objectionable. The Government of Bengal have no doubt that district officers will take such action as is necessary along these lines, should occasion arise.

6. They are opposed to taking any action to announce that display of the Congress flag will be prevented or penalized. They have hitherto taken no action against such display and to do so now would, they think, draw attention to what is, at present, in the Province, very little more than a meaningless demonstration and would invest it with a meaning and importance which it has hitherto lacked. In general, their interpretation of the recent position

in Bengal is that any but disorderly or destructive demonstrations might very well be subjected to a process of wholesome neglect and disregard.

7. As regards the press, orders, issued in November, 1942 are still in force prohibiting the publication of certain kinds of news and comments and editors are still bound by an undertaking, given when these orders were notified and embodied in a press note simultaneously issued. The Provincial Government propose to remind the Provincial Press Advisory Committee that these prohibitory orders are still in force and that the press is still bound by that agreement and to explain that Government consider that this agreement amounts to an . . .

Doc. 54, ch. III.

2. Doc 67 *supra*.

## 70: District Magistrate, Bellary to the Government of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files, File No. 26/1944  
[TNA]

Secret

From I.M. Fraser, Esq., I.C.S.,  
District Magistrate  
Bellary

To Under Secretary  
Public Department  
Madras

*Secret No. 46/43 dated 7th August 1943*

Sir,

Sub: Political Agitation – Defence of India Rules-Rule 26.

Ref: Your Secret Memorandum No. S/856-2/43 dated 22nd May<sup>1</sup> 1943 and Memo No. S/1171-1/43, Public Department dated the 13th July 1943.<sup>2</sup>

I enclose copies of the detention orders passed by me on the following persons under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules since 9th August 1942. Full account of each case is noted against them. The Additional District Magistrate, the Sub-Divisional Magistrate have not passed any orders under this rule.

<i>S.No. Name of the Detenue</i>	<i>Full account</i>
1. Sri Tekur Subramaniam	He had on several occasions and at several places in Bellary District made statements in speeches at public meetings which were prejudicial and would influence the conduct of the Government and of the public.
2. Sri D.H. Venkoba Rao	Same as no. 1

<i>S.No. Name of the Detenue</i>	<i>Full account</i>
3. Sri D. Ramamurty	He was a drill instructor in the War Law High School, Bellary and took about 200 boys of the local High School and went in procession carrying the photograph of Mahatma Gandhi, shouting 'Vande Mataram' Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai and 'Sitharama Reddi ki Jai' and met in the Sambamurty Maidan where he suggested to the students to select two student from each class and organise meeting whenever necessary. He had attempted to organise with the students and defied the orders under Section 144 Cr.P.C. He finally resigned his post.
4. Dr S. Venkataramana	He defied the orders passed under Section 144 Cr.P.C., and attended the meeting organized by No. 3 where he took a part in influencing the minds of the public.
5. Sri Korisetty Jambanna	He is the son of a Congressite and left off his studies after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. An uncontrolled son of his parents, he was trying to influence his colleagues in School.
6. Hindi Siddappa	He was expected to have committed acts of sabotage in the Hospet taluk and also of the issue of 'Azad Bulletins' in manuscript in which it was written that nobody should pray for British Victory but for the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders. He took part in taking out processions and held a meeting of the Congress near his residence.
7. Kattee Sreenivasachar	He organized an association of students called 'Prabhatperi'. The Police strongly suspected he would do some mischief and so they wanted him to be detained.
8. Asundi Thurumala Rao	He is an ex-convict of the Civil Obedience Movement of 1930. On 23-8-43 at a public place at Hospet held a procession and delivered speeches on the present Congress attitude declaring to the people the final attitude of 'Do or Die'. He asked Government servants to resign the jobs and school boys to organise propaganda.
9. Genikahal Bheemappa	He was suspected of committing some act of sabotage, viz., to culverts and cutting of trunk telephone line and telegraphic wire cutting in Kampli limits of Hospet Division.
10. Waddau Hanumanthappa	He is a follower of No. 9 and had taken part in the commission of the above offences.
11. S.V. Desai	Note: Nos 5 to 14 are one batch. Nos 6, 7 and 8 are the leaders and the rest the followers.
12. Seeri Ganipathu	

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Name of the Detenue</i>	<i>Full account</i>
13.	Raravi Veeranna	
14.	Dalavai alias Moolimani Bheemappa	
15.	Sirasappa	No. 16 an ex-Satyagrahi. All the three were suspected to be furthering the Congress movements of sabotage by instigation at Harpanahalli.
16.	Mukkanna	
17.	Venkata Reddy	
18.	A. Venkata Reddy	They were found to be instigators behind the rebellious acts such as cutting of wires etc.
19.	Dr Laxman	
20.	S.L. Bhimasena Rao	
21.	Lambadi Sakna Naik	Both are of Jogihalli Thana and they were reported to be influential among other lambadies and were practising Congress propaganda. The D.S.P. Bellary to be on the safe side recommended his detention.
22.	Munia Naik	
23.	Sri B. Bhimasenachar	He was a teacher of the Board school at Bapuram and resigned his job and took to intensive underground Congress propaganda. The D.S.P. thought that he was a dangerous man and so was detained.
24.	Sethuranachar	After the arrest of Nos 15, 16 and 17 these two persons rushed out to defy the orders passed under Section 144 Cr.P.C., got the shops closed and persuaded the touring Cinema to close its shows. Hence they were arrested and detained.
25.	Nagappa	
26.	Sri P. Anantachar	He is an old ex convict of the C.D. Civil Disobedience Movement and was found to be an instigator of the acts of sabotage in and around Hospet. He is an advocate and a very influential man.
27.	Sri T.P. Kesava Rao	He was suspected as the instigator of persons. (Nos 35 and 36 below) for the commission of acts of sabotage and took part in meetings and tried to influence the public against the Government.
28.	Rambhadrappa alias Rekatla Rami Reddy	The Superintendent of Police, Special Branch, C.I. Madras, in his secret report dated 24-9-42 informed the D.S.P. Bellary, who in turn informed me that he wielded much influence among the youths and was suspected in a case of throwing muskets and police property box belonging to the Rekatla Police outpost into a well.
29.	T.R. Veerappa	These three young men are the students of the Kottur High School and were suspected to have committed the offences of the removal of the telegraph wires, etc.
30.	H.M. Basiah	
31.	T. Siddana Gowd	
32.	A. Nanjappa	They were suspected in connection with the cutting

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Name of the Detenue</i>	<i>Full account</i>
33.	Mangala Sanna Thimmappa	and removal of a telegraph wire to a length of 520 feet on the Kottur-Kudligi road. The Police arrested them under section 129 of the Defence of India Rules. All these persons belong to Kottur.
34.	Dherji Govinda Rao	
35.	Gorla Saranappa	
36.	T.S. Gurulingappa	
37.	Lambadi P.L. Bhojja Naik	These persons were arrested by the police in connection with the telegraph wire cutting. There was no evidence for charging them but there was very strong suspicion that they were responsible.
38.	Revana Sidda Gowda	
39.	Konti Veerabhadrapa	
40.	M. Siddalingappa	
41.	K.M. Chandriah	
42.	M.H. Rangappa of Mysore	
43.	Eswarapa	
44.	Dalavai Ambana of Ananthasenagudi (released)	He is an active worker in company with Nos 5 to 14.
45.	Siva Reddy	These men are of Kalludevakunta village of Adonis taluk and were inducing the village Officers to resign their posts. They were arrested by the police under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules and were detained by me later on.
46.	Laxmi Reddy	
47.	Narayana Reddy	
48.	Naraunana	No. 50 was arrested in connection with crime under section 35 of the Defence of India Rules. In No. 51's house a leaflet which was objectionable was found. All of these persons were suspected of the commission of acts of sabotage and of future acts of violence.
49.	Dherji Naravana	
50.	Parasuram	
51.	Bindu Madhava Rao	
52.	Kopbal Rubrappa	He is rich and influential man of Harpanahalli and keenly interested in Congress movements and acts of sabotage.
	M Bomma Lingayya	He was a teacher in Thoolahalli and was arrested by the Police under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules, as he is used to be an instigator. He instigated his people to commit acts of sabotages. Actually a pound was burnt in that village.
54.	K. Kareveerappa	All these persons were suspected of the acts of sabotage and to avoid future trouble the police recommended their detention. No. 54 was selected by the Madras Public Service Commission as a clerk in the Revenue Department in Anantapur District and I have given particulars to the Board of Revenue.
55.	M. Rati Rudrappa	
56.	Kelsera Gulappa	
57.	Moralana Gowd of Ujini	
58.	Chelvadi Basapa of Thoolahalli	
59.	Gode Moallappa	Both of these persons belong to Thoolahalli village. They were suspected by the police of burning the cattle pound along with No. 53.
60.	T.M. Chenna Basiah	

*S.No. Name of the Detenue*

*Full account*

61. Basetappa

He was a fumigating maistry. He was suspected to be a mischief maker. On searching his house, a prejudicial literature called the 'Akasavani' was found in his house. He was released as he was selected by the Madras Public Service Commission.

62. N. Prahalada Rao

63. Y.D. Krishnamoorthi Rao

64. Y.S. Kusanoor

The Police reported that they are very active workers in Hospet town. No. 62 is the son of a retired clerk of the Registration Department and was suspected to have removed a letter box fixed to a sign post in Hospet town and to have thrown it into a deep well.

No. 63 is the son of a retired clerk of my office. A bundle of Government stationery — war printing paper was recovered from his house on 16th January 1943. This man was in Bombay for two years in 1939 and 1940 and the police believe that he might have some rebellious ideas in him. A Gandhi cap was placed on the statue of His late Majesty King Edward VII at Hospet and he was suspected of this and also of posting anonymous letters to Government officials inducing them to resign.

No. 64 is a native of Dharwar and was residing at Hospet for a very long time. He often goes to Dharwar. When his house was searched on 16-1-43, three pliers, a roll of telegraph wire and a leaflet exhorting the public to do acts which would compel the British to quit India were found.

In the last three cases, i.e. 62, 63, 64 the Dy. Superintendent of Police, Hospet said that he personally investigated these three persons and says that he was convinced that they should be detained.

District Magistrate



## 71: Arrest of Trilochan Senapati

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), p. 28

F. 28/Cong/42-A-III

August 16, 1943

(Extract from C.I.O. Calcutta Fortnight Report on Political Situation in Orissa dated, 1st half of August 1943)

Another blow has been dealt to the Congress underground organisation by the arrest of Trilochan Senapati in Cuttack town on 30-7-43 and several of his confederates, numbering about 45, in Ganjam, Cuttack and Balasore districts. A large quantity of objectionable literature, including several printed and cyclostyled bulletins inciting to violence and lawlessness and urging people to resume subversive activities, were found and seized. These finds exposed the secret organisation and its members and enabled the local S.P. to take prompt action.

## 72 Extracts from notes in Home Department File 3/31/42 – Poll (I) Part II, relating to ‘Congress Responsibility for the August Disturbances’

File No. 3/68/43 Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Appendix<sup>1</sup> to D.I.B's fortnightly precis no 18 contains a mass of information . . . received from various secret sources regarding the whereabouts and movements of the underground leaders – Jai Prakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Achhyut Patwardhan, Mrs Asaf Ali, and Mrs Kripalani. The first two of these were actually arrested in Nepal and then rescued; but otherwise all attempts to arrest them have failed. This is most disappointing since the arrest of these five people would apparently knock the bottom out of such underground activity as is still continuing and might lead to information which would enable us to assess responsibility for the rebellion with some finality.

[A] *(I think we should inform all provincial Governments of the great importance we attach to early success in this matter).*

R. Tottenham, 18-8-43

There is a great deal of information in Appendix B,<sup>2</sup> I presume it is circulated to all Provinces to help the local officers in following up the conspiracy. We must evidently not dismiss the idea that it has considerable life still and that its ramifications may be extending in such a way as to make it more dangerous at some time in the future than present signs would suggest. I agree to Addl. Secretary's suggestion at [A] . . .

R.M. Maxwell, 21-8-43  
Draft to Provinces about 'A' . . .

R. Tottenham,  
22-8-43

I put up a draft.<sup>3</sup> The papers may now be referred to D.I.B. ( . . . He may also be asked to confirm the presumption in the second sentence of H.M's minutes.)

S.J.L. Olver, 23-8-43  
D.I.B. should see the draft.

R. Tottenham, 23-8-43

DIB (Mr Ahmad)

The draft . . . is suitable . . .

3. H.M.'s presumption is correct. The summaries (Appendix B is fourth of the series) are prepared primarily for the benefit of Provincial Special Branches, the object being to enable them to keep track of the ramifications of the underground organisation and take action to break up the inter-provincial links. Good results have followed the circulation of these summaries.

G. Ahmed, 23-8-43

Home Department

The draft itself should I think issue on our 'Anniversary' file.

R. Tottenham,  
24-8-43

1. Not printed
2. Not printed
3. Not printed Doc 75 may be seen

## 73: Government of United Provinces to the Government of India – Damage caused to an Aeroplane at the B.H.U.

File No: 3/14/43 – Home 'Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### **Express Letter**

From D.S. Barron, Secretary to Govt., U.P. Home Department

To The Secretary to Government of India  
Home Department  
New Delhi

No. 5362 – CX  
Dated August 20, 1943

Reference Mr Olver's letter No. 3/14/43 – Poll (I) dated August 12/13, 1943<sup>1</sup> about the case of damage to an aeroplane at the B.H.U. There has been no definite progress in the



investigation. There are grounds for believing that Chunni Lal, a student of the B.H.U., who was arrested prior to the actual occurrence was the person who planned to outrage and instigated other students and Bihar absconders to carry it out. There is also reason to believe that explosive used was obtained from Gaya. On the other hand the gelignite that failed to explode is of the same type as that recovered in Agra and elsewhere and there may have been a connection in this direction. Chunni Lal is known to have been in direct contact with the Central Directorate which was then functioning in Delhi. Close interrogation of Chunni Lal has failed to secure anything definite about the case. The investigation may be said, therefore, not to have yielded any results. It is only being kept open because one student who is strongly suspected is still at large and there is a hope, though a very faint one, that if he is arrested he may give some information.

D.S. Barron

1 Doc 47

## 74 District Magistrate, Bhagalpur to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl), Freedom Movement Files, File No. 91  
[Bihar State Archives]

Confidential

No. 3495 C.

From  
Rai Sahib P.N. Mazumdar,  
District Magistrate  
Bhagalpur

*Dated Bhagalpur, the 22nd August 1943*

To  
The Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division

Sir,

As verbally directed I enclose a copy of the subdivision Officer, Sadar's report in connection with the cutting of the telegraph wires between Sultanganj and Gangania.

The circumstances brought out in the report do not perhaps make out a case for the imposition of a collective fine. As this is the first case of its kind during my time I shall be obliged for your instructions and views.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant,

District Magistrate

*Enclosure 1*

Confidential

*S.D.O.'s Bungalow,  
Bhagalpur.  
The 21st August, 1943*

Memo No. 592 C.

To  
The District Magistrate  
Bhagalpur

As ordered by you I went to make enquiries regarding the sabotage of telegraph wires in the Sultanganj police station. I reached Ghorghat at mid-day. The superintendent of police, Monghyr with a police party and the subdivision Officer, Monghyr was already there. The G.R. Police have taken up investigation. It appears that the Monghyr Police received the intimation about the sabotage early this morning and a police party under the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Monghyr visited the spot soon after. The Superintendent of Police, Bhagalpur also visited the spot while I was there.

2. Five telegraph posts from number 284/21 to 285/25 have been damaged in villages Gangania and Ghorghat. Two of the posts have been cut, two others have been felled, and insulators of one have been broken. This morning a wrench and a small axe were found near the place of occurrence.

3. The first man to notice the miscreants was a railway patrol named Baijo. He called out the villagers who were watching their maize field near by. There was an alarm on which people of Tulsipur and Ghorghat turned up. The miscreants fired guns or threw crackers thrice. This terrified the villagers and the miscreants fled towards Dholpahari in Kharagpur police Station which is about a mile south of the place. It was learnt that this Dholpahari is nest of Congress rebels. There is another village in this direction named Kheri in the Kharagpur police station.

4. The only person who came in close contact with the miscreants was Anis mean of Ghorghat. I closely examined him. He was sure that people who are responsible for the sabotage were not of his locality. The estimate of people who took part in the sabotage is about 15 or 20 (as stated by Baijo) to 150 (as stated by Anis).

5. On my way back I made enquiry at Jhangira (Telegraph post No. 280/29 to 281/21) and at Purani Bazaar (telegraph post No. 267/22 to 268/24) where wires have been cut. I learnt from enquiry that three men cut the wires at Jhangira. They were noticed by one Ramcharan, a railway patrol, and by his alarm many villagers went there. In the mean time the three persons who were responsible for cutting the wire ran away. The persons who cut the wire at Purani bazaar are reported to have gone towards Champanagar after doing the work.

6. While we were at Gangania station the UP Loop Express train arrived and we made enquiries from the guard and the driver of the train. They said that between Pirpainty and Colgong (telegraph posts 239 to 239/6) five telegraph posts have been damaged. Near telegraph post No. 239/4 four fish plates were removed. They were replaced before the train could pass through.

7. Myself and other officers who were present at the enquiry are of the opinion that the sabotage in the last had been prearranged and was carried out by an organized group. Although railway Khalasis and Chaukidars combined to tell me that villagers were on patrol duty on

the railway line last night, I am not satisfied that they did their duty properly. I am therefore, taking action against them for contravention of Rule 59 of the Defence of India Rules. It however, seems to me that even if the patrols were doing their duty properly they could not be a match for the superior number of the miscreants specially when they carried arms. The villagers did turn up an alarm. It may be noticed that the last patrol train to run on the line between 5 a.m. and 11 a.m. yesterday. There was no train at night yesterday or to-day.

Sadar-Subdivisional Officer

## 75: Government of India to all Provincial Governments

File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India  
Home Department

Secret

### **Express Letter**

From  
Home, New Delhi

To  
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners, Delhi Ajmer-Merwara Coorg  
No. 3/68/43 - Poll (I), New Delhi, the 25th August, 1943

Provincial Governments are no doubt aware that the Congress underground organisation still has widespread ramifications in the country and our information is that its leaders are able to move about the country with comparative freedom. We cannot ignore the possibility that despite its failure to stage any serious revival of disorder and sabotage on August 9th this organisation may still retain considerable potentialities for harm.

2. It appears to us that the organisation is very largely dependent on the personal influence and guidance of a small number of important leaders, among whom we would mention particularly Jai Prakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Achyut Parwardhan, Mrs Asaf Ali and Mrs Sucheta Kripalani (wife of J.B. Kripalani), and that with the arrest of these five persons there would be a reasonable chance of the collapse of the whole organisation. We have no doubt that continuous efforts are being made to effect the arrest of these five persons and of other underground Congress leaders still at large. We wish to emphasize however, the paramount importance, in our view, of pursuing the hunt for these five leaders with the utmost possible energy; of securing the greatest possible inter-Provincial coordination for this purpose;

and of avoiding any tendency towards complacency as a result of the comparative freedom of the country from serious disturbances on August 9th.

R. Tottenham,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India

No. 3/68/43 – Poll (I) New Delhi, the 25th August, 1943.

Copy forwarded to

Secretary to Governor-General (Personal)

Secy. to Governor-General (Pub.) Political Department

Director, Intelligence Bureau and Director Military Intelligence for information

## 76: Detention under DIR of K. Gopal alias Bijoy Kumar Singh

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 331/1943

[Bihar State Archives]

30.8.43

I request that orders may please issue for the detention under DIR 26 (1) (b) of K. Gopalan, who was arrested in Patna u/o 129 on 18-8-43.

K. Gopalan alias Bijoy Kumar Singh, a Madras associate of the socialist leader Ram Nandan Misra of Darbhanga, came into prominence in this province at the beginning of this year as a leading member of the socialist subversive group Patna, which planned to carry out a programme of wide-spread sabotage. In March 1943, Gopalan became a member of the Provincial destructive committee. Reliable information was then received that he was in close touch with the socialist absconder Suraj Nath Chaube of Shahabad, the leader of the destructive committee. In June, he attended a guerilla training camp at Chansa in the Bihar neighbourhood. When the AICC plans to send jathas to Poona were made known in Patna, he toured the countryside and succeeded in recruiting about a dozen volunteers for despatch to Poona. When arrested on 18-8-43, he concealed his real name and said that it was Bijoy Kumar Singh.

His activities since he appeared in this province have been prejudicial to the public safety and the maintenance of public order and his detention is therefore desirable.

D.I.G. Police, CID  
Bihar  
30-8-43

Political (Special) 331/43

More details about K. Gopalan.

Report of DIG, Police, C.I.D., Bihar No. 3165, dated 13-10-43

After the August 1942 disturbances a subversive group consisting of Diwakar Shama, Sanbhan Nandan Prasad (both of whom have since been detained), and others was formed at Patna

and was guided by important socialists and members of the Forward Bloc. K. Gopalan became an active member of this group and is known to have met Ganga Sarma Singh and Suraj Nath Chaubey Secretary. He attended a guerilla training centre opened at Chansa, Shahabad at the beginning of June 1943 and returned on 8-6-43.

The particulars furnished by him regarding his name and address have not been verified.

Security prisoner K. Gopalan alias Bijoy Kumar Singh of village Deoria, P.S. Silao, Patna -- classified in division III.

*Report of DIG, CID, Bihar, to Dy. Secretary Govt. of Bihar, Political Deptt. (Special Section) dated 6th July 1945. Memo No. 11159.*

Enquiries in Madras and the UP disclose that he is a native of village Thattad, P.S. Cannanore, of North Malabar district in the Madras Presidency. He took an active part in the Madras salt Satyagraha movement and offered to lend his services to the congress leaders as a courier. He had the reputation of being a staunch congressman.

In 1934 he proceeded to Northern India with the help of the Kerala Provincial Congress committee for higher studies in Hindi. In 1940 he passed the Patna examination of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in politics from Allahabad and is reported to have been a teacher, in the Rajendra Sahitya Mahavidyalaya at Seodah, P.S. Bakhtiarpur, Dist. Patna.

## 77: To all fighters of freedom

Jaiprakash Narayan, *Towards Struggle* (1945), pp. 28-53

Letter No. 2

1st September 1943

[Months back, soon after my escape from the enemy's prison, I had the privilege of placing before you my views on our National Revolution as also certain suggestions concerning it. Six months have passed since then, and as the saying goes, much water has flown under the bridges. I think therefore, that it will be fruitful to review the past months and to examine the present stage of our struggle -- Jaiprakash]

AFTER a close contact with the progress of the Revolution for the past half year. I find no cause to change the views I had formed at the very beginning, nor do I find that the analysis made in my last letter requires any vital modifications, except in one respect, not of a vital nature, yet important.

In December last it appeared to me that it might be possible within a few months for another mass uprising to take place. That rising has not yet materialized, and it has to be admitted, does not appear to be immediately imminent. The question naturally arises how this fact affects our present policy and the course of our struggle. In order to be able to answer this question, it is necessary to probe a little into this failure of the masses to rise again. First of all it seems to me that it would be a mistake to deduce from this that the spirit of the people has been crushed or that there is no fight left in them. The people never hated British

rule as they do to-day and were never more determined to be rid of it. A certain amount of demoralization undoubtedly exists to day, but it is found largely, I do not say wholly, in the cities and among the higher strata of the society. In the countryside, the areas where the repression had full sway, are far from having been cowed down, they are on the contrary filled with a burning desire for vengeance. At the first suitable opportunity they will rise and tear up British rule to pieces. It is rather the people of those villages who escaped British goondaism that sometimes show symptoms of fright and a tendency to save their skin at any cost. But I believe these people too could be persuaded to march abreast of their brethren when the final hour approaches. The students who played a notable part in the first rising are, it is true, back at their schools and colleges. But from what I have been able to gather, they are far from being dispirited, and would be ready again to place themselves at the head of a rising. The growing severity of the food situation, the increasing hardships of living, and the steadily falling real wages have not induced labour to look kindly at the so-called war efforts, and were another 'open rebellion' to break out, labour's contribution to it might not be less, but more than it was in August-September last. The lower ranks of the Police forces, though apparently won back to loyalty to the usurper regime, are far from satisfied with it and would prove much less reliable in the event of another rising than they did in 1942. The discontent among the officers and ranks of the Indian Armed forces has grown rather than lessened with the progress of the war; nor the new schemes regarding salaries etc., of the new Commander-in-Chief are likely to allay it.

It may be asked why, if this picture be true has not a second rising broken out, and why is it not even an imminent possibility? The reason, to my mind, is to be found in the intangible psychological factors. These factors are often unpredictable though it is one of the tasks of leadership to assess them properly. One of the essential conditions, though not the only one, is the rise of a belief in the mass mind that the ruling class or power is played out and at the end of its tether. The course of the world war in the months immediately prior to last August had been such that the Indian people had come to believe that the British Empire was crumbling and they had but to deal it a blow for it to totter entirely to the ground. At the present moment and for some time past, this psychological background has been absent, or rather altered so as to become an inhibiting instead of a stimulating factor. To all appearances the Americans seem destined to save the British Empire and piece together the fallen parts. As a matter of fact, the dissolution of the doomed Empire goes apace as certainly as ever and strange though it may appear, the Americans are not without their share in it, for they cannot fail to acquire the first mortgage over the territories they 'liberate'. But this process is not visible to the naked eye and so an inhibition is created in the mass mind.

This inhibition can be removed under two conditions either when the international situation improves, i.e., when it goes against the British Empire, or when an organized revolutionary force by dealing sustained and continuous blows at the enemy assures the mass mind that the British in spite of a huge army, are powerless in the face of a Rebellious India and arouses in it the hope that an uprising would possess a powerful leadership and a fair chance of success.

In August last not only did the war situation contribute to the creation of a suitable psychological atmosphere but also the fact that the Congress stood in all its power at the head of the people. The people had faith in their leaders and when the call went forth they responded with confidence and enthusiasm. Today these leaders are in prison and they must present an appearance of helplessness to the people. Thus the second element in the creation of a mass psychology of the rebellion is also absent to-day.

But while it is not in our power to provide the first element, we can and should remedy the situation in respect of the second. A tendency is growing amongst fighters to take shelter from activity behind the idle complaint that the masses do not move, do not respond. This is defeatism. The masses cannot move till there is force in us to move them. They cannot respond, they cannot follow us till we are able by our activities, and the strength and efficiency of our organization to win their confidence. The masses did their duty once. It was we who were found wanting. They shall do their duty again provided we do ours. In August last the masses had before their eyes the concrete power of the Congress and the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. To-day if they are made to feel that they are left alone, that there is no organized force in the country, which remains undefeated and continues the struggle, they would naturally sink down into despair and resign themselves to their Kismet.

The present, therefore, is a stage primarily for the enlisted soldiers of Revolution, the irreconcilable fighters of freedom to act in. They must strengthen their organization and carry ceaseless war unto the enemy. No suffering, no sacrifice should be counted too great; no controversy, no temptation, no false hope should deflect our course. All avenues of struggle are open to us. Whatever be our faiths and creeds, whatever our methods and weapons, our course is clear. We must keep on fighting. Whether we fight a year or ten years should make no difference to us. The Americans fought their war of Independence for seven years, the Chinese have just entered the seventh year of their war of liberation. We have but completed our first year of fighting. During the American and Chinese wars there were moments when all seemed to be lost, but the leaders and men held on, and victory was eventually with the Americans, as it will be with the Chinese. The present is far from being the darkest moment of our struggle, and yet weaklings and cowards have dared raise their voice. These are traitors to their country and we must chuck them out of our way, and march on. Worse times may be in store for us, but let hardship and suffering not deter us but harden us. Then shall we be worthy of the people's confidence, then they shall respond to our call. -

## (II)

For some months past, particularly since the correspondence between Gandhiji and Viceroy was published, a controversy has sprung up among fighters on the question of violence and non-violence. My views on this question have been clearly stated in my first letter to you and I still adhere to them. There is no need to repeat what I have already said, but I should like to say a word or two about this controversy. To me a controversy on this issue at this stage seems meaningless. Every fighter for freedom is free to choose his own method. Those who believe in similar methods should work together as a disciplined group. And the least that those who follow a different path should do is not to come in the way of one another and waste their energies in mutual recrimination. Where 'Do or Die' is the mantra of action, there is no room for recrimination whatever. Those who believe in non-violence may harbour the fear that those who practise violence might compromise the position of Gandhiji. That fear is unfounded. Gandhiji's adherence to non-violence is so complete, his position in respect to it so clear, that not a hundred thousand Churchills and Amerys will be able to compromise him. Also, we must remember, that whatever we do, however we try, we can never prevent British statesmen whether Tory or Labour, from telling lies; for lies are one of the central pillars of the Empire. Remember also that if there is violence in India no one but the British Government itself is responsible for it.

Another controversy that has been started since the publication of the Gandhi-Viceroy

correspondence is whether the present struggle was started by the Congress and whether it can be called a Congress movement. It has been claimed by some, who have gone so far as to suggest that a rump A.I.C.C. should meet to withdraw the Bombay Resolution, that since Gandhiji and other Congress leaders were arrested before they could make a formal declaration of war, this struggle is not a Congress struggle at all. According to the logic of this argument no struggle, if the British were to arrest the leaders in time, could ever have the formal authority and sanction of the Congress. What is it that those who deny the authority of the Congress to the struggle would desire to have happened on the 9th of August after the cowardly attack on our leaders? What do they think was the desire of Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee in the event of their arrest? Would the detractors of the present struggle have been happy if there had been no reaction to the arrest of the leaders, if the country had calmly bowed its head before the imperialist jack-boot? Or was it expected that only protest meetings should have been held demanding the release of arrested leaders (as was advocated by certain erstwhile Revolutionaries), and when they were not released, further meetings should have been held, till the audience became too disgusted to attend, after which the 'protestants' could have gone to sleep with a clear conscience? If this be so, where was the sense of that brave revolution and those brave words that were poured forth from the lips of the greatest in the land at the Bombay A.I.C.C.? If on the other hand this be not so, and if the people were expected to rise in answer to the British offensive, if, indeed, the arrest of the leaders was a signal for a mass struggle, then where is the grace and fairness in decrying the present struggle as un-congress and un-authorised? When you are on the war path, it is foolish to expect the enemy to allow you the leisure to complete all the formalities required by a peace-time constitution. It therefore appears to me to be mean and cowardly to attempt to show that the National struggle that started on that 9th of August, 1942, has not the authority and sanction of the Congress.

It is different matter when we turn to the question whether the programme of the present struggle was authorized by Gandhiji or the Working Committee. Here we are in the realm of facts and not principles, and political ethics. And about the facts there is no dispute. It is well known that the Working Committee had not prepared a plan of action but merely requested Gandhiji to assume command of the struggle. Gandhiji in his turn had also no plan of action. He had sketched the merest outlines in his address to the A.I.C.C. That outline and his articles in the Harijan were all that the people had before them and they formed the basis of that detailed programme which was prepared by those Congressmen who were left behind, and who hastily met in Bombay to lay foundations of that 'illegal' Congress organization which has functioned since then. That programme still is the framework of the National Struggle. There is no room for murder in it, nor for any form of violence to the person. If murders were committed in India as they were, 99 per cent of them were acts of the British fascists and hooligans and not more than 11 per cent were of an infuriated and sorely tried people. Creation of deadlock and paralyzing and dislocation of British rule by all non-violent means was and remains the sheet-anchor of that programme and 'go to the fullest extent under Ahimsa' the star to steer it by. While it is true that there are some who in the name of non-violence are attempting to disown certain parts of the programme, which they had themselves sanctioned previously and which even such a high authority as Sri Kishorelal Mashruwala did not have the heart to condemn or ask the people to desist from, there is no doubt that the conscious basis of the programme which the Congress organizations have followed since August 1942 has been non-violence, as interpreted by the people in authority



during this period. They who prepared the programme have never disowned the responsibility; and when the time comes they will no doubt appear before the tribunal of the Congress and receive its commendation for having discharged their duty at a most critical moment.

Be that as it may, to fasten the August programme on Gandhiji is a piece of perjury of which only the British ruling class can be capable.

### (III)

In the past couple of months there has been in evidence a symptom which bodes greater mischief than these controversies. Since the beginning of the struggle there has been a group of Indians who have deplored the step taken at Bombay and attempted in their wonted manner to 'resolve the deadlock'. I do not think Congress were ever concerned about them, nor they be now. Every time India launches a fight for freedom this group sets out to 'resolve the deadlock'. The fact that men like Shri Rajagopalachari, Bhulabhai Desai, K.M. Munshi, whose rightful place was in them instead of fighters, have joined the association of saboteurs of the freedom movement, should make no difference.

But, as time passes and fighters are released from prison, some among them — a very few now doubt — show signs of fatigue and demoralization. They too have taken up the slogan, 'resolve the deadlock'; and different proposals to effect this are set afoot by them.

Firstly, it is highly disloyal of these Congressmen to initiate a policy of retreat when the generals are in the firing line. A real sense of discipline is tested in action. At the stage of discussion, criticism and difference of opinion are the law of the democratic life. But at the time of action, particularly in war, the strictest discipline is necessary. And discipline requires in the present instance that every Congressman should remain in the firing line and give no thought to retreat or surrender. It is for the generals to consider these issues. Mahatmaji and Maulana Azad are in jail, but in the matter of peace and war the initiative is still with them, as it always is with either side at war. Mahatmaji could easily 'resolve the deadlock' whenever he wanted by surrendering. He has not elected to do so. This means that he wanted the fight to continue or to put it at the worst, the deadlock to continue.

Secondly, let us go a little deeper into this question of the so called deadlock. It would be conceded by everybody that ending of the deadlock is not an end in itself. It must mean an advancement of the national cause; it must take us a step further towards the goal that is unalterably ours.

Keeping this in mind we may proceed to examine the ways to bring the deadlock to an end. There are three possibilities; either we force the British Government to concede our demands, or we surrender, or there is a 'negotiated peace' between India and Britain — a compromise. The first would mean a complete victory for India and could clearly be brought about only by the method of struggle. Those who have lost all hope of victory and feel suffocated by the stalemate and yearn for the freedom of parliamentary play-acting have the option of surrendering. But they would thereby most effectively kill the Congress and extinguish the spirit of resistance for at least a generation. That would be a complete victory for Britain.

We are left with the possibility of a compromise the superficial attraction of which draws many well meaning people into its snare and the path to which, as to a well-known place, is already paved with a great many excellent intentions. A compromise implies give and take on either side. Now, the least gains on the side of the Congress can be the release of all those imprisoned in connection with the national struggle and restoration of the status of 'legality' to the Congress and its ancillary bodies. The least that Britain can gain is removal of the

terrible strain that British administration has to bear due to the continuance of the struggle. It is my conviction that in this sort of a compromise British stands to gain everything and the Congress to lose much.

Let us picture the implications of such a compromise. What would be the Congress position with regard to the war? Nothing has happened since August of last year to cause Congress to change its views of the war or to induce it to join it unless it is in a position to wage the war in the interest of the Indian people and on their behalf. On the other hand, an awful deal has happened in the past year that would make it impossible for any self-respecting Congressman to be associated in any manner, official or otherwise, with the goondas and cut-throats who rule India and who let loose such a hell over the heads of the people — a hell the fires of which have not yet been extinguished. It is inconceivable to me how Congressmen can ever offer the plan to men who have murdered and pillaged and burnt and raped and tortured tender boys in the stillness of prison cells. For this reason and for the reason that Congress cannot accept office in the present circumstances without power, I cannot imagine that the Congress would agree to work the 1935 Constitution again. Congress had once agreed to work that Constitution in order to wreck it and had nearly wrecked itself in the attempt. That wretched fraud has, however, been most effectively wrecked by the war and, as the memorable statement of Maulvi Fazlul Huq to the Bengal Legislative Assembly showed, not a shred of provincial autonomy remains to hide the ugly nakedness of bureaucratic rule. (Parenthetically let me remark that it is a pity that after so ably exposing the hollowness of provincial autonomy Maulvi Huq and other nationalist members of the Bengal Assembly, including those who sail under one or the other Congress flag, should persist in playing at futile parliamentarism. To my mind the only manly and patriotic course open to them after that great statement was to walk out permanently of the present Assembly and have recourse to extra-parliamentary methods to seek to overthrow the monstrous Herbert regime.) To return to my point. Provincial Autonomy being what it is, it would be the height of political imbecility to expect the Congress to resuscitate that fraud by installing its ministers again in the provinces. The Act of 1935 is dead and there is no going back to it: let this be well understood. Nor can India live at peace again with those who have heaped unspeakable indignities and bestial cruelties upon her: let this too be well understood.

A compromise with such implications would put the Congress in a most embarrassing position. The Congress would be restored to 'freedom'; but would continue to be opposed to the imperialist war and to all the measures — economic and political, that the usurper power might adopt to prosecute the war in the interest of British capitalism; it would be unable to take a hand in the administration of the country and to democratize in the least the ordinance, or to use the modern phrase, fascist rule; it would be helpless to alleviate the sufferings of the people, to provide food for the hungry, cloth for the naked, shelter for the homeless. In short, if the Congress took its principles seriously it would find itself drifting into opposition to the usurper authority at every point. The deadlock would have been resolved in vain.

The Congress would suffer another great loss. As soon as Mahatma Gandhi, President Azad, Pandit Nehru and others are out of prison the world would forget India. The pressure that the deadlock exercises over those who guide the destinies of the world would be suddenly relaxed and the Churchills and Amerys would go peacefully to sleep — rightly thinking that the India question was settled for the time being and would not become pressing again till the mad Gandhi took into his head to march his flock once more to the prison. Pandit Nehru released from the jail might make statements which American correspondents might lap up

with avidity, but there would be no strength behind those statements, despite the beauty and grace of their expression. Nehru imprisoned is a greater problem for the Roosevelts and Churchills than Nehru proliferating nobly worded statements and casting his spell over the envoys of great nations.

It might be suggested that the basis of compromise might be more advantageous to the Congress than that pictured above. Let us see what this basis can be. Britain is not prepared to offer anything more than the Cripps plan that is, no power during the war and a fraudulent promise of it at its end. The Congress rightly rejected the British offer, and no one in his senses would expect Congress to accept it to-day. The most moderate demands of the Congress, with which I personally am not in the least in agreement and which I doubt if the Working Committee would be prepared to father today, were placed in the hands of the 'Devil's advocate' in April 1942. They were rejected by the British Government. How do those, who are anxious to break the stalemate, propose to enforce those minimum demands, supposing the Congress would be satisfied with them? Could anything but a struggle succeed? So, it appears we are back to the deadlock again.

The deadlock is thus inescapable. Its resolution, except on the terms of the Congress, spells disaster to the country. It however, does not mean that we are static. We remain at war, we continue to resist to exploit every shift in the national and international position. The very continuance of opposition to the British rule, the very fact that India's best men are in prison is a guarantee that India remains unbeaten, the spirit of resistance remains unbowed, that the Indian question remains a crying world problem, that the subject peoples of Asia and Africa draw inspiration from India's struggle, that the working classes of Britain and the allied nations are constantly made aware of the nature of 'democracy' for which they are said to fight, that the possibility of a better post-war world is brought near, that India gains the leadership of the third camp of the common men of the world for whom neither Allied nor Axis victory holds any prospects of liberation and happiness. I shall therefore be content even if the deadlock continues till the end of the war. None can tell how long the war may last and what turn it may take and what forces it may release. The longer the war lasts, the more the internal situation deteriorates, not only in India but in every country of the world. A turn in the war, the release of a new social force may alter the situations completely in India that the deadlock may become the starting point of a great leap forward, whereas if we have gone back to 'normalcy' again the normalcy itself might become for us a deadly fetter. The deadlock is the best guarantee of our success in the future.

It might be urged that by keeping alive the deadlock we are playing into the hands of Britain, for Britain too desire that there should be a political deadlock in India. This is a mis-reading of British policy. Britain does not desire a political deadlock but a political black-out. She wants to crush the Congress and still its voice, to break the people's spirit of resistance and will to freedom. A deadlock in which the power of the Congress grows, the spirit of resistance remains unbroken, the right for freedom continues; a deadlock as a result of which British prestige and authority daily dwindle and those of the rebels grow — such a deadlock would defeat Britain's purpose and turn her weapon into an instrument of her own defeat.

#### (IV)

Closely connected with the above discussion is the question of a national government and Congress-League agreement. A national government by all means. But the most amusing thing is that while Congress fights for such a government and suffers others merely talk. If a national

government is not the same thing as coalition ministries under the Act of 1935 or a glorified Viceroy's Council, it cannot be won by holding conferences. The Congress left that futile path years ago and if communists expect to establish such a Government by petitioning to their imperial masters, they are welcome to their toadying. But they will achieve nothing but the ridicule of the people and the contempt of their pay-masters.

The agitation for a Congress-League agreement as a precondition of a national government is not new and there was no reason for me to touch upon it here. But the depression that has caught some Congressmen who have been seeking a way back to constitutionalism has led them anew into this barren agitation. Becoming weary of direct action, they are eager to fall back on this easy nostrum, forgetting that the author of the agitation, Mr Rajagopalachari, is still cooling his heels before the gates of Mr Jinnah's mansion, and that Mahatma Gandhi's letter to the League leader still remains undelivered. (Though we have had the rare fortune of reading the reply to an undelivered and unread letter.) I have for this reason considered it desirable to touch upon this subject briefly.

One is compelled to pay a tribute to the skill of British propaganda when one observes how intelligent men fall a prey to it. Either that, or one must acknowledge the depth of national degeneracy which we have reached. If British propaganda 'takes in' the innocent Americans (though even among them there are quite a few who see through it), one can understand, but when it bamboozles an Indian, you have to regard it as one of the world's wonders. Recent events in India have torn Britain's every pretence to shreds. Not even a fig leaf hides now the true shape and purpose of British Imperialism. Yet there are Indians who believe and want their countrymen to believe that nothing but the absence of a Congress-League settlement stands in the way of India achieving her independence.

If the course of British policy in the past few months has established anything it is the grim determination to hold on at any cost to their Indian Empire. If any point emerged with undimmed clarity from the Cripps Negotiations it was the firm resolve of Britain not to hand over real power to India during the war, no matter what measure of unity was achieved in the country. Cripps stated categorically that even if the Congress and Muslim League jointly demanded a real National Government, responsible to the people, it could not be granted during the war. (And who was or is interested in British promises for the future?) In view of this clear statement of British policy, to agitate for a Congress-League agreement serves no other purpose but to lend strength and respectability to the lies which the Churchills and Amerys tirelessly peddle around the world. The agitation for Congress-League understanding becomes in these circumstances a part of the imperialist offensive against nationalist India.

It might be asked: even if Congress-League settlement does not by itself compel Britain to grant India a National Government, would it not at least strengthen the forces of freedom and, as such, is it not desirable in itself and worth working for? The conclusion would be true were so the premise. But the premise is entirely untrue. In our country the only forces of freedom are those that are ready to fight and suffer for freedom. The Muslim League during its entire career has not once taken the path of struggle and suffering, nor is it ready to take the path today. India cannot win her freedom without fighting for it. And when the Muslim League is not prepared to participate in the fight, a settlement with it in no way strengthens the forces of freedom. Pandit Nehru was not using empty word when he stated that it would have been easy any day to settle with the League were it prepared to join the struggle for freedom.

So much for the Congress-League unity. A word about the realpolitik of the League. It is

necessary to grasp clearly that the League is in league with Britain. Mr Jinnah is a deliberate traitor to his country, a Mir Jaffer of the present day. He believes that he can get what he wants from Britain. But Britain is not accustomed to handing over parcels of her Empire to its tools. There is no doubt that after she has made the full use of Mr Jinnah she will throw him into the dustbin of discarded tools as surely as she has thrown others into it before, Mir Jaffer included. Let Muslims remember that it is not the sons of Mir Jaffer who rule Bengal today but the dirty kin of Clive. Mr Jinnah no doubt considers himself a very clever person, but for all his conceit and Fuehrerian attitudes history will show him to have been made a historic fool.

Mr Jinnah wants his Pakistan. But if he is serious about it, he must fight for it, he must make sacrifices for it, possibly die for it. But, there is the rub: it is exactly these things which Mr Jinnah and his followers are never prepared to do. Therefore, Mr Jinnah shrieks his demand for Pakistan in the face of Mahatma Gandhi. But poor Gandhi is not in possession of Jinnah's sacred homelands. It is the blood-soaked heels of imperialism that possess and trample upon them that defile and desecrate them. The Congress can have no objection if Mr Jinnah takes his 'homelands' from the British at least a part of India would then be free. But he will not take them, for he is not prepared to pay the price. He therefore wants to get along by blackmailing the Congress. But, in the end it will be Churchill who will have blackmailed Jinnah. If India is ever partitioned under the auspices of the Mother of Parliaments it would be in the interest of imperialism not to bestow a separate freedom upon the so-called Muslim nation of Hindustan. Ulster does no good to the Irish, but it is a British knife thrust into the very heart of Eire.

The League's real politik is the ugly issue of imperialist machination and national treachery.

## (V)

You probably know that Shri Subhas Chandra Bose has formed a Free Provisional Indian National Government at Shonan (Singapore) which has been recognized by the Japanese Government. He has also organized an Indian National Army which is said to be growing rapidly. These events have some significance for us. Parenthetically I may add for your information that one of the first act of the Subhas Government has been to offer to send us as much rice as may be required to feed the starving people of Bengal, but the British Government prefers to let the native vermin die. It is easy to denounce Subhas as a quisling. Those who are themselves quislings of Britain find it easiest to denounce him. But nationalist India knows him as fervent patriot and as one who has always been in the forefront of his country's fight for freedom. It is inconceivable that he should ever be ready to sell his country. No doubt it is true that all the necessary resources of money and equipment that he has, have been supplied to him by the Axis Powers. But in the first place the men he has in his Government and the National Army are Indians who hate British rule and burn with a desire to free their Motherland. In the second place, it is well to remember that the resources of all the fugitive Governments of Europe which bask in the patronage of the United Nations come from those Nations. Thirdly, no one can tell what concessions the requirements of global strategy may force a great power to make to a weak and prostrate nation. The conferment of 'independence' upon Burma by the Japanese has received some advertisement and a report says that the Soviet Government has been so much impressed as to congratulate the Tojo Government on their act of generosity. Be that as it may, there seems to be no doubt that the Burmese today enjoy much more freedom under the overlordship of a fascist state than

they did under British 'Democracy'. Turning to Sri Subhas Bose, it is clear that he has permitted himself to accept aid from enemies in accordance with an age-old political maxim – older than Machiavellian and older than Kautilya. In thus accepting help from a third party he may be deceived in the end, but there can be no question as to the honesty of his purpose and the scale of his resourcefulness. His success or failure in assisting his country to achieve her freedom will depend on the course of events over which neither he nor any other political leader of any country has much control.

Recognizing the importance of the Shonan Indian Government and the National Army, I must emphasize that our freedom largely depends upon our own strength and resources. Hopeless inaction which feeds upon the hope of outside help is suicidal politics. No outside help by itself can free us. It is fantastic to believe that Subhas' army, no matter how large, can defeat the Allied Armies in India. If any army can defeat them it may possibly be the Japanese. But, if the Japanese defeat the British in India, they would not quietly hand over India to us – whatever the understanding between Tojo and Subhas. We must be ready in the event of an Axis-Allied clash in India to seize power ourselves. Only if we are ready to make this attempt can outside help, such as Subhas' National Army be of value to us and Tojo be prevented from annexing India. It is difficult to say how far Subhas himself is conscious of this aspect of India's national strategy.

This brings me to the question, what should we do when the war enters our doors. British policy has made the average Indian so anti British that he is prepared if not to welcome the Japanese, at least to remain indifferent to the Anglo Japanese conflict. This indifference will be our death. We must endeavour to remove it and in its place develop a positive policy of action. In the areas where war is waged or which the Japanese occupy or where they infiltrate, the foreigner's civil rule will weaken or come to an end. In these areas we must establish a Swaraj Government. In the name of this Government we must appeal to retreating units of the Indian Army to stay behind and become the people's army. From this day we must prepare to establish such a Government in the Eastern Province which in the course of time might embrace the entire nation. This preparatory work raises many questions which cannot be discussed here. It is sufficient to point out the broad policy and invite the attention of fighters to it as well as of the people generally.

## (VI)

A word or two about the war before I conclude. The futile controversy about the character of the War still goes on merrily in the backwaters of Indian life. The fifth columnists still insist – naturally enough – that it is a people's war. And those to whom controversy is the beginning and end of politics get terribly excited about it and argue with words and sometimes with blows. But the Indian people have no doubts about the nature of Britain's War and about those of their countrymen who support it. They do not require any longer to be told what fascism is or that this is their own War. British fascism has revealed itself to them in all its horrid brutality in the last year. Those who rot in prison, those who lost their dear ones in the countryside murder by which the British re-established their 'law and order', those whose homes were burnt and looted, whose women dishonoured, those who starve and die like rats on the streets – all these people know too well what sort of a people's war this is. A British general laid the decapitated heads of the Shahzadas of the House of Babar on a tray and sent them to the last Moghul Emperor, the father of the hapless princes as a gift from Queen Victoria. A century and a half later Tottenham boasted to American correspondents that he

had brought enough sandalwood to burn the remains of Gandhi. India knows of these deeds and of other black deeds that fill the period from the beginning to the end (for the end is near) of British rule and she does not need to be told by traitors, masquerading as Marxists, what fascism is.

The war has entered its fifth year. The destruction of life and happiness that it has caused can never be repaired. The interests of the common man of both sides demand that the war end immediately. But it cannot be ended by Churchills and Roosevelts, Hitlers and Tojos. Even if they cried halt to the present butchery, it would only be to prepare new and more terrible weapons for more terrible butchery in the future. Allied plans for the post-war world, of which the barest glimpse has been vouchsafed to the common man, picture the same old world of privileged class and national tyranny, capitalist rivalry and chaos which brought two devastating wars in a generation and will surely bring a third.

The war can be truly ended by the common people of the world. But their voice is stifled. Russia which could have become the champion of the common man has herself suppressed him at home and disowned him abroad by truckling to the imperialists and capitalists of Anglo America. Labour throughout the world has become the camp-follower of the capitalist class and has thus sold its conscience and forfeited its leadership of society and of the new world.

In these circumstances India alone actively represents the aspirations and prompting of the disinherited and dispossessed of the Earth. India's fight for freedom is at once anti-imperialist (and therefore also anti-fascist, for imperialism is the parent of fascism) and a drive to end the war through the intervention of the common man. Neither allied nor axis victory is our aim, nor do we pin our hope on either. We work for the defeat both of imperialism and fascism by the common people of the world and by our struggle we show the way to the ending of wars and the liberation of the black, white and yellow.

## (VII)

I have taken too much of your time and must conclude now. I have tried to show above that the only course open to us to follow with profit is to continue to fight. How should we fight?

I have already pointed out that the present is a stage at which primarily determined fighters have to play their role.

The first thing these fighters must do is to maintain and strengthen and widen their organisation. Without organisation no army not even a non-violent one, can fight. Mass actions are generally spontaneous and the resultant of social forces, but there must be an organisation of a revolutionary elite to give shape and decision to them. The spontaneity of mass actions is also often the cumulative product of organized work among the masses by such an elite. In the recent history of our struggle there has been a marked indifference shown by leaders of the struggle to problems of organisation. The leaders, upon their arrest, have always left too much to the spontaneity of the people. No doubt, the relation of secrecy to non-violent action has been at the bottom of this indifference to organization. Non-violence does not permit secret functioning. Yet, during a struggle organization must be secret. I do not pretend to have found a solution of this dilemma. All that I can say is that till the authentic technicians of non violence discover a solution, it is essential in the interest of work for even those who strictly believe in non-violence to deliberately compromise with their principle to the extent of admitting secret organization. Even Mahatma Gandhi makes such compromises. By merely condemning secrecy and extolling open work we do not solve the difficulty nor advance our cause.



Organization then is the first item in the programme of our struggle. It is the basic guarantee of a struggle. In regard to this item, I must emphasize the prime necessity of keeping alive, and in trim, the illegal Congress organizations. These organizations are the sole unifying principle of our struggle. It is true they have no constitutional basis, but it is only through them that the Congress can function today and reach the people and fight the enemy. In several provinces those organizations are not functioning properly. The cause of such organizational weakness is rarely the lack of workers. More often it is inadequate funds and the absence of capable organizers. Neither of these is irremediable. The Central Directorate of the I.N.C. has been trying to provide the provinces with at least their minimum requirements, and its attempts have not altogether been a failure. This is not the occasion nor the time to examine the role that India's wealthy have played in the present revolution. Here it is enough to comment upon the entire absence of perspective or vision in them. If they could see but a little way ahead they should easily realize that if the national movement were crushed, British capitalism, harassed as it would be by the post-war world, would give them no quarter whatever. Sheer self-interest, therefore, dictated that they should invest whole-heartedly in the National Revolution. But they have proved to be not only extremely selfish but also exceedingly small men.

However, the requirements for funds must be met somehow and all those who can help should. In some provinces, such as the United Province some of the ex-Ministers (Congress) are out of jail. If they, and other prominent Congressmen who have recently been released in various provinces do not do anything else, they should at least see that the financial requirements of their provinces are fulfilled. As far as the Central organization is concerned, financing of the provinces must remain its most important job. To send out programmes and instructions without the wherewithal to carry them into practice can be no more than perfunctory and unreal fulfillment of duty.

The absence of capable organizers and leaders, who can create work and take work out of others, is more difficult to remedy. However, a partial remedy is that those few who were left should tour around, meet the other workers and discuss with them their practical problems and give them such advice and training as may be possible. Where by fortuitous circumstance there happen to be more capable men necessary, some of them be sent away to places where there are none or too few. New workers should be recruited, particularly from among students, and those who are being released from prison should be drawn back into the ranks.

With funds, recruitment and training, and wise use of available talent and experience, it should be possible to tackle our organizational problems.

To hold our organization together in the face of repression is a part of the fight — but only a part. Every unit of our organization must be in touch with the people. The link between the fighters and the people should not be allowed to snap. The link in one word is propaganda — spoken and written propaganda: leaflets, posters, radio broadcasts, mobile columns of fighters touring in the countryside, meeting and talking to the people. Distribution of literature is as important as its writing and production and equal care should be devoted to each task. Spheres of propaganda should also be carefully studied. Apart from sections of the public — students, labour, shopkeepers, peasants — we should see that our voice reaches the services, particularly the lower ranks of the Police and the Army. Foreign propaganda should also form a part of our job.

Propaganda is not only propaganda but also a form of our fight; for, to work a radio center, to issue an 'illegal' leaflet, to hold a meeting where no meetings are allowed, to say



things which are 'illegal' all this is defiance of the usurper power — and a part of the fight against it.

What more can we do? I believe, and I do not mind saying so publicly, that unless there is a shift in the international situation — a Russia-German pact, a Sino-Japanese peace, a major reverse of British arms, war on Indian soil we cannot do anything big. I want to be under no delusion. Only those who fight on without hope of immediate results will win victory. Others will fall out of the ranks, will prattle wise words and pose as statesmen, but history will know them as deserters, as men of poor faith and poorer courage, who forsook duty in the face of suffering. Many friends are depressed by the thought that resistance on the scale that we can offer today — either in the form of Satyagraha and strike or as acts of dislocation — is ineffective. True. It is in the sense that its volume is not large enough to bring British rule to a standstill. But, it is effective in another, no less necessary, since it is effective propaganda, it keeps up the morale of the people, it keeps alive the hope of bigger action, it gives training to fighters, it keeps up the visible forms of the struggle and impresses upon the enemy that all his repression has been in vain. It is effective in the sense that it is a preparation for ultimate effective resistance. Therefore, we must continue to offer resistance to the British power in every shape or form possible, in accordance with whatever creed or programme we believe in.

I would call this our minimum programme for the present: organization, propaganda, overt resistance. In addition to this we have the whole wide field of preparation: our work among students and labour must continue, our contacts with the Army and the services must be maintained and developed, our preparations for dislocation must go on. A rising of the nature of that of the 9th of August, but on a bigger scale and better organized and directed, should be our goal. Our every effort should take us a step nearer that goal.

A word about the food situation. I need not say anything about its seriousness. That is well-known and well understood. What is not well understood is that the only real solution of the food problem is a Swaraj government. The British partly by their incompetence and partly by design, have created this problem, and so long as they are here there is no alternative to starvation. Therefore, the fight for freedom is the real fight for food. But, to say this is not enough. We must also have a fight for food as a part of the fight for freedom. At the present moment the only public reaction to the food situation is charity. Charity has its own place in a class society, and much as I hate it as a socialist, I readily acknowledge the humanitarian motive of those who have hastened to rescue the starving from death. It is a commendable public effort. But charity is not enough. It will not solve the problem. Fighters have therefore the job — their most important job is the circumstances — to create feelings of resentment and anger in the needy and starving and to turn those feelings against the foreign power which is at bottom responsible for all this misery. Let the hungry create a situation in which normal British administration becomes impossible. Let us tell them not only tell but help them to do it, to seize food where they can get it. In the rural areas we should prevent grains from being sent out and distribute stocks through village panchayats or similar agencies (taking care to keep away from Government or pro-Government bodies). Fighters, organized as guerillas, should seize grain from Government depots and similar places and distribute them among the needy. Forcible seizure by Government of crops should be resisted. In the cities and towns too the passivity and despair of the hungry and needy should be turned into resentment and anger and given concrete, active shape of demonstration and direct action. Fighters often ask me for a programme. Here is a vital programme which tackled with imagination and courage can convert the country into a seething cauldron in which the Empire can soon be boiled to death.

Speaking of organization, I have referred only to the Congress. Those, however, who wish to go beyond the creedal limitations of the Congress naturally require a separate organization to carry on their special activities. I have suggested a guerilla form of organization for this purpose, and some progress has already been made in developing a guerilla movement. In the very nature of things I cannot be expected to say more about this matter here except perhaps this that my views in this regard have no difficulty in reaching the proper quarters and those interested in this work cannot have much difficulty in putting themselves in touch with the organization that has been set up.

With these words, comrades, I close. I have analysed the present position without passion and laid my views before you without rhetoric or embellishment. It is for you to decide what is worthy of acceptance in them. You will ever find me at your command. 'Do or Die' remains my guiding star as it is yours. Let us therefore do or die.

Jaiprakash Narayan

Somewhere in India  
1st September, 1943.

## 78: District Magistrate, Madura to the Government of Madras – Case of one Kasim Khan

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 File G.O. No. 2 (Confidl)  
[TNA]

Ref. No. 2667-M-43-C Madura Dt. Magistrate's Office

1-9-1943

From  
J.L. Wood Esq., I.C.S.  
Dt. Magistrate, Madura

To  
The Chief Secretary to Govt.,  
Public (G1.), Deptt.

Sir,  
Criminal Justice – Cr. No. 93/43 of Tiruparankundram Police Station – Accused – Kasim Khan Sahib – Rule 34 (6) (1) of the D.O. & Rules – Prosecution – Launched – Report submitted.

I submit herewith a copy of my proceedings Ref: 2667 – M – 43 C D/1-9-43 asking the Dt. Superintendent of Police to proceed against the accused for an offence under Rule 34 (6) (i) of the D.O.I. Rules.

2. The history of the case is as follows:

One Kasim Khan Sahib, a Chowkidar employed at the Aerodrome, Madura committed theft of brass articles which formed parts of bombs stored in the R.A.F. stores at the Aerodrome Madura and sold them at Madura on or about 10-7-43. The articles were recovered by the

S.I. of Police, Tiruparankundram on 13-7-43 and a case under Sec. 381 I.P.C. was originally laid against the accused. The charge has been modified under instructions from the Public Prosecutor, Madura and brought under Rule 38(5) read with Rule 34(6)(1) of the D.O.I. rules as the accused has rendered the bombs which are ammunitions of war wholly or partially ineffective.

3. The copy of the F.I.R. and charge sheet and the report of the Dt. Superintendent of Police, Madura North requesting sanction to prosecute the accused are submitted.

4. I request that my action may be approved.

For Dt. Magistrate

Official Noting - The prosecution may perhaps be approved.

6/9/43

*Enclosure 1*

Proceedings of the Dt. Magistrate, Madura dated 1-9-43

Present: J. Wood Esq., I.C.S., Dt. Magistrate, Madura

Criminal Justice - Cr. No. 93/43 of Tiruparankundram Police

Station - Accused - Kasim Khan Sahib - Rule 34 (6) (i) of the D.O.I. Rules - orders passed.

Read: C.No. 880 Staff/43 d/23-8-43 from the D.S.P. Madura

North. Red: Ref: No. Nil d/19-8-43 from the S.D.M. Melur at Madura and the connected records.

Order: Ref: 2657-M-43-C

Dt. Superintendent of Police is authorized to prosecute the offender.

for Dt. Magistrate

*Enclosure 2*

To

The D.S.P. Madura North

Copy to the S.D.M. Melur at Madura for information.

Copy of C. No. 880/Stat 1/43 d/23-8-43 from the D.S.P. Madura North.

Chowkidar Kasim Khan employed at the aerodrome Madura committed theft of brass articles which formed parts of bombs and sold them at Madura on or about 10-7-43. The articles were recovered by the S.I. of Tirupparankundram Police Station on 13-7-43 and a case under Sec. 381 IPO was originally investigated in Crime No. 93/43 of the station, and a charge sheet laid against the above chowkidar.

The charge has been modified under instruction from the Public Prosecutor, Madura and brought under Rule 38(6) read with rule 34 (b) 1 of the D.O.I. Rules. The case is pending before the S.D.M. Melur at Madura.

I request that sanction may be accorded to prosecute Chowkidar Kasim Khan as stated above under the D.O.I. Rules, copies of F.I.R. and charge sheet are enclosed.

### **Charge**

Rule 38 (6) read with rule 34 (a) (1) of the D.O.I. Rules.

On or about 10-7-43 the accused noted in col. III (Kasim Khan s/o Hussain Khan Tirupparankundram) removed four bomb pistols and four safety forks from the bombs stored in the R.A.F. stores at the Aerodrome in Madura and thereby he rendered these bombs which are munitions of war wholly or partially ineffective. He has thus committed a prejudicial act and is therefore liable for an offence punishable under Rule 38 (b) of the D.O.I. Rules read with Rule 34 (6) (1) of the D.O.I. rules. Hence the charge

- |     |                         |  |
|-----|-------------------------|--|
| 1.  | Periyakatha Nadar       | To speak to the fact that he purchased the properties  |
| 2.  | Thennamal               | from the accused and then sold them to P.W. 3          |
|     |                         | subsequent etc. facts.                                 |
| 3.  | Ramiah Naan             | To speak to the fact that he purchased the proper-     |
|     |                         | ties from P.W. 1 and to his arrest with the properties |
|     |                         | by P.Ws. 5 to 7 etc. facts.                            |
| 4.  | Muthu Nandan            | To corroborate P.W. 3 regarding the purchase etc.      |
|     |                         | facts.   |
| 5.  | H.C. 535 Ramasami Naidu | To speak to the arrest of P.W. 3 with the properties   |
|     |                         | etc. facts.  |
| 6.  | Alagu Servai            |  |
| 7.  | Rama Thevan             |  |
| 8.  | L.A.C. Kemp             | To speak to the stock taking in the R.A.F. stores      |
| 9.  | L.A.C. Smith            | and finding brass pistols missing etc. facts.          |
| 10. | Shamsudeen              | To speak to the fact that the accused is Chowkidar     |
| 11. | Narayanasami Naidu      | in the Aerodrome etc. facts.                           |
| 12. | P.S. Sankaranaryanan    | To speak to the arrest of the accused and to speak     |
|     |                         | to his investigation.                                  |

P.S. Sankaranarayanan,  
28-7-43  
S.I. 7 Police  
Tirupparankundram

### **True Copy**

In the court of the Sub-divisional Magistrate, Melur at Madura

Ref: Tirupparankundram Stn. Gr. No. 93/43-Rule 38 (6) read with rule 34 (6) (i) of the D.O.I. Rules – Supplementary charge sheet under Sec. 381 I.P.C. submitted.

### Supplementary Charges:

On or about 10-7-43 the accused in the above case, Kaşim Khan s/o Hussain Khan employed as Chowkidar in the Aerodrome, R.A.F. Madura committed theft of 4 brass pistols and 4 brass safety forks worth Rs 40 belonging to the R.A.F. Department and from the open R.A.F. stores in the Aerodrome at Madura. He sold the same to P.W. 1 who in turn sold them to P.W. 3 who was arrested with the properties by P.W.s 5 to 7 and 12, opposite to Tirupparankundrma Police Station on the main road on 13-7-43. Hence the accused is liable for an offence punishable under Sec. 38 I.P.C.

P.S. Sankaranarayanan

3-8-43

S.I. of Police, Tirupparankundram

## 79: Official Notings in the Home Department on the definition of 'Congress Supporters' 6.9.43 (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

As far as the Provincial Governments which have objected to our view are concerned, much of the difficulty, I think, would be solved if we made it clear that there was no question of penalizing only the holding of a particular type of political opinion. The phrase 'Congress supported' was not intended to mean merely those who believe in the ideals of the Congress or have what are known as nationalist views. Before a person is to be penalised in any way, something more than the mere holding of opinion or sympathies is necessary.

2. Secondly, it is not possible for us to lay down a list of licences which should be the subject of discrimination. The whole question is one in which discretion should be used by the authority giving the licence and that, I think, is a point which must be emphasized too, for instance, the C.P., who make great play with the difficulty of deciding what are licences conferring a 'Privileged Position' or 'Special facilities'. Ferry leases and bridge toll contracts, for instance, would, I think, be considered as suitable subjects for discrimination. On the other hand, licences for motor vehicles or wireless sets would not be suitable for action.

3. If it is intended to pursue the matter (I rather doubt if anything very much will come of it) we might write again to Provinces explaining how the phrase 'Known supporters of Congress' is to be construed and emphasizing that it is not a question of hard and fast rules but of discretion, and that the reason why contracts have often to be given to Congress sympathizers is that the alternative would be detrimental to the war effort.

(V. Sahay)

6-9-43

Deputy Secretary

## 80: Government of United Provinces to the Government of India

File No. 3/14/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

D.O. 5755 – CX

Lucknow,  
September 18, 1943

My dear Oliver,

Reference correspondence resting with my letter No. 5362 – CX dated August 20, 1943.<sup>1</sup> There has been some further developments in the B.H.U. arson case. The absconding student has been arrested and has made a statement. He has confirmed that Chunni Lal was responsible for planning the outrage. Jai Chand Vidyalkar was responsible for the supply of arms, and Chandra Shekhar Asthana, a teacher of the Benares Vidyapith, was responsible for supplying the dynamite which probably came from Gaya. About 12 persons were involved in the burning of the Registrar's office and about 25 in the attempt to destroy the aeroplane. The names of some have been given; others are still not known. A number of suspects are under arrest and are also being interrogated. I will report further developments when they come to light.

Yours sincerely,  
D.S. Barron

S.J.L. Oliver,  
Under Secretary to Govt. of India,  
Home Department  
New Delhi.

<sup>1</sup> Reference to Docs 47 & 73

## 81: Note of the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department

File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Announcement of awards for information leading to arrest of underground Congress leaders.

18-9-43

The following rewards have been notified for information leading to the arrests of the under mentioned leaders of the underground congress:

Name	Reward
1. Jai Prakash Narain	Rs 10,000
2. Ram Manohar Lohia	Rs 500

3. Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali                      Rs    1,000  
 4. Achyut Sitaram Patwardhan      Rs    5,000

The descriptive roll of Mrs Sucheta Kripalani is as follows: Height 5' 5"; average build; round face; wheat complexion; front tooth slightly protruding; walks with a majestic gait; age about 30 years.

(E.J. Beveridge)  
 for Asst. Director (S)

Home Department (Mr Olver)

D.I.B. u/o No. 28/Cong/42, dated the 1st October, 1943.

I would reply to Ajmer as in the draft placed on the file.<sup>1</sup> D.I.B. should however see before issue. Since this refers to the arrest of Jai Prakash Narain, which is a secret which he may not yet wish to divulge.

2. I am somewhat concerned over the apparent ignorance of the Ajmer Police with regard to what is after all matter of considerable all-India importance. Does Ajmer not see the various police abstracts of intelligence, lookout notices etc., which should surely have contained this information? would D.I.B. kindly comment.

2-10-43  
 (S.J.L. Olver)  
 Under Secretary

D.I.B.

<sup>1</sup> Draft letter not printed.

## 82: List of persons arrested in Bengal

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. W-173/43  
 [Bengal State Archives]

### List of Persons Arrested in Bengal

<i>Name</i>	<i>Arrest</i>	<i>Expiry of present order of detention</i>	<i>Application to the Govt. of India to continue detention</i>	<i>Despatch to</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Basudeb Datta Roy	5-6-43	3-8-43	30-7-43	Order No. 9312 Def. d/ 2-8-43	6S-45/43
Apurba Ghosh	9-6-43	7-8-43	Sent to Delhi on 5-8-43		
Jagannath Mazumdar	9-6-43	7-8-43	30-7-43 (635 DS)	Order No. 9335 Def. d/ 3-8-43	File 6S-45/43

<i>Name</i>	<i>Arrest</i>	<i>Expiry of present order of detention</i>	<i>Application to the Govt. of India to continue detention</i>	<i>Despatch to</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Kanai Lal Mazumdar	10-6-43	8-8-43	2-8-43 (9251 HJ)	Order No. 658 DS, d/ 5-8-43	6S 4/43
Debendra Nath Chaudhuri	10-6-43	8-8-43	30-7-43 (9231 HJ)	Order No. 9390 Def. d/ 3-8-43	6S 4/43
Bhabataran Chakrabartty	15-6-43	13-8-43	6-8-43 (680 DS)	Order No. 702 DS, d/ 11-8-43	6S 469/43
Kishori Lal Dutta, <sup>1</sup> 16-6-43	14-8-43	13-8-43 (9658 HJ)	Order No. 9747 Def. 12/8/42	6S 410/43	
Sanat Kumar Dutta	29-6-43	14-8-43	7-8-43 (682 DS)	Order No. 713 DS, d/ 11-8-43	6S 419/43
Ashit Ranjan Bhowmik	18-6-43	16-8-43	6-8-43	Order No. 710 DS, dt 11-8-43	6S 471/43
Kalpada Singh Chaudhuri	18-6-43	16-8-43	6-8-43	Order No. 709 DS, d/ 11-8-43	6S 471/43
Sachindra Nandi	20-6-43 (rearrested)	18-8-43	30-7-43 (633 DS)	Order No. 9878 Def. 16-8-1943	6S/452/43
Priya Nath Karmakar	21-6-43	19-8-43	30-7-43 (634 DS)	Order No. 9882 Def. d/ 18-8-43	6S 470/43
Dinamani Chakravarty	21-6-43	9-8-43	13-8-43 (9669 HJ)	Order No. 9881 Def. dt 18-8-43	6S/470/43
Pushpa Ranjan Dey	21-6-43	19-8-43	6-8-43 (674 DS)	Order No. 9928 Def. 19-8-43	6S-474/43
Aditya Goswami	21-6-43	19-8-43	7-8-43 (684 DS)	706 DS, d/ 11-8-43	6S-470/43
S.S.N. Murti	22-6-43	20-8-43	7-8-42 (681 DS)	Order No. 9933 Def. 17-8-43	6S-468/43
Manindra Narayan Roy	22-6-43	20-8-43	7-8-43 (685 DS)	Order No. 9965 Def. 18-8-43	6S-467/43
Beni Madhab Chakravarty	23-6-43	21-8-43	DIG IB 21-7-43		6S-481/43
Prasanta Kumar Sen Gupta	23-6-43	21-8-43	9-8-43 (690 DS)	Order No. 9936 dt 17-8-43	6S-481/43
Udayan Chatterjee alias Bapi	6-7-43	21-8-43	7-8-43 (686 DS)	Order No. 9926 Def. 19-8-42	W-400/43



<i>Name</i>	<i>Arrest</i>	<i>Expiry of present order of detention</i>	<i>Application to the Govt. of India to continue detention</i>	<i>Despatch to</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Dwijendra Lal Roy alias Kalu	24-6-43	22-8-43			6S-478/43
Ranjit Roy	24-6-43	22-8-43	6-8-43 (675 DS)	Order No. 9938 Def. dt 17-8-43	6S-482/43
Harisadhan Sen, <sup>2</sup>	25-6-43	23-8-43	6-8-43 (678 DS)	Order No. 110066 Def. dt 19-8-43	6S-484/43
Ch. Datta	25-6-43	23-8-43	7-8-43 (687 DS)	Order No. 10069 Def. dt 19-8-43	
Anil Sen	28-6-43	26-8-43	6-8-43 (673 DS)	Order No. 10180 Def. dt 21-8-43	6S-490/43
Jasoda Das Sarma	27-6-43	26-8-43	5-8-43 (663 DS)	Order No. 1017 Def. dt 21-8-43	6S-494/43
Ramesh Ch. Adhikari	29-6-43	27-8-43	7-8-43 (683 DS)	Order No. 10189 dt 28-8-43	6S-493/43
Rabindra Kumar Sen	30-6-43	28-8-43	3-8-43 (649 DS)	Order No. 10193 Det. dt 23-8-43	W-400/43
Ganesh Ch. Chatterjee	30-6-43	28-8-43	14-8-43 (726 DS)	Order No. 1018 Def. dt 21-8-43	IB asked to submit history by 14-8-43
Adinath Banerjee	30-6-43	28-8-43	6-8-43 (672 DS)	Order No. 10191 Def. 23-8-43	Consent not received
Lalit Chakrabarti	4-7-43	1-9-43	27-8-43 (763 DS)	2-9-43	
Subodh Ch. De	6-7-43	5-9-43	2-9-43 (776 DS)	3-9-43 (10714)	Case to be put up when DIR 26 powers available. If not available before 5-9-43 he is to be retained on the charge on which he is now under trial.
Santosh Das Gupta	7-7-43	6-9-43	31-8-43 (768 DS)	3-9-43 (10611)	Government of India are being addressed
Rabindra Nath	7-7-43	4-9-43	Not received		

<i>Name</i>	<i>Arrest</i>	<i>Expiry of present order of detention</i>	<i>Application to the Govt. of India to continue detention</i>	<i>Despatch to</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
H.S. Mazumdar			Not received		
Sarada Prasanna Basu	7-7-43	4-9-43	2-9-43 (777 DS)	3-9-43 (10701)	H.S. Not recd.
Sachundra Nath Banarji	8-7-43	5-9-43	2-9-43 (774 DS)	3-9-43 (10718)	To be put up with draft to the Govt. of India on 2-9-43 or with draft order under DIR 26 if powers are available.
Vaidya Nath Sen	9-7-43	6-9-43			Case to be put up on 3-9-43
Ajit Prasad Sen	9-7-43	6-9-43			Case to be put up on 4-9-43
Saroj Ranjan Bhowmik	12-7-43	9-9-43	2-9-43 (771 DS)		Case to be put up on 1-9-43
Dwijendra Ch. Chatarji	14-7-43	11-9-43			Case to be put up on 4-9-43 if powers under DIR 26 are not restored
Prabal Chatarji	19-7-43	16-9-43			H.S. not recd.
Bhupendra Biswas	19-7-43	18-9-43			Case to be put up with draft orders under DIR 26
Ramesh Ch. Dhar	19-7-43	18-9-43			Case to be put up with draft orders under DIR 26
Narendra Prasad Ghosh	22-7-43	19-9-43			Case to be put up for orders as soon as powers under DIR 26 are restored
Amalendu Ganguli	22-7-43	19-9-43			H.S. not received
Tapas K. Basu Mallik, <sup>1</sup>	20-7-43	19-9-43		Released	File submitted for orders

<i>Name</i>	<i>Arrest</i>	<i>Expiry of present order of detention</i>	<i>Application to the Govt. of India to continue detention</i>	<i>Despatch to</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Nripendra Nath Basu	28-7-43	26-9-43			H.S. not received
Niranjana Modak	29-7-43	26-9-43			H.S. not received
Niranjana Banarji	30-7-43	27-9-43			H.S. not received
Suresh Ch. Banerji	31-7-43	28-9-43			H.S. not received
Kiran Chakrabarti	31-7-43	28-9-43			Case to be put up on 20-9-43
Monoranjan Acharji	31-7-43	28-9-43			Continued detention justified
Sudhir Kr. Guha	2-8-43	30-9-43			H.S. not received

1. Doc. 51 - See also Doc. 69 in Chapter III      2. (Han Sadhan Sen) See Doc. 68 in Chapter III  
 3. Tapas K. Basu - See Doc. 95 in Chapter III.

## 83: Government of Bombay to the Government of India - Interrogation methods

File No. W-44/2/43 - Home Poll (I)  
 [NAI]

Secret

*D.O. No. S.D.V/11809  
 Home Department (Special)  
 Bombay, 4-5 November, 1943*

My dear Tottenham,

The correspondence ending with your letter No. 44/2/43 - Poll (I) dated the 30th August, suggests that, in the opinion of the Government of India, the Provincial Government may not be fully alive to the need of scientifically interrogating arrested persons. I enclose for the information of the Government of India a copy of a statement obtained by interrogation by the Provincial CID from one Dattu Bala Patil who was arrested in connection with the derailment of a goods train on the M & SM Railway. We hope the Government of India will agree that this is a very fine piece of interrogation on the part of our CID.

Yours sincerely,

Sir Richard Tottenham, CSI, CIE, ICS,  
 Secretary to the Government of India,  
 Home Department.

*Enclosure.*

Statement of Dattu Bala Patil, Caste Maratha, Age 29, Agriculturist of Karoli in Miraj State at present residing at Soni in Tasgaon Taluka, Dist Satara.

I studied upto Marathi IV Std. at Karoli and then upto Marathi VII Std. at Soni where my aunt was living. I lost my father and mother when I was a child. My elder brother Gunwant is serving in the army. He has come to Karoli on leave at present. I have two sisters. They are married. I was married twice. My first wife was the daughter of one Shankerrao Chavan of Soni. After her death I married her younger sister. I appeared for the vernacular Final Examination in the year 1929 but failed and since then I am looking after my fields.

I was not connected with any movement before 1935. In 1935 I became a member of the Congress and I still continue to be the same. My second marriage took place in 1935 and since then I am permanently living at Soni and managing my father-in-law's landed property. I first started taking part in the Congress activities in Soni village.

In 1937, I was elected as the Chitnis (Secretary) and in 1938 as the President of the Soni Village Congress Committee. Upto 1942, I followed Gandhism. I used to spin yarn on Charkha, visit villages with a view to propagate the cause of the untouchables and impress upon the villagers the need of spinning yarn on charkha. I attended the Tasgaon Taluka Congress and was also present at the Kolhapur and Miraj 'Praja Parishads at which I came in contact with many leading workers of the Congress as well as the State Praja Parishad workers.

In the month of July 1942, my friend Ramu Sutar of Malegaon received a letter from Venkatrao Pawar and Yeshwantrao Chavan requesting us to attend the session of the A.I.C.C. at Bombay. Ramu informed me about the letter and we decided to go to Bombay to attend the Session of the A.I.C.C. and went to Bombay on 6-8-42. In Bombay we put up at the Congress Bhuvan where we met Yeshwantrao Chavan and Ratnappa Kumbhar. As we had no tickets, we did not have an access to the pandal. We stood on the road and heard the speeches broadcast with loud speakers. We were in Bombay on 7-8-43, and slept in the Congress Bhuvan that night. The arrest of the Congress leaders which started on 9-8-42 caused much consternation and consequently we returned to Miraj and thence to abide by the advice of Venkatrao Pawar and Yeshwantrao Chavan after their return from Bombay. We, however, could not see them. After about a week or so, one Vasant Patil of Padmale gave us 8 or 10 Congress (cyclostyled) bulletins of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, exhorting the Congress workers to carry on the Congress work by holding the meeting and taking out processions etc. in villages. Vasant Patil was the Chitnis of the Tasgaon Taluka C.C. in 1941, 1942. I was well acquainted with him as I had to visit Tasgaon many a time for some Congress work. In compliance with the dictates in bulletins, I visited Soni Yerandoli, Hingangaddi and some other villages along with (1) Raghunath Shivappa Bangale of Soni, (2) Mahadeo Tatoba Mulkar alias Teli of Soni, (3) Nana Rama of Soni, (4) Vasant Vinayak Chavan of Soni and (5) Jingouda Dargouda Painter Patil of Kupwad and held meetings and took out Prabhat Pheris. At these meetings we gave our true names, but after September 1942, we went underground and our activities were secret, as directed by Painter, who told us not to give out our true names and in order to evade arrest we should work secretly. Except Jingouda, we 4 were at Soni living secretly in our 5 respective houses. We used to hide ourselves in the neighbouring jungle, when the police came to Soni, but immediately used to return home after the Police had left the village.

Dr Sohoni of Bhilawadi, who was an absconder came in September 1942 to Soni where

he publicly addressed a meeting and gave them some new Congress bulletins. We wanted to hoist the Congress flag on the Chavadi, but failed because of the villagers' opposition.

As instructed by Dr Sohoni, myself and Mahadu Teli went to Tasgaon to take part in the intended 'March' there. We met Nana Patil, Dr Sohoni, Page pleader, Kurhade of Palus, Adamsaheb Paulwan, Vasantrao Patil and many others at Tasgaon. We all marched on the 'Kacheri' of Tasgaon and hoisted the Congress flag there.

About 5 or 6 days after the above incident, the Police Patil of Soni arrested and sent Mahadu Teli to Tasgaon. The following day Raghunath Bangale and Nana Chougule surrendered themselves to the Police at Tasgaon, and I learnt after about a week that Vasant Rao Chavan was also arrested at Lonavala by the Police. I alone was free. While I was living at Yerandoli at my mother-in-law's farm house, the police came there to arrest me, but they could not do so as I was out at that time. I then shifted to Karoli and lived with my brother for about 3 months. While at Karoli I was sick for about a month.

In the month of December last, Vasant Rao Patil of Padmala came to see me and I told him that enquiry about our activities was being made and except myself all my co-workers had been arrested. About five or six days afterwards, as instructed by Vasant Rao, I went to Padmala, where I formed acquaintance with Narayan Jagdale, Dhonoi Mali and Babu Pachore. Vasant Patil said to me that he would go to Goa to purchase revolvers. I did not ask him how he would get them nor did he tell me anything about it. We all decided there (Padmala) to burn Railway stations, rob postal runners carrying mail bags and to cut telegraph wires. While at Padmala, one day, myself, Dhondi Mali, Babu Pachore and Vasant Rao Patil went to Malegaon on bicycles with a view to ascertain what had happened to Ramu Sutra. We came to know that he was arrested.

A day or two after our return from Malegaon, we decided to burn the Arag Railway Station and accordingly myself, Vasant Rao, Babu Pachore, Dhondi Mali, Gundu of Mangsule and Dadu Musalman of Padmala left for Arag on bicycles, via Madhavanagari, Malegaon and Gundewadi but due to heavy rain, we were drenched to the skin and could not proceed further. We had, therefore, to halt for the night under a thatched roof at Gundewadi and abandon the idea of burning Arag Railway Station.

Following day, while returning to Padmala we saw at about 9 a.m. on the Miraj Malegaon Road a village Postman cycling towards Malegaon from Miraj. Dadu Musalman who was with us had two spears already tied to his cycle when we had left for Arag stopped him by putting his cycle across the road. We five encircled the postman, when Vasant Patil asked us to remove the leather mail bag. The Postman gave us the bag which was locked and Vasant Patil took its key from him. The bag was unlocked and then thrown away by the side of the road after its contents viz. Postcards, newspapers etc. were removed. We then cycled off and about a mile to the west of Tanag on the Tasgaon Mahital road, we burnt the postcards and other papers. In the papers we found currency notes of Rs 35 only which were taken by Vasant Patil. This was not witnessed by any one. We then returned to Padmala in the noon via Kolhapur and next day I went to Karoli. Vasant Patil went to Goa to purchase revolvers and he asked me to see him after a fortnight.

When I went to Padmala after a fortnight, Vasant Patil showed me 8 revolvers purchased at Goa. I did not ask him how he got them. One revolver was given to me, one to Babu Pachore, one to Dhondi Mali, one to Dargouda Patil of Nandre and one to S.P. Patil of Ichalkaranji. I do not know how the remaining were disposed off. Each of us was supplied with 9 rounds of revolver ammunition and were given instructions about using revolvers. Of

these revolvers 2 were bigger, 2 were of medium size and the remaining four measured about 6" each. One bigger and one smaller revolver were 6 chambered, and the remaining 5 chambered. Vasant Patil had told us to use the revolvers only for self-protection and that too only as the last recourse. I was keeping my revolver and ammunition in the pocket of my coat. Vasant Patil had instructed me to see him as often as I could.

About 10 days after we got the revolver myself, Vasant Patil, Babu Pachore, Dhondi Mali, Nivarti Kurlupkar, Balu Kore of Kurlup, Gundu Dandekar and 3 other persons whom I do not know assembled in Vasant Rao's field to settle the plan of burning Arag and Bedag Railway Stations. It was also decided that Gundu Dandekar with the help of some youngsters of Mangsuli and Rangrao Patil of Shigaon should burn Salgar and Dhulgaon Railway Stations. Following evening at about 5 p.m. we all viz. myself, Vasant Patil, Dhondi Mali, Nivritti Kurlupkar and Balu Kore left for Arag on foot. We reached near the Railway station at about 10 p.m. Myself, Dhondi Mali and Vasant Patil were armed with revolvers. While we were near the Railway Station, we noticed flashes of electric torches at a distance and we guessed that they were from Babu Pachore and his men. It was previously arranged that Babu Pachore should come with 3 men and should join us at Arag Railway Station. He and his men accordingly joined us. After the departure of the train for Pandharpur, at about 11 p.m., we all rushed into the Railway Station. There were 7 or 8 passengers who were sleeping in the waiting room. We informed them of our intention to burn the station and warned them to keep quiet. About 4 or 5 of us then went to the Station Master's quarters, communicated to him the object of our visit, and asked him to take out all his private kit. We then filled the station with Kadbi. There was no resistance either from the Station Master or Porters.

We then went to Bedag Railway Station, reaching there at about 1.30 a.m. 2 porters were sleeping in the station building and the Station Master in his quarters. We shouted and when they came out we told them that we had come to burn the station and asked them to remove their private property from the building. We then used the same method of burning as was adopted at Arag and set the building on fire. None of us had muffled his face nor was anyone disguised. Some of us had put on black khadi caps and black phetas. After Arag Station was set on fire, we all shouted 'Ghandi Maharaj Ki Jay'. We then walked upto to Malegaon by cross country. At Malegaon Babu Pachore and his three friends left us and went in different directions and we 5 reached Padmala at about 8 a.m. the following morning and the rest went to their respective villages. Nothing was found at Arag Station. The iron safe at Bedag was broken with crow bars and Rs 265 found in it were taken by Vasant Patil. I do not remember now who actually broke the safe open.

On my return to Padmala, Gundu Dandekar met me in Vasant Patil's garden. He said that they had burnt Dhulgaon and Salgar Stations but nothing was found. I then returned to Karoli and had rest for a fortnight. I then went to Padmala again.

At Padmala, we hatched a plan to burn the District Bungalow at Nimani. Myself, Vasant Patil, Dhondiram Mali, Rangrao Patil of Shigaon, Dandekar and Shamu Vasgadkar left Padmala at about 10 p.m. on foot to go to Nimani. In the river near Vasagade, Babu Pachore and his 3 friends joined us. Vasant Patil had one 12 bore gun with him, which was brought by him (Vasant Patil) and Rangrao Patil from Kolhapur. We reached Nimani at 2 a.m. Myself, Vasant Patil, Rangrao Patil and Dhondi Mali were armed with revolvers. When we went to the bungalow, we noticed 2 or 3 watchmen sleeping inside. We woke them up and made them stand out, warning them to be quiet. Some of us fetched Kadbi from the adjoining fields and piling the same in the bungalow, we set fire to it. The watchmen did not resist nor did the

villagers come to the scene. After setting the bungalow on fire, myself, Dhodiram Mali, Vasant Patil, Babu Pachore, Rangrao Patil and Dandekar cut telegraph wires on the Tasgaon-Bilawadi Road at 5 or 6 places and tied them across the road to the trees. I do not remember who carried the wire cutter. We then rested ourselves in a field about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the Bhilawadi Railway Station on the Bhilawadi Tasgaon Road. Shamrao Vasgadekar, Babu Pachore and his 3 friends had left for their villages after burning the bungalow.

Just before day-break, we noticed 2 persons carrying mail bag from Bhilawadi Station to Tasgaon. On seeing that there was none on the road, we surprised them. Rangrao Patil showed them his pistol and fired one round in the air. At the same time some of us snatched the two mail bags which they carried. We then forced him to accompany us to the jungle by the side of the road. There, in their presence we opened the bags. We found two insured letters which were taken away by Rangrao and Vasant Patil. Just then we saw a motor approaching from Tasgaon and so we burnt all the post and mail bags. We then tied both the Postman, hand and foot, with their phetas, and ran away westwards towards Karnal. In the river near Karnal, Vasant and Rangrao Patil opened the insured letters. One was found to contain Rs 60 in G.C. notes and the other had a hundred rupee note in it. Vasant Patil kept all the sum with him. The two envelopes were burnt there. From there we went to Padmala where we reached at about noon. The next day we went to our respective villages.

About 7/8 days before the burning of Nimani Bungalow, Dhondi Mali, Shamu Vasagadekar and myself went beyond Budhgaon Railway Station towards Miraj side at about midnight and cut wires within the distance of  $\frac{4}{5}$  poles, and uprooted two poles. The steel wire cutter was procured by Dhondiram Mali from Vasant Patil. About 2 months before the above incident we had hired a room on the 1st floor of a building by the roadside at Madhavnagri. This room was hired by Vasant Patil for us. I do not know what was the rent. We all knew the place where the key of the room used to be kept. When there was occasion, some one from us used to open the room and keep the key at its usual place. I will point out the said place. We used to keep there the cooking utensils bedding etc. After the Nimani bungalow was burnt, Police activities increased and Police parties started visiting Padmala very often. On the eve of Shimga festival myself, Vasant Patil, Gundu Dandekar, Narayan Jagdele, Dhondi Mali, Babu Pachore and Hindurao Patil of Yede Nipani went to Karoli on cycles from Padmala at about 9 p.m. We left the cycles in my field and reached Alkud in Budhgaon State at about 10 p.m. We went to liquor shop situated on the outskirts of the village on the Miraj Pandharpur road. Some 2-3 people from the shop and some from the neighbouring hotel were sleeping outside. Myself, Vasant Patil and Dhondi Mali had taken revolvers with us. We woke up the people sleeping outside the shop and after I took the key from the owner, the shop was opened. A lamp was burning in the shop and in its light we took out 6 liquor casks of difference sizes and by throwing them on the floor, broke the same with the result that the liquor dropped on the ground. The papers etc. in the shop were set on fire. We did not get any money there. Immediately we proceeded on foot towards Patgaon liquor shop in the limits of Miraj State. The shop keeper was sleeping inside. I knocked at the door and told the shop keeper to open the door. No sooner he opened the door we rushed in. About 5/6 casks were taken out and broken. The shop keeper and his wife were warned to stand outside without creating any row. Thereafter, we burnt the papers etc. in the shop. We, however, did not get any money there. From there we all went to Karoli on foot. We picked up our cycles left in the field and returned to Padmala the same night.

About a fortnight after 'Holi' holidays, Police parties began to move round about our village

in search of us and we found it risky to stay there. So myself, Vasant Patil, Rangrao Patil, Hindurao Patil of Yede Nipani and Nivritti Kurlapkar and Balu Kore of Kurlap decided to go to Kolhapur and camp there for some days. At that time Hindurao Patil and Nivritti Patil had come to Vasant Patil at Padmala. Pandu Master and Ishwara Gurao of Yede Nipani had also come there.

All of us decided to stay for some days at Kolhapur. Pandu Master, Nivritti Kaka, Balu Kore, Rangrao Patil and Ishwara Gurao first started from Padmala at night on foot and went to Kolhapur via Kurlap. Vasantrao Patil followed them. Myself and Hindurao Patil went to Kolhapur from Sangli by day train. We travelled from Padmala to Sangli on foot. Savlaram the younger brother of Hindurao was staying in a room in Nimbalkar building in Shahupuri, Kolhapur. We put up with him. Sawalaram was working as a Mukadam of the labourers engaged in the work of transporting stones in motor lorries for the purpose of chawls that were being built for the Polish Colony. In Kolhapur myself and Hindurao met Vasant Patil while going by the road. He was staying with one of his relatives by name Raut residing in Mangalwar Peth. We met Rangrao Patil and Pandu Master in the Math situated beyond a nullah near Gunga Ves. Rangrao was probably staying with V.T. Patil, the President of the Ilakha Panchayat who is his distant uncle. Myself and Hindurao Patil returned to our place in the evening after meeting Pandu Master in the Math. The same night while Pandu Master, Rangrao Patil, Vasant Patil and Anna Padalkar Pailwan were taking their meals in a boarding house they were arrested by the Police. We learnt of this the next morning. We later on learnt that in the afternoon Vasant Patil escaped from the custody of the Police, went to his relation for meals and from there ran away. Thereafter myself and Hindurao left Kolhapur by 4 p.m. train and reached Sangli at 9 p.m. We stopped for the night with Gundu Patil alias Dandekar in the Jain Boarding. Next morning myself and Hindurao started for Karoli on foot. When we reached Madhavnagri, I went towards Karoli and Hindurao was to proceed to his village by rail from Budhgaon. I was going by the side of the tank in Kaulapur limits carrying a cloth bag containing a crude bomb in a bottle of the size of a big pomade bottle. Twelve bombs of this type had been prepared out of Potash and red sulphate of arsenic by Vasant Patil and Babu Pachor at Nandre village. All these twelve bombs were brought by Babu Pachore in a cloth bag at the time of burning the Nimarni Bungalow. Out of these 12 bombs I had kept one with me in a cloth bag. The other bombs were kept by our other associates. While I was proceeding by the Kaulapur tank at about 3 p.m. the cloth bag containing the bomb fell down from my shoulder as a result which the bomb exploded with a big noise. Pieces of glass of the exploded bottle pierced my legs causing injuries to them. In the same condition I ran towards the south through the jungle and fell down. Just then the people in the neighbourhood arrived on the scene and I was caught by the Kaulapur Police and the village servants. I was taken to the place where the bomb had exploded. The cloth bag was still found lying there. The S.I. and the D.S.P. Sangli came on the scene in a motor car with a Police party, drew up a panchnama of the scene of explosion and took me to Sangli in a motor car. I was taken to the hospital for treatment. My statement was recorded by the Sangli Police. I was detained in the Sangli Jail. My injuries were cured after about 1 months. I was in the Sangli Jail for 3 months. Some 2 months after I was taken to Sangli Jail, Vasant Patil, Babu Pachore, Hindurao Patil, Shete, Bugale, Jayram Savant, Aglave of Kolhapur, Khot, Vithal Shinde, Ganpat Koli, Pendse and a boy named Namu were arrested and brought to the Jail. Before my arrival in the Jail Babu Jadhav of Shahapur and Patravle of Sangli had already been brought there. Myself and Vithal Shinde were kept in one room. Babu Pendse and Namu were in another



room. Ganpat Shete, Khot Bugale and Koli were in one room and Vasant Patil and Hindurao were in another room. When I was arrested at Kaulapur I had buried my revolver and cartridges under a Kektii tree just near the place where I fell down. About 4/5 days after this incident Sangli Police removed the above revolver and cartridges. While we were in the jail we all 16 people used to meet at the time of bath at about 3 p.m. and we used to chit chat with each other. In our talk myself, Vasant Patil, Hindu rao and Patravle decided to run away from the jail. We informed the other 12 people of our design and they also consented to it. We decided to run away on a Saturday when we would be taken out for bath in the afternoon, after taking away the arms and ammunition from the sepoy. Accordingly while we had come out for bath, Jayram Savant, Aglave and Patravale were moving freely and Vasantrao and Hindurao Patil were going towards their cell after obeying a call of nature. Just then as per our previous plan Vasantrao and Hindurao attacked their guard and deprived them of their arms and ammunition. At the same time Patravale, Jayram, Aglave and Savant snatched the guns and ammunition from the sepoy who were near them and took away the gun of Miraj. We saw that there was no train traffic between 11 p.m. and 4 a.m. We also saw the passenger train coming from Poona side and going towards Miraj after 4 a.m. Narayan then went to Padmala and myself and Dhondi went to Karoli. At the time we dispersed it was definitely decided by me, Dhondi and Narayan to remove the fish plates from the railway lines near the bridges, between 11 p.m. and 3 a.m. the next day and thus to derail the train. For this purpose Narayan was told to go to Sangli and to ask Shamu and Devappa Patil of Kupwad to come with Spanners crowbars etc. to remove the rails. Dhondi Mali knew that Devappa had spanners. It was decided that Shamu and Narayan should bring crow-bars etc. and that all should assemble next day at night at about 11 p.m. near the bridge. Myself and Dhondi went to Karoli at 5 a.m. and Narayan went to Padmala. Next day at about 11 p.m. as previously decided myself and Dhondi went near the bridge and stopped there till day-break awaiting the arrival of Shamu, Narayan and Devappa, but they did not turn up. Both of us then went to Padmale. There Narayan was called by Dhondi in the jungle and was asked as to why he did not come to the bridge the previous night. He said he did not come because Shamu and Devappa had not come.

Thereafter we sent Narayan on cycle to Sangli to call Shamu with the instruments for removing rails. We met Devappa in the jungle at Padmala. He was asked to stay on. When he was questioned he said that he and Shamu had come the previous night with crow-bars and spanners at the place, where Narayan had asked them to come, but they did not meet Narayan. Further, they did not know the exact place where the derailment was to be caused and so they went to Vasagade. There Shamu kept the crow-bars in a house situated in a field and buried the spanners in a field and then went to Sangli. He further told us that he did not know the name of the landlord. We then sent Narayan to bring Shamu from Sangli and myself, Dhondi Mali and Devappa sat down under a tree in the jungle at Padmala. Narayan had brought bread from his house for us. Narayan and Shamu arrived at about 5 p.m. at the place where we were sitting. Dhondi Mali and Shamu then went towards Vasagade to bring crow bars and spanners. It was decided that they should come directly near the bridge between 10 p.m. to 11 p.m. After sunset myself, Narayan and Devappa ate the bread and came towards the bridge from Padmala. Narayan had brought one crow bar from his house. We three sat in a field at the appointed place at a distance of a furlong from and towards the west of the railway track. Dhondi had a revolver with him and the others had no arms with them. About half an hour after we sat there, Shamu and Dhondi came there with 4 spanners. They did

not bring the crow-bar because the owner of the house in which the crow-bar was kept had gone out locking the house. Shamu had brought 2 iron bars of the type used for bullock carts. We did not ask from where he had procured them. At one end of each of the iron bars there was a ring. I and Devappa had 2 cell torches. After the goods train going from Miraj side towards Nandra passed at about 11 p.m. Shamu and Devappa kept a watch on both sides of the railway line. Both of them had torch lights with them. Myself, Narayan, and Dhondh Mali started removing bolts with the help of the spanners. 3 spanners did not work properly. We, therefore, made use of only one spanner and removed 16 bolts and the fish plates from two joints of both the rails. Two fish-plates were thrown aside and the rails were lifted up by crow bars and then displaced. Two fish-plates were fixed up in the joints of the rails and the two iron bars that were brought by Shamu were fixed in the holes of the fish-plates. In one of the holes of the fish-plate a loose nail was fixed. This nail was removed from the wooden sleeper. All this process took about 3 to 3+ hours. We then left the place and took our seats in a field to the west of the rail line at a distance of a furlong. About half an hour after the removal of the rails a goods train was seen approaching from Nandra side. We could ascertain it to be a goods train on account of its dim light which used to go off occasionally. Besides no lights were seen in the carriages behind the engines. When the goods train approached the spot from which the rails were removed a big noise was heard and immediately we took our heels and went towards Nandra side and stood at some distance. From there we saw that the goods train with its engine had capsized. Narayan and Devappa then went to Padmala. Shamu went to Bhilawadi with the spanners. Devappa took one spanner with him and Narayan took the crow-bar with him. The crow-bar was about 3 cubits in length, round shaped, one end flat, and the other round. Myself and Dhondh waited in the field for a considerable time at some distance. We wanted to go to Karoli by crossing the rail but there being movements of people and the risk of our being caught we went to Vasagade instead of Karoli and stopped at Vasagade at the house of Anna Patil. At about 10 p.m. that night we two went to Karoli where we stayed for 7-8 days and thereafter for 2/3 days we stayed at Yerandoli. We left Yerandoli on the eve of Sangli Ganapati festival celebrations and came to Kupwad where we stopped at night in the field of R.P. Patil. Next day in the evening we left for Budhgaon via Sangli and stopped at night in the field of one Jain at Budhgaon and reached Nurlap next day in the evening. We stayed there for 2/3 days with Nivrutti Kaka. Dhondh Mali went back to Kupwad. I stopped at Kurlap for about 8 days.

Then, myself, Nivrutti Patil, Babu Pachore, Savant, Balu Pore and Babu Wangikar of Kurlap came to Budhgaon. From there we came to Sawalwadi and stopped for the night in the field of one Balgounda, a Jain, an acquaintance of Nivrutti Patil. Next day, we heard about the arrest of Kudale and others in Budhgaon village. We therefore went to the house of Rangrao Patil at Shigaon. At Sawalwadi we met Rangrao Patil. After staying one day at Shigaon we again went back to Kurlap. On the way we stopped at night near the liquor shop at Chunki. When we were at Shigaon we had designed to loot the above liquor shop. So we all including Rangrao and a man of his acquaintance came to Chunki (Kolhapur State). In all there were 8 persons namely (1) myself, (2) Rangrao, (3) Acquaintance of Rangrao, (4) Nivrutti (5) Babu Pachore, (6) Balu Pore, (7) Savant and (8) Babu Wangikar. We came to the liquor shop at about 12 midnight. The owner of the shop was sleeping inside. We knocked at the door, woke him up, and told him to open the door. After the door was opened we rushed in. Nivrutti had a rifle with him. We then took out 2 casks and they were broken and emptied. We took the Ganja with us. Some papers from the shop were taken out and burnt. The owner

came out and ran away. Another man was found sleeping in the shop but he was warned not to get up. We then reached Kurlap at 7 in the morning. We stayed at Kurlap for about 2/3 days and decided to go to Kolhapur because at that time the Police Parties were moving about Kameri, Tandulwadi and Yelure villages. Myself, Babu Pachore and Savant went on foot. Savant is a resident of Kolhapur and was studying in college. He left the college during the Civil Disobedience Movement. Babu Wagikar and Nivritti Patil went to Kolhapur by motor. Myself Savant and Babu Pachore put up with the relation of Savant near Prince Shivajee Boarding. Next day we went to Balwantrao's gymnasium in Budhwar Peth in search of Babu Wangikar and Nivritti Patil. They were to meet us there. On going there, we saw them both and one Nagnath of Valawe. We stayed there till 11 p.m. and had a talk. Then myself and Babu went with Narayan for sleeping at Nagnath's place. On the way Nagnath asked us to stop and he went to keep his cycle nearby. Meanwhile, a Policeman in plain clothes saw us standing. He accosted us and enquired about our names, place of residence etc. I gave my name as 'Rajaram' and Babu gave his name as 'Babu' and told him that we were from Miraj. Just then Nagnath arrived there and questioned the Policeman as to why he accosted us. The Policeman enquired with Nagnath as to who he was. Thereupon Nagnath gave his name as Rangrao Patil and said that he was staying in the Free Boarding. The Policeman caught me and Babu by our shirts and said that he wanted to take us to the Kacheri as he was suspicious about us. We refused to comply with his orders. We then started pushing and Babu Pachore managed to escape from the hands of the Policeman. Meanwhile another man arrived there and wanted to catch hold of us but I managed to escape from his hands. Next day in the morning we came to know from Balwant rao that Nagnath also managed to escape by firing at the Policeman. Babu had come to Balwantrao's place in the morning the same day. He met us in the evening near a Pan godown. At night myself, Babu, Nivritti and Babu Wangikar stopped in the Pan godown and next day myself and Nivritti went to Kurlap on foot in the morning. There I stayed for 2/3 days. From Kurlap myself and Babu went to Nandre on foot and I went to Karoli. I stayed at Karoli for one day and then went to my house at Yerandoli. There, while I was sleeping in the field of Babu Nalawade, I was arrested by the Police. As we all used to see each other off and on, we never used to send letters to each other. Last year I used to get money (Rs 5 or Rs 10 each time) from Vasantrao Patil for my expenses. At Kolhapur and other places Nivritti Patil used to make payments on account of food charges etc. Myself, Dhondi and Babu came in contact with Nagnath when we came to Kurlap after our escape from Sangli Jail. Nagnath had paid Rs 100 to me in the field of Nivritti Patil, for our expenses. Out of this amount I paid Rs 4 each to Shamu Narayan and Dewappa. Myself and Babu spent about Rs 40 for our clothes and paid Rs 25 to Dhondi Mali and the remaining amount was spent by me. A few days before my arrest at Yerandoli Dhondiram Mali had given his revolver to me. I had kept it in a cloth bag along with 20 rounds and an electric torch. The revolver was loaded. When I was arrested the bag containing the revolver etc. remained at the foot of a cot in Babu Nalavade's house.



# 84 Government of North Western Frontier Province to the Government of India

File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Civil Secretariat NWF Province, Peshawar

*D.O. No. 514 BTW  
dated the 27th November 1943 536 BTW*

Subject: Externment of Nripen Ghosh and Kamal Sarkar\*

Dear Vishnu Sahay,

Please refer to the correspondence resting with Sir Richard Tottenham's D.O. Letter No. 12/1/43 – Poll (I) dated the 12th November, 1943.<sup>1</sup>

2. I am desired to enclose a copy of a note by the C.I.D. on the activities of Abdur Rehman and Nripen Ghosh. The real object in removing them from the Shinkari area was however to prevent them from spreading subversive ideas among the Indian troops who were stationed there. It is quite true that except from having contact with well-known congressites they themselves took no open action against Government but they used to collect small groups of sepoys at their offices and it is significant that there were several desertions among those soldiers who had been consorting with them, and on one occasion a partial mutiny in one unit regarding certain ration complaints. We regret that these facts were not reported to the Government of India previously.

3. Kamal Sarkar came to Shinkari at the invitation of Nripen Ghosh with the proposed object of restoring his health. He also lost no time in contacting local Congressmen and more recently visited Mian Akbar Shah\* (an ex-detenué) at Nowshera and arrived in Peshawar with two potentially dangerous individuals, Jagat Ram of Shinkari and Umar Faruq of Malikpura. It was for this reason that the local authorities considered it necessary to expel Kamal Sarkar also from this Province.

4. Finally there is no evidence that Kamal Sarkar or Nripen Ghosh have done anything to further the war efforts in this province and their action in forming such undesirable contacts could only be viewed with the gravest suspicion.

To Vishnu Sahay Esquire, I.C.S.,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India  
Home Department (I), New Delhi

Encl: As above.

12/1/43 – Poll (I)

## **Combined Note on Abdur Rehman and Nripen Ghose**

ABDUR REHMAN, son of Maha Khawas, of Tambah cum-Shinkari, is a resident of the Hazara District. He left his village about 15 years ago, and except for short visits, has lived in Bengal since. He is the President of the All-India Labour Party.

2. NRIPEN GHOSH, son of Nagendra Nath Ghosh, of Gopal Nagar, Mathurapur, District 24 Parganas, is a resident of Bengal.

3. Abdur Rehman and Nripen Ghosh arrived in the Hazara District on the 17th April, 1943, ostensibly for propaganda in connection with the war-effort.

They rented a shop at Shinkiari and hoisted a Red Flag embroidered with the hammer and sickle. They held both secret and open meetings at this place to enlist members and secure funds for their party organ at Calcutta. Their efforts met with little success, apparently because the local population being Muslims, are, naturally, adverse to joining a political party working under a Bolshevik regime.

They formed contacts with undesirable people, such as Umar Faruq, brother of Faquir Khan, M.L.A., Malik Amir Alam, Awan, Editor of the 'Tarjuman-i-Sarhad', Ghulam Rahmani, Congressite. They also established contacts by correspondence with Bakshi Faqir Chand Vaid, Mohd Yunus and Jagat Ram, Congressites, detained in Haripur Central Prison, and Mian Akbar Shah, leader, of Badreshi, a Forward Bloc leader of this Province, until recently a Security Prisoner, and a prominent figure in the escape of Bose to Europe.

One Iqbal Singh, a sub-postmaster of the Military camp post office at Shinkiari, came under their influence and began visiting their office regularly. As his further employment in a post office dealing solely with Military personnel was considered objectionable, Iqbal Singh was transferred to a post office in Mansehra at the request of the C.I.D. But this had no effect and Nripen Ghosh soon made contacts with Iqbal Singh at Mansehra and he had again to be transferred to a post office in the Peshawar District.

During his stay in this Province Nripen Ghosh sent some false and exaggerated accounts of happenings in the N.W.F.P. to the Party organ at Calcutta. One such report about the presence of a pro-soviet young Maulvi at a meeting of the Labour Party at Shinkiari, who addressed the audience and gave an account of how the Muslims in Bokhara were helping the Red Army, was the subject of a reference by the Director, Intelligence Bureau, Government of India, New Delhi. On enquiry it was found that one Maulvi from Bokhara did in fact attend a meeting of the Labour Party at Shinkiari and that Nripen Ghosh gave a false account of the proceedings to give them exaggerated importance.

Another article contributed by Nripen Ghosh, and published in the party organ, gave an impression that a revolution in the Frontier Province was imminent.

Nripen Ghosh secured a map of the N.W.F.P. and sent it to an addressee in Calcutta. It is not known whether the map was an ordinary one, sold in book-shops, or if it contained information of strategic value.

Soon after their arrival in Shinkiari, a report was received from the C.I.D., Punjab, to the effect that information received by them indicated that suspicious Bengalis were visiting Shinkiari, Hazara District, with the object of collecting arms. Although Nripen Ghosh was not mentioned in the Punjab report, there is little doubt that it referred to him.

In an article contributed by Nripen Ghosh to the Party organ at Calcutta, he said that the war of 1914-18 had brought about some results unfavourable to 'JOHN BULL' and the dynasties of his 'fellow looters', the Romanoffs, Ottomans, Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, had been replaced by republics.

In the same article he added that although Ireland had 'jumped out' of John Bull's pocket, he still retained his big zamindaries in Australia, Africa, Canada and India. History, he added, would not march according to the 'sweet will' of the Bank of England and the British Empire would disintegrate despite Mr Churchill's claim that he had not accepted the office of His Majesty's Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

## 85: Official Notings on A.R. Khan and Nripen Ghosh (4.12.43 to 23.12.43) (extracts)

File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Notes in the Home Dept.

The police report enclosed with the N.W.F.P. letter of 27th November,<sup>1</sup> seems to me a typical example of how when the activities of a person or group of people are viewed with a predisposition to regard them as objectionable – every action, however innocent, may be twisted and shown in an unfavourable light. I still do not consider that any reasonable case for 'satisfaction' under Defence Rule 26 has been made out against any of these three people. The only suggestion which would really justify such action is that contained in the second paragraph of the N.W.F.P. letter. The connection between the presence of these men and the desertions referred to is extremely vague, however, I should think it very probable that if an enquiry were made, it would be found that similar desertions had occurred in other units who could not have been subjected to the 'influence' of these men and I regard it as very significant that the police report makes no reference to this aspect of the case – if there were anything solid in this allegation, I have no doubt whatever that the police would have made much of it in their report. Finally, the case against Kamal Sarkar seems to rest wholly on the fact that he contacted local Congressmen and visited Mian Akbar Shah. However, I suppose the Province must have the last word and I do not see what further we can say to them. We can only hope that our protest in this case will lead them to subject their police reports to some sort of scrutiny before taking action on them.

2. I find some difficulty in suggesting any reply to the various representations from Sisir Roy<sup>2</sup> ending with his letter of October 26th, particularly since Col Mallam has not in his latest letter made any reference to the interview with Kamal Sarkar referred to by Sisir Roy. I have attempted a draft, but I am afraid it does not present a very strong case.

3. We should, I think, take up separately the question of correspondence having been allowed between these men and the Congress security prisoners referred to in para 3. of the police report. This is in contravention of one of our principles.

4-12-43  
(S.J.L. Olver)  
Under Secretary

I do not think we should press the N.W.F.P. at all in this matter.

As for the reply to Mr Roy, I do not think that we can communicate to him the grounds for the action taken. Perhaps the best reply would be to tell him to see the N.W.F.P. Chief Sec. and try to satisfy the N.W.F.P. Govt. that the Party's representative can be allowed there with safety, at the same time it could be suggested to the N.W.F.P. that they might explain to the Party's Secretary what they have against its representatives.

V. Sahay  
6-12-43

Addl. Secy.

I agree with D.S. but I think H.M. should see. I think we should communicate to N.W.F.P. Govt. on the contacts with SPs in jail & perhaps add that it seems to us rather surprising that they should have apparently released a dangerous person like Mian Akbar Shah. While taking action against these Bengalis D.I.B. should however see on the point before I submit the file to H.M.

R. Tottenham,  
2–12–43

D.I.B.

I agree with Addl. Secy. except that in the circumstances I would like a stronger word than 'Surprise' if propriety permits. In Mian Akbar Shah's case, security considerations were discarded summarily in favour of the interests of purely Provincial Party policies.

Signed  
21–12–43

H.D. (Sir R. Tottenham)

D.I.B. u/o Mo:14/Pol./43-III dated 22nd December 1943.

Please let me have a draft to N.W.F.P. and I will take the case to H.M. I think we could say that we had been extremely perturbed to learn incidentally of the release of Mian Akbar Shah and ask for the reasons.

R. Tottenham  
22–12–43

I put up a draft to N.W.F.P.<sup>2</sup> and a revised draft reply to Sisir Roy.<sup>3</sup>

23–12–43  
(S.J.L. Olver)  
Under Secretary

Doc. 84.

& 3 Not printed

## 86: Detention Order on Radhika Kanta Datta

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. W-678/43 – Memo dt 27.11.43  
[Bengal State Archives]

Whereas the Governor is satisfied with respect to the undermentioned person that, with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the work it is necessary to make this order:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clauses (d) and (e) of sub-rule (1) of rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor is hereby pleased to direct (1) that without

prejudice to any further orders that may be passed by the D.M. Pabna, the said undermentioned person shall reside and remain in the district of Patna (ii) that if at the time of the service of this order he is residing or remaining outside the district of Pabna, he shall within forty-eight hours of the service of this order, proceed direct to the said district and take up his residence and remain there; and (iii) that he shall keep the District Magistrate, Pabna informed of his actual place of residence in the district of Pabna and every change thereof:

Particulars

Radhika Kanta Datta, son of Rajani Kanta Datta, of Jamirta, P.S. Shahzadpur, District Pabna.

By order etc.  
Addl. Secy.

MEMO

Sub: Internment of Radhika Kanta Datta in the District of Pabna

Ref: Your letter No. 1774 C dated the 27-11-1943.

A signed order (in duplicate) on the above subject is forwarded herewith. You are requested to serve it upon the above named person at an early date and report to Govt. the action taken.

2. The accompanying order has been issued by Govt. because clause –
- (2) of the restriction order dated 25/11/43 which you propose to enforce cannot be applied by you. There is, however, no objection to your issuing an order further restricting the movements of Radhika Kanta Datta to his native village
- (3) The original order received with your letter under reply is returned herewith.

Asstt. Secy.  
Govt. of Bengal.

## 87 Supdt. of Police to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras – Recovery of bombs in Bezwada

Government of Madras, U.S. Files, File No. 2/1944  
[TNA]

Secret  
No. 8199/C

*dated 10th December, 1943*

From The Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department.

To Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras.

### **Recovery of Bombs at Bezwada**

Attention is invited to my notes Nos 2085/C of the 27th April 1943, 4092/C<sup>1</sup> of the 16th July 1943 and 4437/C of the 30th July 1943 regarding the activities of the national Youth League.



On information that some of the members of the National Youth League in Krishna and Guntur Districts were in possession of explosives, unlicensed arms and ammunition, Madras Special Branch Officers in Andhra, were working to locate the place where these materials were secreted, and the persons concerned. On 2-12-43 in the course of secret censorship at Bezwada, by a Madras S.P. Officer a letter addressed to Pothina Venkanna, Somavaram Chowk, Bezwada, came to light in which was stated the particulars of the locality where the explosives were buried on the Bezwada Bunder canal bund at Bezwada. The following were recovered in the subsequent search -

1. A deal wood box 4" x 4" x 3" containing remnants of paper wrappers with gun-power dust over them. The top of this has an irregular aperture in the middle 'x' containing black gun-powder.
2. A similar box 3" x 2" x 2" with a similar hole on top.
3. Three cigarette cases wrapped in glazed paper containing gun-powder and pieces of glass.
4. Four old match-boxes containing similar substances as in item 3 above.
5. (a) A paper packet containing a rusty wooden-handled country pistol with 3 barrel  
(b) 12 Rounds of live revolver cartridges .38 bore with letters S&W Kynook.  
(c) 3 Blank revolver cartridges of like bore.

P. Venkanna, to whom the letter in question was addressed was arrested and interrogated. He stated that one Ramapilla Suryanarayana, Kilari Venkateswara Rao and other youths of his community, and he were working for Congress under the leadership of one Chitti, and that one night about 10 months ago Kalapatapu Subbarayas Sarma, Surepaneni Ramaseshagiri Rao, Nalam Ramachandra Rao alias Satyam, of Bapatla and Chmakurti Seshagiri Rao alias Rama Rao, all of National Youth League, visited his house with a deal wood box containing a hand treadle press, some deal wood box bombs, cigarette case bombs, two pistols and ammunition, and asked him to keep them in his custody. They were kept in the room of Rampilla Suryanarayana, about 4 months ago Ramaseshagiri Rao, Nalam Ramachandra Rao and Chimakurthi Seshagiri Rao removed all the articles except the hand-treadle press and a match-box bomb. The hand-treadle press and the match box bomb were later recovered from R. Suryanarayana's room. Suryanarayana admitted his complicity in the matter and stated that about a few months one Vadipena Maridaiah brought a muzzle loading country pistol to him for repairs. On this information the house of Maridaiah was also searched, where the muzzle loading country-pistol and some prejudicial literature were also seized. Both Suryanarayana and Maridaiah have since been arrested.

A case under section 19(F) of the Indian Arms Act and Sections 4 and 5 of the Explosive Substance Act has been registered - Crime No. 267/43 of the Bezwada Town Police Station and further investigation is proceedings.

(W.F.A. Hamilton)  
Supdt. of Police, S.P.C.I.D.

No. 8200/C

Copy forwarded to

The Central Intelligence Officer,  
Madras.

# 88: Supdt. of Police to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras – Banning of National Youth League

Government of Madras U.S. Files, File No. 2/1944  
[TNA]

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department

No. 8496/C

*Dated 18th December 1943*

## **National Youth League, Banning of**

Reference the following.

1. Note No. 2085/C dated 27th April 1943<sup>1</sup>
2. Note No. 4092/C dated 16th July 1943<sup>2</sup>
3. Note No. 4437/C dated 30th July 1943<sup>3</sup>
4. Note No. 8199/C dated 10th December 1943<sup>4</sup> and
5. Note No. 7669/C dated 23rd November<sup>5</sup> 1943

Paragraph 2.

I enclose a comprehensive note on the activities of the National Youth League in this Province which shows that it is a cover organisation of the Congress. As it is imperative to curb its activities, I suggest that the National Youth League and its affiliated committees be declared unlawful under section 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. A note on the National Students Organisation will follow.

(W.F.A. Hamilton)  
Supdt. of Police, S.P. C.I.D.

No. 8407/C

Copy to  
The Central Intelligence Officer, Madras and  
Asst. Director (R)  
Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi

*Enclosure*

Government of Madras

## **NOTE ON THE NATIONAL YOUTH LEAGUE**

This is a cover organisation which was started by pro-Congress elements still at large after various congress committees had been banned or otherwise emasculated and important Congress leaders had either been convicted or detained in connection with the Congress rebellion. The League was to rally youths to Congress and carry on subversive activities secretly while using an apparently legal and open platform.

2. In August 1942, soon after the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee was declared

unlawful under Section 16 of the Cr. Law Amendment Act, a Provisional committee (Andhra Branch) of the National Youth League was formed at Bezwada with the avowed object of preparing youths to work for the speedy attainment of independence and to improve their national and international outlook and cultural faculties. This organisation was started as an off set to the pre-war youth leagues functioning under Communist auspices, and as a platform for communist renegades, Trotskyist 'wreckers', Congress Socialists, followers of N.G. Ranga,' Congressmen and Forward Bloc agitators, in short of all action groups.

3 The move to start this organisation in Andhra was first sponsored by Communist renegades Surapaneni Ramaseshagiri Rao and Bhupathi Koteswara Rao of Krishna district inspired by Congress emissaries from Bombay and subsidized by funds, presumably from the underground Congress Headquarters at Bombay. In January 1943 one such emissary S.R. Kulkarni,' deputed by Congress Headquarters to organise youths in Andhra, came to Bezwada and contacted Ramaseshagiri Rao and his associates. His (S.R. Kulkarni's) letter dated 17-2-43 under the assumed name of S. Ranga Rao (Appendix 'A') shows the nature of work turned out and contemplated and the unmistakable links with the Congress and the Congress Socialist Party. Before much mischief could be done however, Kulkarni was arrested on 2-4-43 in the company of Surapaneni Ramseshagiri Rao and G. Ramakrishna Rao of Krishna district, and a number of prejudicial documents was seized. The proceedings of a secret meeting of important workers known as the 'Andhra Planning Committee' which was convened at Bezwada on 26-2-43 was one of the documents seized. It envisaged a clear cut programme to organise National Youth League branches and its auxiliaries, viz., National Students Associations and National Labour Unions, on a Provincial basis and to carry on propaganda by legal or illegal means in furtherance of the Congress rebellion, and to rally existing revolutionary forces and ultimately to bring about a national revolution. A directorate consisting of M. Satyanarayana (absconding accused Nalam Ramachandra Rao concerned in the August 1942 disturbances at Bapatla, Guntur district, who has since been arrested and convicted), S. Ramaseshagiri Rao (now being prosecuted), and Bachina Subba Rao of Guntur district (detained) was formed to direct the activities of the organisation and to obtain funds for its functioning. The organisation structure is outlined in appendix B copy of the proceedings of the secret meeting held at Bezwada.

4. Another Marathi document entitled 'Why this province lags behind' dated the 30th March 1943 (copy enclosed - Appendix 'C'), definitely indicating that the National Youth League had been guided in its activities from Bombay and was receiving funds there from, was also seized from Kulkarni. Two of the Youth League members B. Ramanath alias B. Ramachandra and B.L.V. Narasimharao of Bezwada received Rs 500 and 300 respectively from Bombay to be delivered to S.R. Kulkarni who was living under the assumed name 'Rangarao' for Congress work. It was discovered by the Intelligence Branch, Poona, C.I.D., that money had been remitted by one Sri Ramakrishna Khetkar, a staunch Congressman. The names of 4 youth League members. 1. N.S. Ramayya of Mudunur 2. D. Ramanath. 3. Jasti Marayanarao and 4. P.V.L. Narasimha Rao - were reported by the I.B. Poona to have been found in the documents seized from a house in Bombay where prominent underground Congress workers from Maharashtra viz. S.P. Limaye, N.G. Gore,' P.S. Sane and others were arrested on 18-4-43.

5. Surapaneni Ramaseshagiri Rao, National Youth League Organizer, who was arrested along with Kulkarni and who escaped from custody, was re-arrested on 25-7-43 in the house of Edupuganti Venkataratnamamba, a well-known congress woman. Several prejudicial

Congress leaflets including the one entitled 'Indian National Congress instructions to P.C.Cs' the 9th August (1943) programme issued by the Indian National Congress Central Directorate and some National Youth League receipt books were seized from this house at the time of this re-arrest.

6. During a search of the residence of some National Youth League contacts at Guntur in November, 1943, copies of a highly prejudicial English pamphlet entitled 'If Mahatma Gandhi Fasts – Our Inescapable Duty' were seized. In this pamphlet the public were urged, should Gandhi again fast, to organise national strikes on every front and 'paralyze the whole machinery of Civil Government' indefinitely.

7. National Youth League workers in Andhra have been reasonably suspected to be responsible for the bomb explosions in Guntur and Bezwada, this view is confirmed by the contents of an incomplete report 'on the conditions in the province' (Appendix 'D') which was seized from the house of a prominent National Youth League Organizer and Kisan worker Kosaraju Ammayya of Nidubrolu Guntur District. This report further indicated that the members of the National Youth League were closely linked with the group responsible for the violent activities in the Ceded Districts including the Jammalamadugu Mail Robbery.

8. A recent instance clearly indicating the tendency among the National Youth League workers to resort to violence has been reported in this office No. 8199/C dated the 10th December 1943 to the Chief Secretary. Investigation in this connection has disclosed that several of important National Youth League leaders in Andhra have for a long time been involved in a secret conspiracy and collected explosive material in the form of bombs of different kinds and two country-made pistols and revolver ammunition, obviously for revolutionary terrorist use. A case under the Indian Arms Act and the Explosive substances Act has been registered and is under investigation.

9. Openly the National Youth League workers have indulged in anti-Government utterances, two such people, who made objectionable speeches at Tasikonda on 25th and 26th September 1942 at a conference of the Guntur Taluk Youth League, presided over by Unnava Laxminarayana, a veteran Congress leader and detenu released on medical grounds, have been prosecuted. Meetings organized by the National Youth League and its auxiliary body, National Students Union, have been banned under rule 56 (1) of the Defence of India Rules in Krishna and Guntur District by the respective District Magistrates in October 1943.

10. The operations of the National Youth League have extended to Guntur and Krishna Districts with contacts in a few other Telugu districts. No information is available regarding the location of the Provincial Directorate referred to supra or the affiliated leagues.

### **Appendix 'A'**

*Bombay,  
17th February, 1943*

Dear Friend,

Today I came to know the contents of your letter. I am very glad to know that the work is going on satisfactorily. After coming here, I put the whole situation before my head office. And we were thinking of having some reorganization and a definite programme for the Andhra for which I have to leave this place, shortly. But in the meanwhile Mahatmaji commenced his fast, and though the line of action is not changed our head office has to attend to some immediate and urgent duties which prevented them to make further arrangements for my

departure. I hope you all will excuse me as I could not immediately bring forth anything substantial out of my tour there owing to the extraordinary situation that has been created. By the by, let me assure you that the moment the head office manages for the further programme as regards Andhra I will be with you to work shoulder to shoulder as my other engagements have been cancelled by the office for your programme.

I have given the address to the proper man to send you the programme and instructions that will be published and I will hope that you have received some of them. If not kindly write, so that I may remind the proper authorities. The immediate programme (sic) has undertaken is to send jathas or batches to Poona to protest for and to demand Gandhiji's release and instructions to that effect have been posted for you two or three days before. Will you kindly send some other addresses also, so that we may send the instructions in alternately on both the addresses. I am trying to gather C.S.P. literature which I will deliver personally.

My Pranams to friends who are still outside. I ardently wish to be with you to be amongst you as early as possible. But I am only waiting for orders. Kindly let me know further details of our programme. Expecting short reply on Poona address.

Yours sincerely,  
S. Rangarao, 17-2-43

### **Appendix 'B'**

Andhra Planning Committee

Meeting at Bezwada on 25-2-43

Members present

- 1 K.L. Simha
- 2 B. Ramanath
- 3 K Ammayya
- 4 Bh. Koteswararao
- 5 P Rathayya
- 6 B Subbarao
- 7 R.K. Varma
- 8 M. Satyanarayana
- 9 K.S. (?)
- 10 P. Venkanna

These are the signatures found  
in the proceedings.

Agenda before the A.C.

- 1 Discussion on the present situation
- 2 How to meet the present need
- 3 Organisation -- Thesis to be adopted
  - (a) Directorate (b) Selection of organisers, (c) Division of work
- 4 Production and distribution
- 5 Finance
- 6 Propaganda ways and means -- legal and illegal
- 7 *National Guards*

*Dt. Organisers*

	M.N. Murty – Vizianagar Dhavala Laxminarayana, Chimalavalasa Amadavalasa Post
F.G.	Ch. Apparao, Peddapuram Tameswararao, Amalapuram Visveswararao, Amalapuram
W.G.	Peddada Ramachandrarao, Veeravasam Yerramilli Narsimharao, Polamuri (Bh. Tq) I Vaturi Sarabharaju
Kistna	K. Subbaraya Sarnia
Guntur	Rattayya
Nellore	Mahanandi, Kurichedu, Podili taluk
Kurnool	Venkatakrishnayya, Cumbum Alluru Subbareddi, Turumella Editor Subbareddi
Cuddapah	Tataparah, Jangalapalli Madhav, Poddatur
Chittoor	K. Narsimhareddi, Madanapalli
Anantapur	Naga Muni Naidu, Ramadurg
Bellary	Venugopalachari, Bellary

*Thesis I*

- |    |                   |                     |
|----|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | United Front      | National Revolution |
| 2. | Complexity to war | Our tactics         |

Mr Bhupathi Koteswararao, it is resolved, will develop a thesis on the above two subjects and place it before the directorate within 10 days.

*II. How to meet the situation*

By rallying the revolutionary forces in an organized manner – zones and influence and state of districts.

*Krishna*

The op. gr. of the rightists – They try to utilise us. So we have to take as much help as possible such as contacts from them to other sources for men and money. To expose them a necessity.

The Leftists – to rally them and make them co operate with us in organisation and exposing the rightists. To make them work in supplying us money and men.

*Youth* – A large bulk is already attracted to the C.P. So we have to attract their ranks by our solidarity and work. To train up the remaining youth. Students are in a majority towards us. Labour we can win over by efficient handling. *Kisan* could be won over by K.U's effective work.

Cannot expect much finance from people  
N.Y.L. - units - 175 - 200 members 4,000 above  
N.S.A. - units - 10; members 3000 above  
N.L.U. BZA - 1;

*Guntur*

Rightists smooth going - could be utilised - same as Krishna. Tenali Taluk - Congress Kisans  
- District Prominent Kisan group. Narasaraopet - More C.P. ours sporadic.

Palnad - Possible, Guntur taluk - C.P., Town - ours, Ongole and Bapatla - ours

Money could be got from Congress people and work turned out

N.Y.L. Units - 200, members 3000

N.S.A. Units - 15 - members 3000

N.L.U. -

*District Capacity in workers*

Repalle - (M); Tenali - (M)

Bapatla - (M); Ongole - (M), Guntur - (M)

Sattenapalli - (M); Narasaraopet - (M) etc.

N.Y.L. - 10 organisers on allowance

N.S.A.: 1

N.L.U.: 1

12 organisers on allowance;  $12 \times 20 = 240 + 50 = 290$

*Nellore*

Rightists and opportunists group could be utilised for support. Nellore Town - Guntur -  
Venkatagiri - CP some hold.

Rapur - 2 workers, Kovvur taluk 4, Podilli - 1

Venkatagiri - 4

General influence in other taluks. 'Zamin Ryot' influence in general - Rapuru - Penchalayya.

Podoli - Mahanandi.

Venkatagiri - 11

N.Y.U. - 3 taluks - 13 organisers on allowance - 1 Dt. (organisers)

N.S.A. - 1 - 13 organisers on allowance - 1 Dt. (organisers)

N.L.U. - 1 - 13 organisers on allowance - 1 Dt. (organisers)

$16 \times 20 = 320 + 50 = 370$

N.S.A. could be organized, N.L.U. could be captured.

W.G.: to appoint a capable Organizer - general estimate 250 - Peddada Ramachandrarao,  
Veeravasam, Chitalapudi - Ellore etc.

E.G.: To appoint capable Organizer - estimate 250

Ch. Apparao

Vizag: To appoint a capable Organizer - 250.

Dhavalalaxminarayana, Chimalavalasa, Amudalavalasa P.O.

Kandulayya

N.N. Murthy, Vizianagaram,

V.M. Press.

*Kurnool*

N.Y.L. Units 70

Members 1500

N.S.A. 3 – M – 200

Editor Reddi Subbareddi

Alluru Subbareddi – 260

*Cuddapah*

N.Y.L.

N.S.A. – introduced

C. Tirakiah – 250

*Chittoor*

N.Y.L. and N.S.A. introduced

K. Narasimahareddi – 250

*Anantapur*

N.S.A. in college

Ramachandrappa

250-

Organisation:

Centre

I

Divisional Organisers

District Organisers

Dt. N.Y.L. Org: N.S.A. Org. N.L.U. Org.

Sub Organisers

*Finance Directorate*

1. M. Satnarain

2. S. Ramaseshagirirao

3. B. Subbarao.

*Visitors*

1 & 3 Not printed.

2. Doc. 60.

4. Doc. 87.

5. Not printed





# 89: Instructions of the All India Satyagraha Council

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. 6/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Karnataka Congress Satyagraha Committee  
Issue No. 3

*Dated 18th December 1943*

## **Observance of Independence Day**

The All-India Satyagraha Committee has issued the following Instructions in connection with Independence Day:

The Independence Day is only a month and half and so we must get ourselves prepared. Independence Day has made us hopeful and we should carry this to all the villages, especially to those places where people have taken part in the struggle. All the labourers should be made to unite and show they could easily stop the machine of Government.

To prepare the Diaries of the Satyagrahis and report their progress and it is only from these Satyagrahis the work is to be carried on.

To publish appeals to the village folk, students and workmen and distribute the same. Independence week should be observed from January 20th-26th.

'Quit India' Miniature Emblems should be prepared in large numbers and distributed. They must wear on their breast.

In important places on Post Boxes it should be written in Block letters such slogans as to be thought fit.

On 26th people should exhibit Congress Flags on house tops.

Independence pledge should be printed and distributed to all, and also exhibit in all the places.

One day to be preserved for propaganda to stop exportation of food articles and quadrupeds.

Prabhat Pheri on 26th morning. At 8 to read Independence Pledge in all important places and the crowd to repeat the same.

The week's proceedings to be sent to the Head Office by 28th January.

Annadaprasada Chowdry  
Abhayasram (Bengal)

English translation of a cyclostyled bulletin in Bengali entitled Independence Day programme  
- A.S. 165 dated 8-1-44.

## **Independence Day Programme**

- 1 At 6 in the early morning - Prabhat Feri
- 2 At 8.30 in the morning - Hoisting of National Flag in parks and in every house, hostel and college.
- 3 Sales of National Flag and badges and distribution of independence day pledge forms (including Mr Gandhi's speeches)

4. Procession of school and college students at midday
5. Observance of complete hartal up to 4 in the afternoon
6. Exhibition of spinning by the ladies at 4 p.m.
7. Small meetings at different junctions of streets from 5.30 p.m. to 6.30 p.m.
8. Mass meeting at 5 in the afternoon and acceptance of independence pledge by the general people present (those who cannot, for any reason, accept the pledge at the mass meeting will each do so along with other members of their families in their respective houses at 8 in the night).
9. Torch light procession at night.
10. To keep burning the lamp of independence all day and night (all will keep lights burning whole day and night in their own houses and in other places. Everyone is responsible for keeping this lamp of independence burning) Independence Day slogans:

Long Live Revolution; Bande Mataram; Quit India, Englishmen; Carry on vigorously, Drive away the English; Either victory or death, Present famine is the creation of the Imperialist English; sacrifice your life but do not part with paddy.

B.P.C.C. Council of Action,  
Mohitosh K. Mookerji,  
I.B., 10 1-44

## 90. Bihar Police Administration Report on the atrocities committed by Congress workers

File No. 3/19/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*December 1943*

One result of military and police pressure on the 1942 rebels was to drive some of their organisations underground. In North and Central Bihar a number of terrorist groups were revived or came into being – their members consisting of Congress Socialist, Forward Bloc and criminal elements. In Shahabad and part of the industrial areas, the former terrorist Suraj Nath Chaube\* directed operations, while guerilla bands led by Siaram Singh\* and other politico-criminals were a terror to the Bhagalpur countryside. The marked absence of overt acts in the parts of the Southern Range bordering on Bengal was attributable to the firm measures adopted by both Governments to insure against hindrance of the war effort in these vital areas. It was also due to the continued detention of the important Bengal revolutionary leaders. There was ample evidence of plotting by minor elements of the Bengal groups in places like Jamshedpur but without funds or leadership much of their energy was diverted to the secret quisling dissemination of defeatist rumors. Some typical incidents elsewhere are described.

*Northern Range.* Six miscreants armed with spears, daggers and a revolver, were arrested while preparing to commit a dacoity in the Hajipur neighborhood of Muzzaffarpur district. Two leaders admitted being members of Jogendra Sukul's group which was using these violent

methods to augment terrorist funds. In the same district on the 15th January two revolutionaries implicated in a United Provinces mail robbery were arrested. Near their rendezvous were discovered cartridges, gunpowder and Italian money. They were convicted under the arms Act, but later acquitted on appeal. In the early hours of July 12, about 30 terrorist absconders raided the railway station and post office at Bidupur. The same gang was strongly suspected when three days later the Jhandaha post office was looted. On the night of April 29 a crude bomb exploded in the house of a jail official in Saran district. In Darbanga 30 packets of gelignite and 64 detonators were recovered on August 26 from a house at Bhaipati. They had been left there, by a terrorist absconder of Muzaffarpur, who had escaped to Nepal after leading a 1942 attack on a police station, and who was arrested next day. His papers proved him a C.S.P. group member who was in contact with All India terrorists in Nepal. The injured Pupri bomb maker Lakshmi Narain Gupta (vide 1942 report) escaped from custody while under hospital treatment at Patna, being recaptured at Hajipur next day. He was sentenced to 10 days R.I. under the Explosive Substances Act, and to an additional fifteen months R.I. for escaping.

*Central Range.* In February in Patna district the violent rescue of a political offender by twenty Congressmen from the custody of a constable and a chaukidar was reported. Terrorists attempted to derail a train running from Patna to Gaya. On January 23 the Warisaliganj Police Station was set on fire and mail runner attacked. An armed gang of Congress rebels operating in the Dumaria and Inamganj areas (and including a former member of the Gaya local board) went about warning villagers not to accept paper currency, to stop payment of taxes and to resist the police. Five instances of terrorists looting mail bags were reported from Shahabad. On February 15 an explosion damaged the office of the District Soldiers' Board. When the Dehri-on-Sone house of a Dalmianagar paper mill operative was searched for absconders, 5 bombs and a quantity of explosives and implements for committing sabotage were recovered. Investigation revealed a meeting place for a terrorist group with widespread ramifications. In Sasaram local Brahmans attacked and fatally injured a Kurmi whom they suspected had given information leading to the arrest of a C.S.P. absconder. Threatening letters were common in this district.

*Eastern Range.* Bhagalpur, Monghyr and the Santal Parganas were the worst affected districts. This area was infested by several well armed politico criminal gangs led by Siaram Singh, Parsuram Singh and Parath Brahmachari, and was terrorised by many heinous crimes including highway robberies and brutal murders. Not content with looting and burning property, these gangs concentrated on reprisals against the rural police and other informants, many of whom were murdered in cold blood or cruelly mutilated. There was a series of armed encounters between the police and elusive guerillas operating in jungle terrain favorable to the latter. A number of rebels were killed and a quantity of arms and ammunition recovered. About 1,200 arrests were made and a large number of cognizable cases instituted.

On May 22 a band of armed Congress insurgents assembled in the Nepal Tarai and attacked the Hanumannagar police post, rescuing seven absconders detained there. After firing some forty rounds, the gangsters and the rescued prisoners split up into small groups. Jai Prakash Narain, Shyamnandan Singh\* and other absconding socialists of all India importance were reported to have been among those rescued.

On July 14 the Gangster Siaram Singh, accompanied by an armed party of adherents, accosted an unarmed police post investigating a case near Sultanganj and defied arrest. In the early hours of August 29 an armed mob of 150 led by Siaram attacked the Bhagalpur police

outpost of Sonbarsa. Although greatly outnumbered, the police defenders succeeded in routing the attackers, nine of whom were killed, several wounded, and two captured alive. A police musket, a shotgun and some 450 and 303 ammunition were taken from the rebels. (Four of the police sustained bullet and gunshot wounds, which in one case proved fatal.) It was then realized by criminals inclined to support the terrorists that the police were dangerous, and when attacked could defend themselves. Unfortunately some of the principal culprits escaped a just fate. Like all tyrannical bullies, Siaram and the lieutenants skulked in the background and were among the first to decamp from the danger zone.

The O & T Railway station at Tiltrath in Monghyr district was attacked by a terrorist gang of about 100 on the morning of March 16. Two partymen were seriously injured and instruments, records and equipment damaged. On March 28, at Jamui a bomb exploded near the house of a pleader. The same day another bomb was found near the Gidhaur Court of Wards office. The following morning a similar bomb exploded near a police building slightly injuring two constables. On April 5 a soldier on leave who was travelling by road near Khagaria was set upon by 40 'volunteers' who beat him mercilessly and made off with all his belongings.

As a result of a police drive some of the Banka desperados fled into the Degohar subdivision of the Santal Parganas. Throughout January local residents were terrorised by numerous dacoities committed in this area. In February a small police force pursued an insurgent gang of 200 into the hills south of Dumka. They were met by a volley of arrows and had to open fire, with results not fully verified; two police officers were injured.

*General.* For obvious reasons only a very incomplete chronicle of terrorist activities can be included in a summary of this nature. In their offensive against terrorist organisations the Bihar police (cooperating with the Nepal authorities and the Police of other Provinces) were successful in tracing and arresting a large number of terrorists, and were continuing this often dangerous duty at the close of the year. One interesting achievement was at Jamalpur in September, when six boxes of Mills grenades were recovered from a disused well. 27 boxes had been stolen from an ordinance depot during the 1942 disturbances -- and now all but four of them had been prevented from being used by local terrorists.

Despite the absence of a generally healthy public spirit on which the public could rely in times of need, it must be recorded that with increasing frequency the occupants of houses attacked by terrorist dacoits put up a sturdy defence and inflicted casualties in the gangster ranks. There was one outstanding example which might be regarded as a good omen of improving public morale. On the night of May 11/12 near Begusarai, Monghyr district Mr Chandra Chur Deo, a landowner of Ulao, hearing that a neighbors house was being attacked by a large armed gang of terrorist dacoits, seized his gun and hastened to the rescue with a few retainers. Though Mr Deo received very serious gunshot injuries, involving the loss of one eye, he continued firing at the dacoits, killing three of them and dispersing the remainder. For this courageous act Mr Deo subsequently was awarded a well merited George Medal.

It would be wrong to imagine that all terrorist acts in 1943 had a political background. These were in fact many uneasy alliances between political and professional criminals, and only a small proportion of the loot found its way into party coffers. There seemed little doubt that terror tactics were deliberately employed by the professional gangster and the solitary criminal who had not the remotest political contacts. As an example of the 'private practitioner' there was the case of an armed burglar who fired eight times at Patna householders, and who on arrest in Delhi was found to be carrying revolver belonging to a Bihar Magistrate and an official of Nagpur.

## 91: Annual Report on volunteer organisations for the period from May 1943 (extracts)

Govt. of C.P. & Berar Pol. & Mil. Dept. File No. 93/1944  
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

### *Samata Sainik Dal*

Membership of the Dal increased from 1227 to 1620 during the period and branches exist at Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda and Dhandara and Yeotinal.

In May 1943 about fifteen volunteers of the Nagpur Branch left for Pachmarhi (Hoshangabad) to attend a scout class. Members were utilised at Nagpur to collect funds and grain from Bengal relief.

A camp was held at Wardha from the 29th to 31st December 1943. 163 members attended. Demonstrations of lathi and Lezim drill were given. Pyarelal, M.L.A., of Lucknow, in an anti-Congress speech condemned the persecution of Harijans by the caste Hindus and advocated a policy of retaliation by breaking their heads and burning their houses. He added that once they were sufficiently organised they could take up arms against the Hindus and take what was denied to them.

In Nagpur about 300 volunteers noticed making arrangements and maintaining order at functions held during Ambedkar Week in April 1944. . . .

### *Hindustan Red Army*

The order declaring this organisation unlawful remained in force and the Army was inactive. Maganlal Bagdi and Shyamlal Nai for whose arrest rewards were offered were arrested at Bombay at the end of July 1943. Along with four other members. V.S. Dandekar, another important absconding member was rounded up at Nagpur in October. Dr Ramsingh Gour A.M.C. in charge of the Isolation Hospital, Nagpur, who was found to be in contact with absconders and concerned in the commission of offences by the Bagdi gang was detained, but escaped from the Nagpur Jail with Niranjana Singh Jat, an eminent Congress underground worker. They were arrested in Chanda and sentenced to six months R.I. each. Shamnarain Kashmiri, another member of Bagdi gang is still at large.

In July 1943 a printed leaflet under the signature of Dandekar came to notice in Nagpur advocating the continuance of acts of sabotage. Some muskets, cartridges and a bayonet stolen by members of the party from the Moudha Police station (Bhandara) and outposts of the Nagpur City during the August disturbances was recovered from H.P. Jog, who was then general officer-Commanding of the R.S.S. Sangh, to whom they were entrusted for safe custody.

### *All India Muslim National Guards*

Inactive. There were no reactions to the warning issued by the Government of India to the Secretary, All India Muslim League, regarding the reorganization of this body in accordance with resolution passed at the annual session of the All India Muslim League held at Karachi in December 1943.

### *Congress Sainik Dal*

Was inactive, but efforts were made to revive it under the name of Rashtra Sewa Dal. In July 1943 four members of the Rashtra Sewa Dal, Poona, visited Nagpur and Amaravati with the object of forming branches in this province by incorporating other nationalist volunteers organisations already in existence. A meeting of representatives of various 'akhadas' and sanghs under the presidentship of Suleman Pathan, a Captain of the Congress Sainik Dal, who was recently released from jail, was convened at Nagpur on 13-7-1943 but nothing happened as the representatives refused to merge in the Dal for fear of action being taken against it by Government. A branch was however formally established at Nagpur consisting of former members of the Congress Sainik Dal and at a meeting held in camera on the 14th July it was decided to send batches of volunteers to Poona to participate in the demonstration on the 9th August for Gandhi's release.

In October branches were formed at Shegaon, Bhadravati and Chanda and later at Armori (Chanda). The original Congress Sainik Dal or Bharat Seva Dal and the Hanuman Vyayamshala were incorporated in the Chanda Branch the opening ceremony of which was performed by R.K. Patil, ex-I.C.S. At this function he was provided with a guard of honour of members carrying lathis and there was a demonstration of physical exercises. Addressing the 4,000 spectators present Patil advocated unity for the achievement of independence and cited the example of the Japanese who preferred death to captivity. Unsuccessful efforts were made to establish branches in Wardha and Amraoti.

The arrest in November 1943 and detention under the D.I.R. of Suleman Pathan, the chief organizer while attempting to form branches in the Bhandara District seriously affected activities and there were no further developments. In January 1944, the Chanda branch staged two dramas in aid of the distress Relief Committee organised by the Secretary, Harijan Sewak Sangh, Delhi and raised a sum of Rs 550. The tickets and passes bore the imprint of Gandhi's photograph. On the 27th February 1944 it was intended to celebrate the 9th anniversary of the Dal at Nagpur under the presidentship of P.Y. Deshpande, Editor, of the *Bhavitavya* but permission to hold a meeting was refused as the Dal was a political organisation. The total membership is reported to be 569 but the Dal has contacts with the Congress Socialist Party and Rashtriya Yuvak Sangh members of which were implicated in the Telankhedi (Nagpur) Bomb case.

Branches of the Rashtra Sewika Samiti (Women's Section) exist at Wardha and Akola only. The Wardha branch was started by the inmates of the Mahila Ashram with the avowed object of imparting intellectual physical and industrial training to women so as to prepare them to carry on the non-violent struggle for the attainment of independence. Three training classes of a month's duration each were held at Wardha from February to May 1944. About 70 sewikas including some from Bombay province attended these classes. Mrs Durgabai Jog of Bombay inaugurated the first of these classes and lecture consisted of workers of the Maharashtra Charkha Sangh and Khadi Bhandars. R.K. Patil, a former member of the I.C.S., speaking at the first class, advised sewikas to qualify themselves to lead the masses in the absence of leaders and held Government responsible for the Bengal famine. Rs 2,789 were collected in various districts to defray the expenses of the classes. The National Students Union is interesting itself in the organisation of branches and it is possible new branches will be started in the province.



## 92: Official Notings on Forward Bloc prisoners dt 24.1.1944 (extracts)

File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Home Department

The following Forward Block prisoners are detained.

a) under our orders; and

b) at our instance;

- a) Amarindra Nath Basu (Bengal)  
Sushil Kumar Bhadra (Bengal)  
Satya Ranjan Baksi\* (UP)  
Sardul Singh Caveeshar\* (Punjab)  
H.V. Kamath\* (C.P.)

- b) Aliz T. Gidwani (Sind)  
Pannalal Mitra\* (Bengal)  
Bishambar Dayal Tripathi (UP)

2. I put up a draft form<sup>1</sup> of communication which will I think serve for all these prisoners. In the case of Bishambar Dayal Tripathi and Pannalal Mitra the communication will have, of course, to be signed by the relevant U.P. or Bengal officer.

3. Two further Forward Bloc prisoners, Mukand Lal Sarkar\* and Shill Bhadra Yajee,\* are at present detained in Bombay under Bombay Government orders. I understand that their case has for some time been under investigation to see whether a conspiracy case could not be run and that D.I.B. expects to receive a final report shortly. It may then be desirable to transfer these two prisoners to Central Government custody (a Central Government order already exists in respect of Shill Bhadra Yajee though he is detained under a Bombay order); I will refer this to D.I.B. separately, however.

24-1-44

S.J.S. Olver)

Addl. Secy.

R. Tottenham

1 Not printed - See Doc. 95



# 93

## Police Report on 'Independence Day Celebrations'

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 6/44

[Bengal State Archives]

Confidential

*Copy of a D.I.O's report dated 27-1-1944*

'I beg to report that the Independence Day was observed at English town and Old Malda in the following manner:

*At English Bazar Town:* At 08.30 hours E.C. Ram Hari Ray, Pleader, Malda Bar, son of Ram Ranjan of English bazar town, Malda, hoisted Congress flag, at the Gandhi Dharmasala in presence of 27 Congress and C.P.I. workers, prominent among them being Nikunja Bihari Gupta (Congress), E.A. Naren Chakravarty (C.P.I.), E.D. Kali Ranjan Das (Congress), E.C. Deb Narayan Saha, Durga Prasad Sen and Krishna Chandra Barman (E.C. - Congress)

Before unfurling the Congress flag, E.C. Ram Hari Ray delivered a short speech emphasizing the need of observing the Independence Day and pointing out that foreign domination was at the root of all their distress. He requested E.D. Hari Ranjan Das to read out the Congress Pledge which was complied with by the latter. They shouted the following slogans (1) Bande Mataram (2) Gandhiji-ki-jai (3) Maulana Azad-ki-jai (4) Jawaharlal Nehru-ji-ki-jai (5) Swadhin Bharat-ki-jai and (6) congress Jhanda ki-jai.

Congress flags were hoisted on almost all the shops of the Hindu Shopkeepers and on the house tops of the Congress and C.P.I. workers. E.D. Naren Chakravarty hoisted the Congress and communist flags on the local C.P.I. office. The members of the S.F. (NF) announced that meeting would be held at the Gandhi Dharmasala at 5.30 p.m. but no meeting was held for want of audience. At about 20.00 hours S.F. (NF) workers Deb Narayan Shaha, Durga Prasad Sen and Krishak Samity workers Sushil Ghosh and Md. Siddiq moved through the town on a tandem shouting the following slogans; Bande Mataram Swadhin Bharat-ki-jai; Bandi Netader Mukti-Chai; Hindu Musalman-ek-Hao and Congress League ek hao.

E.D. Hari Narayan Das distributed copies of the Independence pledge to the town people. No meeting, however, was held at Old Malda on the occasion.

District Intelligence Branch  
Malda, the 27th January 1944

Confidential

No. 388/117/44

Copy forwarded to the District Magistrate, Malda for information.

A copy of the Independence Pledge<sup>1</sup> is also forwarded.

D. Bhattacharjee,  
Superintendent of Police, Malda

<sup>1</sup> Not printed.



## 94 DIG, IB's report on Congress Movement in Midnapore (29.1.44-14.9.44)

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 162/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

### Incidents Not Previously Reported

Vol. III, No. 1, Calcutta, January 29th 1944

Midnapore: On 4-1-44 the son of the Collecting Panchayat of Union No. 6 Tamluk P.S. was assaulted by three unknown persons near Palanda and money which he had collected on account of chawkidari tax as well as records were taken away from him.

On the same day four unknown men entered the house of Rampati Kuil of Midnabpur, P.S. Mahisadal, while he was collecting rents from villagers who had come to his house and seized Rs 14 which he had collected. They also tried to gain possession of the rent records but his peon ran away with them. On the following day another party of about 8 or 9 unknown men revisited his house and took away the rent records.

On 6-1-44 while an aged retainer named Mahendra nath Singh was carrying a D.B.B.L. gun back to his master's house at Madhya Hingli from Mahisadal where he had taken it to be licensed, he was attacked by a youth at Ektarpur near Mahisadal. The youth seized the gun and ran away. The youth has been traced and action has been taken against him.

On the same day unknown Congress volunteers entered the house of Jnanada Prasad Maiti of Gopalpur, P.S. Mahisadal, who is a Tehsildar of the Mahisadal Raj. They seized Rs 217 which the Tahsildr had collected on behalf of the Raj as well as the rent records. The Tahsildar alleged that he was threatened with a revolver.

for Deputy Inspector-General of Police, I.B.

Vol III, No. 2, Calcutta, March 29th, 1944

Midnapore: A leaflet entitled 'Nirdesh', dated 6-3-44, issued by the Sarbadhinaik of the Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar, is in circulation with a view to stop export of paddy and rouse mass consciousness. The workers of the Jatiya Sarkar would start Satyagraha from 12-3-44 which date synchronized with the Dandi march of Mr Gandhi. On that date some workers actually offered Satyagraha by carrying a Congress flag and shouting the usual slogans. A case has been instigated.

On 9-3-44 some Congress volunteers attacked a Home Guard of Mahisadal P.S. and after blindfolding him carried him to what he suspects to be the Dariberia Government Weaving School. He was released the next day in a village near about Sutahata. A case has been instituted

On 13-3-44 information was received that Congress workers of Sutahata P.S. were inciting people not to repay Government loans but to send joint petitions (union by union) explaining their inability to repay owing to their present distressed condition.

Information was received on the same date that Pravakar Bhattacharji of Jogikhop P.S.

Tamluk demanded Rs 3000 from Hariprasad Bhattacharji of the same village in the name of Dr Prafulla Bose (absconder). The money was not paid. On 20-3-44 an absconder of Nandigram P.S. was arrested by the Nandigram Police

On 22-3-44 the Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar served notices on certain parties to appear before the Jatiya Sarkar Court in connection with their land disputes. The notices do not contain the dates of hearing.

On the same date a mob of about 32 Congress rebels severely assaulted an individual suspected by them of being an ex-informer. A case has been started.

Congress workers are said to be offering Satyagraha at Panchkhalibazar on that days in batches of five, congress rebels of Tamluk sub-division are said to be working on the same lines.

for Deputy Inspector General of Police  
Intelligence Branch

#### Report of Public Reaction to Congress Movement

Vol. III, No. 3, Calcutta, April 14th, 1944

Midnapore: The complainant of a case in Sutahata P.S. was served with a notice by the Congress to the effect that he and the witnesses should not depose against the accused persons in court. Accordingly no witness deposed in favour of the prosecution on the day fixed for the hearing.

Debendra Nath Pal of Agar received a notice by post demanding a sum of Rs 1,000

On 5-4-44 the C.C., Tamluk P.S. reported that on 1-4-44 the servant and the private tutor of the children of Haripada Bhattacharji (from whom a sum of Rs 3,000 had been demanded) were assaulted by three unknown volunteers.

On 23-3-44 a Chowkidar of Tamluk P.S. arrested a Congress volunteer. He was however, subsequently rescued by two of his comrades.

On 6-4-44 ten Congress volunteers wearing 'Gandhi caps' were proceeding to Contai Bazar carrying Congress flags and posters of prejudicial nature and uttering the usual slogans. They were arrested and a case has been instituted.

One of the accused wanted in the Bhagwanpur Thana Raid Case was arrested on 3-4-44.

#### *Part B - Further Information about Incidents Previously Reported*

Midnapore: Reference Vol. III, No. 2 dated 29-3-44 (last paragraph)

After the assault and before, the victim was let off, he was made to sign a bond promising to pay a fine of Rs 500 within a week to the Jatiya Sarkar.

For Deputy Inspector General of Police,  
Intelligence branch

#### Report of Public Reaction to Congress Movement

Vol. III, No. 4 Calcutta, April 29th 1944

#### *Part A - Incidents not Previously Reported*

Midnapore: Satyagraha was offered at the undermentioned places on the dates noted against each. The usual prejudicial posters were carried and slogans shouted.

1. Contai Town on 6-4-44 by 110 Congress volunteers. All were arrested and convicted and sentenced the same day to 1 years R.I. each.
2. Geonkhali Hat on 6-4-44 by 6 Congress volunteers. All were arrested and all except one (who was wanted in connection with a case in Mahisadal P.S.) were released on P.R. After interrogation.
3. Terapakhia Bazar on 3-4-44 by 5 congress volunteers. All were arrested and all except 2 were released.
4. Tamluk Town on 9-4-44 by 5 Congress volunteers. All were arrested.
5. Balluganta Hat on 10-4-44 by 8 Congress volunteers. All were arrested and all excepting 2 were released after interrogation.
6. Balluk Hat on 11-4-44 by 7 Congress volunteers. All were arrested.
7. Ram Tarak Hat on 13-4-44 by 6 Congress volunteers. All were arrested and released on P.R. after interrogation.
8. Tamluk Bazar on 13-4-44 by 4 congress volunteers. All arrested and released on P.R. after interrogation.
9. Contai Town on 13-4-44 by 6 Congress volunteers. All were arrested, convicted and sentenced the same day to 8 months R.I. and fined Rs 50 each in default 2 months R.I. each.
10. Tekhalibazar on 13-4-44 by 5 Congress volunteers. All were arrested and a case has been started.
11. Kukraulati Bazar on 13-4-44 by 9 Congress volunteers. All were arrested and a case has been started.

Partial hartal has been observed at Khanchi, Gopalganj and Danipur hats in Tamluk subdivision on 6-4-44.

On 7-4-44 two Congress flags were pasted up in Tamluk Town (one near the Tamluk Sub-Jail and another in front of the Sub-Registrar office). 29 copies of the Congress Bulletin entitled 'Biplabi' were seized from the house of Balaram Das and Kanai Lal Das of Babuniya, p.a. Nandigram, on 12-4-44. A case has been instituted. Both the brothers are absconding. One copy each of Congress bulletins 'Satyagraha' dated 30-8-43, 'Biplabi' and 'Ranabheri' dated 23-11-32 were seized from the house of Surendra Pradhan and Tarendra Pradhan of Baroajitpur, P.S. Satanata on 14-4-44. They were arrested and a case has been started.

One Congress rebel was arrested on 18-4-44, at Balighari, and another surrendered on 20-4-44.

For Deputy Inspector General of Police,  
Intelligence Branch

## Report of Public Reaction to Congress Movement

Vol. III, No. 5, Calcutta, 15th May 1944

### *Part A: Incidents not Previously Reported*

A Congress volunteer who was wanted in connection with a case in Bhagwanpur P.S. was arrested on 14-4-44.

On 25-4-44 a batch of 5 congress volunteers carrying Congress flags etc. and shouting the usual slogans were proceeding to Geonkhalibazar to offer Satyagraha. When however, the police appeared they fled through fear of arrest leaving behind caps and flags.

A cyclostyled bulletin entitled 'Biplabi', dated 17th April, 1944 was received by post by the District Magistrate, Midnapore, on 28-4-44. The envelope bore the seal of the Bowbazar P.O.

A similar bulletin posted at the same P.O. was also received by the S.D.O. Tamluk on 26-4-44.

For Deputy Inspector General of Police  
I.B. Bengal

Report of Public Reaction to Congress Movement

Vol. III. No. 6, Calcutta, 30th May 1944

*Part A - Incidents not Previously Reported*

Midnapore: On 27-4-44, Ganesh Chandra Panja, of Birulia, P.S. Nandigram (a Congress volunteer recently released from jail) set fire to the house of Himangshu Pande of the same village, causing damage valued at Rs 1,000. The crime was committed in retaliation for the help given to the police by the latter in securing the arrest of the former.

An absconder, who was wanted in a case in Posta-hpur P.S., was arrested on 3-5-44.

On 6-5-44, Adhar Chandra Ray, a homeopathic doctor, of Paikpari, P.S. Tamluk, received a notice from the Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar directing him to pay Rs 500 for the upkeep of the struggle.

On 12-5-44, five Congress volunteers offered Satyagraha with a view to stop the sale of paddy and rice to Government agents at Goeukhali Bazar. All the five were arrested, tried and convicted - four of them being sentenced to six month's R.I. each and the fifth (who was previously convicted for a similar act) to one year's R.I.

for Deputy Inspector General of Police,  
Intelligence Branch, Bengal.

[Report Nos 7 and 8 not printed - Ed.]

Report of Public Reaction to Congress Movement

Vol. III, No. 9, Calcutta, 14th July, 1944

*Part A - Incidents not Previously Reported*

Midnapore - On 8-6-44 a Daffadar of Tamluk P.S. while returning home was assaulted by three persons suspected of being local Congress volunteers. The matter is being investigated.

On 13-6-44, Gobinda Bhaumik of Santipur P.S. Tamluk, to whom a notice demanding a sum of Rs 1,000 was issued by the Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar was assaulted by several Congress workers. A case was instigated u/s 147 I.P.C. and charge sheet has been submitted against (1) Kalipada Ghata (2) Banku Sanki, (3) Debi Mandal, (4) Jiban Santra, (5) Indra Sanki (all of Paschimpara-Santipur, P.S. Tamluk) and (6) Rupai Bag (of Hakola P.S. Tamluk). Nos 4 to 6 are absconding.

On 14-6-44, Nagendra Nath Hajra of Balluk P.S. Tamluk (Asstt. Panchayat of Union No. IV) while proceeding on a bicycle to Darialhat was severely assaulted with lathis by 5 or 6 Congress volunteers near Ramtarak Hat. One person was recognized. Nagendra Hajra had

instituted a case in December 1943 accusing Congress rebels of having kidnapped his son. He is not now willing to proceed further in this present assault case for fear of further molestation.

On 15-6-44 some unknown person or persons set fire to the huts and the stacks of Bishnupada Adak of Chandramar P.S. Tamluk, at Barisuri. The case is under investigation.

On 20-6-44, two congress volunteers who were wanted in connection with cases in Bhagwanpur P.S. were arrested.

On the same day two others were arrested in Sutahata P.S. one of whom was an absconder. The other is reported to have been working secretly for the Congress after his acquittal in about a month ago.

On 23-6-44, four Congress workers were arrested at Geonkhali hat (P.S. Mahisadal), while offering Satyagraha with a view to stop the sale of rice and paddy to Government agents.

On 20-6-44, Bihari Lal Rana (not Bihari Lal Manna as reported in Vol. III Report No. 8 of 30-6-44) received by post a further notice, dated 14 6-44 issued by the Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar directing him to pay a sum of Rs 2,000.

On 27-6-44 the o/c Sutahata P.S. reported that Rupī Nath of Barabari was tried by the Court of Jatiya Sarkar at Sahalat of the complaint of his widowed sister-in-law charging him with having cheated her over the price of some land sold by her. After trial Rupī Nath was severely assaulted and salt was thereafter rubbed into his wounds. He was further forced to return the land to his sister-in-law. A case has been instituted and is under investigation.

On 29-6-44, the Circle Inspector Tamluk P.S. reported that a complaint was lodged before the Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar by Bhusan Maiti against Ganadhar Maiti (both of Gobinda P.S. Sutaheta) in connection with a dispute over some land. The case was 'tried' and Ganadhar Maiti was awarded ten Stupes to Bhusan Maiti. Ganadhar is reluctant to institute a case through fear of further harassment by the workers of the Jatiya Sarkar.

On 2-7-44 seven or eight Congress volunteers assaulted Jiban Kar of Harasankar Khamar chak, P.S. Tamluk, at Dakshin Usatpur, while he was returning home with his nephew as he has failed to pay the demand of Rs 500 made by the Jatiya Sarkar about a month ago. A case has been instituted and is under investigation.

On 4-7-44 two Congress absconders were arrested in Bhagwanpur P.S. and forwarded to court to stand their trial

Rameswar Medda and Shyama Charan Medda, merchants of Radhamonihat, received notices from the Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar calling on them to pay Rs 2,000 and Rs 1,000 respectively. This matter is under investigation.

For Deputy Inspector General of Police  
Intelligence Branch, Bengal

[Report No. 10 not found in the original - Ed.]

Report of Public Reaction to Congress

Vol. III, No. 11, Calcutta, 15th August 1944.

*Part I - Incidents not Previously Reported*

On 9-7-44, Kishori Mohan Jana, of Dakshinchak, P.S. Sutahata, was served with a notice directing him to appear before the Jatiya Sarkar to answer a charge of non-payment of dues

to Nilmani Das of the same village. He appeared before the Court on 21-7-44 accompanied by his mother and was assaulted and ordered to pay Rs 89 to Nilmani Das within 15 days. A case has been started and is under investigation.

On 22-6-44, a simultaneous drive was made to absconders in Sutahata, P.S. and as a result, several were arrested. A case has been instituted against them.

On 24-7-44, Three Congress volunteers of Mahisadal, P.S. viz.: (1) Amiya Ranjan Karan alias Bhola son of Gostha Behari, of Lekshya, (2) Bijay Krishna Maiti, son of Nityananda, of Scorabani-Jail and (3) Panchanan Jana, son of Jagneswar, of Mandagachi were arrested while offering Satyagraha at Goenkhal Bazar.

On the same date, five Congress volunteers assaulted Bamapada Bhattacharji of Jogikhop P.S. Tamluk, while he was sitting on a *bundh* near his house. Some labourers working in an adjoining field reported the incident to the victim's brother, Hari Bhattacharji, who immediately proceeded to the place of occurrence. On his approach, the assailants fled. Haripada Bhattacharji had been served on 13-3-44 notice demanding Rs 3,000 which he did not pay. (Vide Report No. 2 dated 29-3-44.) His servants and private tutor were also assaulted on 5-4-44 (Vide Report No. 3 dated 14-4-44).

On 26-7-44, two Congress volunteers attacked Sudhangshu Bhusan Das, Captain of the Home Guard, Radhaballavpur, P.S. Tamluk, while on his rounds. They tied his hands and robbed him of a 14 carat gold wrist watch and four gold buttons. He was told that this was his punishment for furnishing information to the police about the Jatiya Sarkar and that if he deposited Rs 100 at any Congress camp his property would be returned. A case has been started and is under investigation.

for Deputy Inspector General of Police,  
I.B., 29-8-44

#### Report of Public Reaction to Congress Movement

Vol III, No. 12, Calcutta 29th August 1944

##### *Part I - Incidents not Previously Reported*

The anniversary of 9th August, 1942, was celebrated at Barisal, Birbhum, Dacca, Faridpur, Hooghly, Howrah, Bhulna, Midnapore, Murshidabad, Mymensingh and Rangpur by observing partial hartals strikes of students and picketing of schools and colleges, displays of posters wearing of Khaddar, hoisting and carrying in processions of the Congress -- shouting of Congress slogans such as 'Quit India', 'Long Live the Revolution' and 'Bandemataram'.

*Bakarganj* - The Congress flag was hoisted in front of the Town Hall amidst shouts of 'Bande Mataram'. The people attending the ceremony were urged to rally round the flag irrespective of class and creed, the significance of the day was explained and a resolution was unanimously passed expressing full confidence in Gandhi and his activities.

*Birbhum* - A procession of about 20 persons was taken through the main through fare of Bolpur town. It terminated at the Basanti Brawantola where a meeting consisting of about 60 persons was held. The audience were exhorted to support the formula of Rajagopalachariar.

*Dacca* - Five schools in Dacca Town went on partial strike.

*Faridpur* - Some minor boys and girls moved in a procession in Rajbari Town shouting 'Bandemataram' and 'Swadhin Bharat Ki-Jai'. No anti-government slogans were shouted.

*Hooghly* - The Congress flag was hoisted at the 'Nirmok', office, Serampore.

*Howrah* – Students of the Narsingha Datta College and the Madhu Sudan Pal Chaudhuri H.E. School did not attend their classes.

*Khulna* – The majority of the students of the Khulna and the Daulatpur Colleges absented themselves from their classes. In the evening a meeting was held at the Khulna Municipal Park at which the people were requested to support the formula of Rajagopalachariar.

*Midnapore* – Mahisadal, P.S. Anil Kumar Patia, son of Chandra Mohan of Kaliakundu; Nilmani Maiti, son of the late Srehari of Kaliakundu; Sadanada Gurria son of the late Sidheswar of Bettal Basan, Rai Charan Chakrabarti alias Ram Charan, son of the late Chandra of Kanchanpur, Surendra nath Mandal, son of Bhupati of Dayaldashi, all of P.S. Mahisadal, and Basudev Samanta, son of Jatindra of GarMoyna, P.S. Meyna, dressed in Khaddar punjabis and caps and carrying the Congress tricolour flag – offered Satyagraha at the Mahisadal Bazar. They were arrested under rule 56(4) D.I. Rules and were convicted and sentenced the same day to four months' R.I., and fined Rs 100 each in default to two months' R.I. each more. Another young volunteer was also arrested with them but was released on P.R.

Barada Kanta Kuiti, son of Dinanath of Kanda Kumar and Kanai Lal Sasmal, son of Kartik of Kanchanpur were arrested at Bartahat under section 18(1) C.L.S. act on rule 56(4) D.I. Rules. Both were convicted the same day Barada Kuiti was sentenced to two years' R.I. and fined Rs 1,000 in default six months' R.I. and fined Rs 200 in default two months' R.I. more. Barada Kuiti was the fourth Sarbadhinak of the Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar. He was a proclaimed absconder in connection with the Kahisadal Then Raid Case but as the case failed in the Sessions Court, all warrants against the accused persons were withdrawn. On interrogation, he stated that the workers of the Jatiya Sarkar who were still evading arrest would surrender by 29-8-44. He stated further that nobody would succeed him as Sarbadhinak; that no new cases would be entertained by the Arbitration Court, and that the old ones would be disposed of by that date (29-8-44). He denied the allegation that the Jatiya Sarkar had any connection with hooliganism.

*Sutahata P.S.* – Bidhu Bhusan Samanta, son of the late Prosad of Hodia, Gagan Dhara, son of the late Prem Chand of Brajalalchak, Anil Samant, son of the late Upendra of Kasthakhali; Bibhuti Kar, son of late Tarini of Brajalalchak; Bhola Nath Majhi, son of Ramanath of Basutter-Hinghli and Prem Chand Maiti, son of Shiba Char of Srikrishnapur – all of Sutahata P.S. – were arrested near Sutahata but while in a procession which carried the Congress Flag and shouted Congress slogans. They were convicted under section 17(1) C.L.S. Act and under rule 56(4) D.I. Rules. (The date of conviction has been called for.) Bidhu Samanta was sentenced to six months' R.I. and a fine of Rs 500 in default six months' R.I., more and the remainder to four months' R.I. and a fine of Rs 100 each in default six weeks' R.I. each more.

*Tamluk P.S.* – Rupai Bagh alies Upendra, son of Ashutosh of Hakolla, Narandra Adak, son of Netai of Ajangechia; Upendra Nath Jana, son of Kal Chand of Hakolla; Nibaran Chandra Hazra, son of Surendra of Chatra and Bijay Basanta Chakrabarti, son of Trilochan of Baresati – all of Tamluk P.S. were arrested while coming in procession towards Tamluk Town. They were placed on trial on 10-8-44. All were convicted under section 17(1) C.L.A. Act and Rule 56 (4) D.I. Rules. Rupai Bagh and Narendra Adak were sentenced to six months' R.I. each more. Upendra Jana, Nibaran Hazra and Bijay Chakrabarti were sentenced to four months' R.I. and fined Rs 100 each in default two months' R.I. each more.

Kishori Mohan Das, son of Dharanidhar of Putputiya; Haripada Maiti, son of Jhaturam of Manikpur; Puli Behari Dalui son of Haradhan of Manikpur; Sudhir Chandra Bhattacharji, son

of Umesh of Bonomalikalna – all of Tamluk P.S.; Sarat Chandra Kaiti, son of Haradhan of Paramananpur P.S. Pankura and Nehrual Singh, son of Upendra of Lalugari P.S. Moyna were arrested at Ballukhat. They were in a procession and shouted the slogans 'Quit India', 'Long Live Revolution' etc. All of them are Congress volunteers who had not come to notice previously. They were convicted under section 17(1) C.L.A. Act and under rule 56(4) D.I. Rules on 10-8-44 and were sentenced to four months' R.I. and fined Rs 100 each in default two months' R.I. each more

Debendra Nath Kar son of Nilmani of Srikrishnapur; Manmatha Nath Sanki, son of Sonatan of Dalimbchak; Gunadha Samanta, son of late Bhajahari of Basenchak; Ramhari Samanta son of the late Khudi of Hodia, Jiban Kumar Das, son of Kumud of Anandpur, Jadupati Maiti son of Mritunjay of Chaklulpur; Bhusan Chandra Bera, son for late Chandra Mohan of Ramgopalchak and Haripada Samanta, son of Andhar Chandra of Bar Sundia – all of Sutahata P.S., were arrested on their way to Tamluk Town from Mahisadal while uttering Congress slogans. All were convicted the same day under rule 56(4), D.I.R. and under section 17(1) C.L.A. Act. Debendra Kar was sentenced to two years R.L. and a fine of Rs 1000 in default six months' R.I. more; Manmatha Sanki to one years' R.I. and a fine of Rs 500 in default six months R.I. more Gunadhar Samanta and Ramhari Samanta to six months R.I. and a fine of Rs 500 each in default three months' R.I. each more, and Jiban Das, Jadupati Maiti, Bhusan Bera and Haripada Samanta to four months' R.I. and a fine of Rs 200 each in default two months' R.I. each more. Debendra Nath Kar Adhinayak of the Sutahata Jatiya Sarkar stated on interrogation, that the Congress workers of Sutanate thana who were still evading arrest would probably court arrest within the next seven days. He stated further that the Jatiya Sarkar was in no way responsible for kidnappings, murders etc. but admitted that some individual members may have had complicity with hooligans. He also admitted that the Jatiya Sarkar had an occasion to take recourse to violence in order to enforce the decision of the arbitration Courts.

Sudhir Mal, son of the late Kunja of Chatta; Sashi Bhusan Samanta, son of the late Gossai, Kanai Lal Maiti, son of the late Dinanath of Polanda (all three of Tamlul P.S.); Kartik Majhi, son of Sripati of Chongra P.S. Moyna and Ahi Pingla, formed another batch which was also arrested on its way to Tamluk Town. All were convicted under rule 56(4) D.I. Rules and under section 17(1) C.L.A. act the same day and sentenced to four months R.I. and fined Rs 200 each in default two months' R.I. each more.

*Mahisadal P.S.* - Several students of the Hardings School the L.M. School, the Training Academy, the Krishnath Collegiate School and the K.N. College went on strike. About 40 of them paraded the streets shouting Congress slogans.

A procession and a meeting were also held at Jaiganj under the presidency of Durgapada Singh (ex-security prisoner) Lectures were delivered explaining the significance of the day and the audience were requested to remember Jalianwala Bagh Day.

*Mymensingh* - Partial hartal was observed in the town by Hindu merchants. College students abstained from attending classes and private school students went on strike. Indigenous banks remained closed. A meeting was held in the evening in which the audience was urged to support the Rajagopalachariar formula.

*Pabna* - The Congress flag was hoisted at the Pabna Chhatra Sangha amidst shouts of 'Bande Mataram'. National songs were also sung. The Pabna Edward College was picketed and about 100 students were thus prevented from attending their classes.

*Rangpur* - Naresh Chandra Ganguli alias Monda, son of Ramesh for Panchasar, Dacca



and Saidpur, Rangpur and Siddarta Sidhanta, a clerk of the A.E.N. Saidpur prepared and displayed alive manuscript posters both in English and Bengali, on buildings of Saidpur Town at midnight on 8-8-44. They bore the captions (1) Deshadrohi Biswasghatak Kara August Prosthader Biruddha Jara (Who are the traitors of the country – They are those who are against the August Resolution); (2) 'Engrej Bharat Haite Dur Honk – Swadhin Bharat Zindabad' (Let the British Quit India. Long Live Independent India); (3) 'All power to the Indian People'.

Other incidents which occurred at Midnapore only during the fortnight under review are as follows:

On 31-7-44, Debakar Bhattacharji and five other unknown Congress volunteers visited Kalikapur, P.S. Tamluk. One of the unknown volunteers left a copy of Biplabi No. 81, dated 16-7-44, with an inmate of the house of Upendra Raha, a Daffadar, with instructions that the Daffadar was not to give evidence in the case against Raj Narayan Bhuiya, another Congress volunteer.

Absconder Dhairya Pramanik, son of Khetra of Birinchiberia, P.S. Sutahata was arrested on 13-8-44. He is being placed on trial under the C.T. Act.

*Part B – Further Information about Incidents Previously Reported*

Reference Vol. III Report No. II dated 15-8-44

Midnapore – Re – The assault on Sudhangshu Das, Capt of the Home Guard

The watch and buttons were restored to the owner on 8-8-44. He stated that he was awakened at about 01.00 hours by the voice of an unknown man who informed him that the property had been left on the window sill of his bed-room. He was also reminded to deposit the Rs 100 with any Congress Camp otherwise he would be harassed again.

for Deputy Inspector-General of Police  
Intelligence Branch, 29.8.44

Report of Public Reaction to Congress Movement

Vol III, No 12, Calcutta, 14th September, 1944

*Part I – Incidents not Previously Reported*

21-8-44 - Five Congress absconders, who were wanted in several cases in Sutahata P.S. surrendered before the S.D.O. Tamluk. One of them Sudhir Chandra Bhuiyu son of the late Natabar, of Bar-Basudebpur, was wanted in the Sutahata Thana Raid Case, but as that case ended in acquittal, no immediate action could be taken against him. An attempt is, however, being made to institute a case under Section (I) A (B) I.C.L.A. Act.

24-8-44 - The undernoted eight Congress absconders and workers were arrested while approaching Tamluk Town with a view to court arrest by offering Satyagraha. They were convicted the same day o/s 117(1) I.C.L.A. Act / 56 (4) D.I.R. and sentenced to the terms of imprisonment noted against their names. The sentences in all cases are consecutive.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Satish Ch. Datta, s/o Jadu of Khanchi, Dhirendra Nath Gherai, alias Dainan Dhan, s/o Parameshwar of Khanchi, P.S. Mahisadal. | Six months' R.I. and fined Rs 500 each in default to six weeks' R.I. each more. |
|---|---|

3. Haripada Jana, s/o Dwarika of Fatatikri;
4. Jatindra Nath Kar, s/o Iswar, of Bagdob Jalpai; Four months's R.I. each and
5. Jogesh Ch. Das, s/o Radha Krista of Amritberia; fined Rs 200 in default one
6. Kartik Ch. Panja, s/o Gobardhan, of Totaboria and month's R.I. each more.
7. Gunadhar Ghora, s/o Makhal, of Kanchanpur  
all of P.S. Mahisadal.

26-8-44. Hrishikesh Barik, s/o late Nityananda of Ramnagar, P.S. Sutahata, was arrested in Sutahata. Hrishikesh was previously arrested on 13-4-1944 while offering Satyagraha. Bail was allowed in his case and he absconded from that time.

27-8-1944 - Four underground Congress workers of Mahisadal P.S. (one of whom is absconder Prahlad Chandra Patra, s/o Keshab, of Kanchi), were arrested u/s 17(1) I.C.L.A. Act and 56(4) D.I. Rules. The hearing of the case agamst them has been concluded and judgement is reserved.

28-8-44 - Two Congress volunteers of Mahisadal P.S. were arrested in the Mahisadal area and are being prosecuted u/s 17(1) I.C.L.A. Act and 38(5) D.I. Rules for being members of the Mahisadal Congress Committee.

29-8-44 - Three Congress rebels surrendered in Tamluk Court and are being proceeded against u/s 17(1) I.C.L.A. Act Absconder Burma Misra, s/o Gopinath of Ayabari, P.S. Khejri, was ambushed and arrested in Contai Sub-division

30-8-44 - Ramanath Jana, s/o Sarada, of Borobhigia, P.S. Potashpur, an absconder in a case of that P.S. was arrested in Calcutta where he had been residing under the assumed name of Ranjan Jana.

Hrishikesh Gayan, s/o Chaturbhuj, of Bayenda, P.S. Bhagwanpur, an important absconder for whose arrest a reward of Rs 50 was declared, was arrested in Bhagwanpur.

Three underground Congress workers (including absconder Bhutnath Samanta, s/o late Madhu Sudan of Dhanyaghar Gumai, P.S. Mahisadal, the so-called 'Bichar Sachib' of the Mahisadal Jatiya Sarkar, and for whose arrest a reward was declared), were arrested in Tamluk town while about to offer Satyagraha. Action is being taken against them u/s 17(1) I.C.L.A. Act and 56(4) D.I. Rules.

for Deputy Inspector General of Police  
Intelligence Branch, 14-9-44

## 95: Communication to Pannalal Mitra (Forward Bloc prisoner) and his representation

File No. 14/15/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*No. 1051 H.J. dated the 3rd February 1944*

Notice under Section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance 1944 (III of 1944)

In pursuance of Section 7 of Ordinance No. III of 1944 you Pannalal Mitra are informed that

the grounds for your detention were that you were an active supporter of the Forward Bloc, an organisation to which the Central Government has by notified order directed that rule 27A of the Defence of India Rules applies.

2. You are informed that you have a right to make a representation in writing against the Order under which you are detained. If you wish to make such a representation, you should address it to the undersigned and forward it through the Superintendent of the Presidency Jail as soon as possible.

S.B. Bapat  
Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal

Home Department  
Calcutta

Pannalal Mitra's Petition

To  
The Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal  
Home Department (Jails)  
Writers' Buildings, Calcutta

Through the Superintendent, Presidency, Jail

Re: Your notice No. 051 dated the 3rd February, 1944

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to strongly deny the charge that has been brought against me in support of keeping me in detention as stated in the above mentioned notice.

2. I will not attempt to enter into the legal aspect of the case. That is the sphere of a lawyer whose advice I have been deprived of. I will merely content myself in dealing with facts in my own clumsy way that will prove by themselves that there are no reasonable grounds of my detention

3. I was one of the assistant secretaries of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee suspended by the working committee of the All India Congress before my arrest on the 13th January, 1942. I was, also a member of the Corporation Election Board, set up by the said Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to run the elections of the Calcutta Corporation and in the capacity I participated in Corporation Election Campaigns. Both of them were then legal bodies and to my knowledge are functioning even now.

4. In or about the month of April 1939 Forward Bloc was inaugurated as a party inside the Congress and its object and purpose were openly declared before the public and also to the knowledge of the Government. It was regarded as a legal and constitutional body by the Govt. as well as the public.

5. I do not deny my connection with the Forward Bloc. In fact, I was a member of the Bengal Provincial Forward Bloc. But, at that time, it was not an illegal body declared by the Government. It was functioning as a legal and constitutional body like many others then in existence. What I knew of the Forward Bloc its works were open, peaceful and legitimate. The proceedings of its conferences and meetings were open to the press and to the public alike. And that about six months after the date of my arrest on the 15th January 1942, it was declared illegal by the Government on the 22nd June of that year.

6. My connection with the Forward Bloc ceased automatically and entirely from the date of my arrest, as also my connections with the said Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and Corporation Election Board. I am not aware what policy or activities were adopted and pursued by the Forward Bloc after the date of my arrest which resulted in its being declared as an illegal organisation about six months after. So, no guilt can be fastened upon me, in as much as I was not at all connected with any activities whatsoever of the Forward Bloc which might have led the Govt. to declare it illegal.

7. There are no specific cases of allegations as having been committed by me prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war efforts. If, any such instances are brought against me, I hope to be able to disprove and rebut them. I would take this opportunity asserting that I am a firm believer in anti-fascist ideas and ideals and I also believe in the ultimate victory of Democracy over Fascism.

8. Thus, I believe, I have been able to prove conclusively that my detention is unjustified and unnecessary. I have now reached the end of my statement and I hope and trust that you will come to a just and fair decision unbiased by anything that might have been adduced against me without independent corroboration.

Yours faithfully,

Pannalal Mitra  
Security Prisoner

Presidency Jail Hospital,  
the 14th February, 1944

## 96 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

The Budget discussion of the Legislative Assembly began just after the close of the fortnight under review with the introduction of and general discussion on, the budget from the 1st of March. The Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly also moved an adjournment to express regret at the death of Mrs Gandhi. The Hon'ble Prime Minister associated himself with this motion, but asked that the adjournment should be short so that the business of the Assembly should not be unduly delayed. The Hon'ble Speaker, after expressing his own regret at the death of Mrs Gandhi, adjourned the House for half an hour. Another adjournment motion was moved by the same Member of the Opposition to discuss 'the inhuman treatment meted out by the infliction of *lathi* charges upon the political prisoners in the Berhampur Jail on the 26th January, 1944, in connection with the hoisting of the national Flag to observe the "Independence Day".' The objection was raised that the adjournment motion was out of order since the incident had occurred more than a month previously and the matter should, therefore, no longer be urgent. The Hon'ble Speaker, having reserved his decision, eventually over-ruled the objection and allowed the discussion. The mover of the motion devoted most of his speech to the censorship which had been imposed on reports reaching the members. The Provincial

Government had taken the line that such reports were not authoritative, and that they would issue an authoritative statement as soon as they had sufficient material to do. Actually, however, the District Magistrate, who was in possession of the full information, issued a statement to the Press, and the Provincial Government decided that nothing further was necessary. Other speakers on the Opposition side made extravagant allegations against the authorities, and one even went so far as to compare the incident with Jallianwala Bagh in the Punjab disturbances of 1919! The Hon'ble Prime Minister, in a brief statement, pointed out that it was the duty of any Government to preserve law and order, and that it was essential that discipline should be maintained in jails. The flag had been hoisted by a few hot-headed youths in defiance of an order by the Jail authorities and against the advice of the older and more mature leaders confined there as security prisoners. Every opportunity was given to those persons to take down the flag themselves, but they refused to do so and assaulted an officer who had been ordered to do so. It was only then that force was used. He had satisfied himself by personal inquiries that great tolerance had been shown and that unnecessary force had not been used. All of the persons injured had long since recovered, and there was no truth whatever in the allegation that Sri Biswanath Das' had been injured by the police; actually, it was understood that he had fallen over in the scuffle which occurred in the course of the *lathi* charge but he was not badly hurt. Sri Jadumoni Hangaraj, a supporter of the Government, made a good point when he said that clear orders were given to Congress members by the Congress High Command in what he described as 'their instrument of instructions' to scrupulously obey all order in jail and not create disturbances. Other speakers spoke to the same effect, and eventually the motion was talked out.

A great deal of the discussion on the budget centred round Security prisoners, and the Hon'ble Prime Minister announced that 113 out of 450 had already been released, and that the Provincial Government were appointing a committee to advise on the other prisoners still under detention.

It is reported that preparations are being made by people who have recently been released from detention to make plans for the observation of 'National Week' in the middle of April. A recent case of arson in Koraput district is believed to be directly related to the rebellion of 1942, the accused, who had been recently released, having taken revenge on a witness who had given evidence against him in cases arising out of the rebellion.

## 97 Communication to Sher Jung of the grounds of detention (F.B. Prisoner)

File No. 44/15/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Notice under section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944)

In pursuance of Section 7 of Ordinance No. III of 1944 you Sher Jung are informed that the grounds for your detention were that your revolutionary and terrorist activities, your contacts with known revolutionary and Kirti Communist Leaders and your personal support of the anti-war policy of the Communist Party at that time were such as to satisfy Government that

your detention was necessary in order to prevent you from acting in a manner prejudicial to the public safety and the efficient prosecution of the war.

2. You are informed that you have a right to make a representation in writing against the order under which you are detained. If you wish to make such a representation, you should address it to the undersigned and forward it through the Superintendent of the jail as soon as possible.

(R. Tottenham)  
Additional Secretary to  
the Government of India

Home Department,  
New Delhi, the 4th February, 1944.

## 98: Communication to S.V. Ghate of the grounds of detention (F.B. Prisoner) followed by an Official Note

File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Dated 4-2-44*

Notice under Section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944)

In pursuance of section 7 of Ordinance No. III of 1944, you S.V. Ghate are informed that the grounds for your detention were that in your capacity as a member of the Communist Party of India and in furtherance of that Party's declared revolutionary programme, you indulged in activities of such a nature as to satisfy Government that your detention was necessary with a view to preventing you from acting in a manner prejudicial to the prosecution of the war.

2. You are informed that you have a right to make a representation in writing against the order under which you are detained. If you wish to make such a representation, you should address it to the undersigned and forward it through the Superintendent of the jail as soon as possible.

R. Tottenham  
Add. Secretary  
Government of India

44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)

As directed by U.S.(I) on a routine note, draft letters to Govt. of Madras & Punjab and to C.C. Delhi are put up for approval, forwarding notices to be communicated to security prisoners detained under our orders. After the issue of the drafts, there will remain only S.V. Ghate to whom a notice under section 7 of the Ordinance will have not been issued. Office will now

start personal files in respect of each of the security prisoners to whom notices have been issued for review of their cases and for consideration of their representations, if any.

2. Ghate's case for release is under consideration separately and a notice will, if necessary, be issued only after a decision has been reached thereon. As regards the prisoners detained at Indore,<sup>1</sup> we are still awaiting the return of our file from the DIB. The present position of the case in the I.B. will be informally examined tomorrow and intimated to US(I).

Thanks.

S.J.L. Olver  
5-4-44

1 See Doc. Nos 5, 34 and 36 in ch. XV.

## 99. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of February 1944 – Political Situation

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

There have been no further important repercussions resulting from any celebration of 'Independence Day'. The banning of the National Students Union and affiliated associations is still causing some agitation, but the recent restrictions imposed on Mrs Sarojini Naidu is taking precedence over this ban in the list of grievances of the press and political bodies during the fortnight under review. A recently released detenu and three others are reported to have broken up an Extra Assistant Recruiting Officer's meeting in Cuddapah district and are being prosecuted. Madura is much quieter now than it was reported to have been during the previous fortnight. The only specific incident was that on the 9th of February when three Congressmen caused a disturbance near the Tirumal Naick's Palace. These were arrested under the Town Nuisance Act and two were bound over under Section 106, Criminal Procedure Codes as they admitted the offence. The third who would not admit anything is being prosecuted. The Collector of Madura reports that one Kakka of Melur, ex-Treasurer of the District Congress Committee who was recently released from jail, is suspected to be one of the leaders behind the recent Independence Day celebrations in Madura City which were reported in my last letter. The Collector of Malabar reports that the Malabar Bombay Conspiracy case is now almost concluded and it is expected that most of the accused will be committed to sessions. The only notable Congress meeting reported is that at Kumbakonam in Tanjore district when U.N. Pillai, the President of the district Board and others spoke. The speeches were innocuous, dealing mainly with the subject of cottage industries. A local meeting of Khaksars is reported from the North Arcot district.



## 100: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from United Provinces for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Congress Socialist Party received a blow when a raid was made on one of the premises occupied by them in Benares and a Roneo duplicator, 51 saws, 17 files and other tools were seized. Three of the persons arrested belong to Bihar and one to Nepal.

The release of selected security prisoners continues and on the whole those who have been released have remained quiet. A few arrests of absconders were made particularly in the south-eastern districts, including one Dalsingar Singh, Vakil, a prominent Congress worker of Jaunpur, who had been absconding since 1942. He spent his time since absconding in writing an anti government book, which he has not yet completed.

## 101: Official Notings on Amar Singh Bamral (19.2.44 to 22.2.44) (extracts)

File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

... Please see Sr. Nos 7, 9, 10 & 13<sup>1</sup> which show that Amar Singh Bamral is detained under orders of the Punjab Govt., vide under the D.R. 26 and the enclosures to Sr. Nos 7 & 10 show that there is sufficient justification for his detention. We may draw the attention of the Provincial Government to the requirements of section 7 of the R & D Ordinance and let them have a copy of the form in which we communicated the grounds for detention to security prisoners detained because of their enemy contacts. A draft<sup>2</sup> express letter is put up for approval. The D.I.B. may however see the draft communication before issue of the letter.

A.W. Lowatt  
18.2.44

This case has been dealt with throughout by Poll (E.W.), and though – if they wish – we will take over the case, I see no logical reason for our stepping in at this stage.

2. On the general question I presume that Poll (E.W.) have assured that the action required under Ord. III of 1944 has been taken in respect of all detenus held under their orders or at their instance.

S.J.L. Olver,  
19-2

I understand that papers regarding British subjects detained under Rule 26 in connection with their Pro-Japanese activities have been transferred to Poll (I) with the consent of D.S. (i). I see little justification for a retransfer now.

V. Shankar  
21-2.



There is no indication on this file that it has been transferred from Poll (E.W.) to Poll (I) nor has it been given a Poll (I) number. In future when files are transferred to the section, a note must be made to the effect in the file and steps taken to see that it is given a number, entered in the diaries etc. Had this been done, this man's name would doubtless not have been omitted from our list. Office had better verify that there are no further cases of this sort, transferred from Poll (E.W.) and lying unattended in Poll (I).

2. The draft notice should be referred to D.I.B. I am not sure that the portion in brackets is entirely appropriate in this case.

Sd. S.J.L. Olver,  
22-2-44.

1. Not printed - refers to noting in the file  
2. See Doc 102 below

## 102: Government of India to the Govt. of Punjab (Amar Singh Bamral)

File No. 44/15/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of India  
Home Department

### **Express Letter**

From  
Home, New Delhi

To  
The Chief Secretary to the  
Government of the Punjab,  
Lahore.

No. 44/15/44 - Poll (I) New Delhi, the 29th Feb. 44.

Please refer to Home Department Express Letter of even number dated 8th February 1944<sup>1</sup> and to correspondence resting with your letter No. 8925/A.102 W.D.S.B. dated the 20th May 1942<sup>2</sup> regarding Amar Singh Bamral, who is detained under orders passed by the Punjab Government under Defence Rule 26 at the instance of the Central Government. You are doubtless arranging for communication to this prisoner under section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance of the grounds of his detention. If this has not already been done, you might consider making use of the enclosed form of communication. We should be glad to be informed in due course of any representation he may make.

Sd. Vishnu Sahay  
Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India.

*Enclosure*

No. 44/15/44 – Poll (I)

Notice under section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (No. III of 1944)

In pursuance of section 7 of the Ordinance No. III of 1944, you Amar Singh Bamral are informed that the grounds for your detention were that your contacts with the Japanese satisfied Government that your detention was necessary with a view to preventing you from acting in a manner prejudicial to the defence of British India and the efficient prosecution of the war.

2. You are informed that you have a right to make a representation in writing against the order under which you are detained. If you wish to make such a representation, you should address it to the undersigned and forward it through the Superintendent of the Jail as soon as possible.

1. Not printed. 2. Not printed.

## 103: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The situation in the Tamluk subdivision of the Midnapore district shows little sign of further improvement. The Commissioner believes that the acquittal of the accused in the Mahishadal Thana attack case was due to the intimidation of the witnesses, and that this may have a bad effect on local morale. Further acts of violence have been reported from this subdivision. On or about the 1st February seven volunteers attacked the toll collector of a *hat* belonging to the Mahishadal Raj and seized Rs 40 collected as toll, while on the 5th or 6th February a rent collector was attacked in Union No. 3 and relieved of a small sum collected as rent together with his receipt books. On the 11th February some six volunteers stopped two bullock carts in Union No. 5 of Mahishadal and removed a bag of rice. Some Home Guards saw the incident and later helped the Subdivisional Officer, who happened to be in the vicinity, to recover the rice. Later the same volunteers attacked one of the Home Guards and demanded Rs 100 as fine.

## 104: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Congress Socialist Party: Distribution of leaflets and rumours continues. A secret meeting is said to have been held near Buxar when it was decided to organise an active Azad Sena after

the establishment of a nucleus of 5 members in every Thana. Two important arrests were made of desperate members of the gang of Ramgati Singh of Saran, who were arrested by a well organized raid directed by the Superintendent of Police of that district. There has been another case of murder of a witness in a political case, viz., a teacher of a Mission School in Bhagalpur.

## 105: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Assam for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Political* – A lower primary school was burnt down in the Sibsagar subdivision, not long after the destruction by fire of the Railway Station at Moran. The Deputy Commissioner suggests that there is a minor outbreak of arson in this subdivision, but no other specific cases have been reported, and the fact of deliberate sabotage does not seem to be established. It is, however, feared that any extensive release of security prisoners may produce a fresh crop of such outrages, since it is becoming plain that the Congress Party is anxious to re-establish its prestige in all possible ways, and there is still a group which believes in this type of violence. A raid in this subdivision resulted in the arrest of several suspects, including an absconder, one Congressman was sentenced under the Criminal Law Amendment Act to 10 months rigorous imprisonment in North Lakhimpur.

The supervision of Village Defence Parties has been tightened up in Cachar, and a number of chowkidars have been appointed for watching military dumps. The Parties on the Railway in Nowgong have continued to do exceptionally good work, especially in salvaging property which had been abandoned by military personnel. In one case 6 bags of atta were dropped from a lorry in somewhat suspicious circumstances.

## 106: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Political* – The Viceroy's address to the Central Legislature<sup>1</sup> has caused much disappointment in this province. It is true that the Home Member's earlier speeches gave no reason to suppose that even small changes in political policy were in contemplation. Nevertheless hopes had remained that the Viceroy at least may be able to break away from the close lines which the public supposes are set for him by crusty official advisers in New Delhi with the approval of the malignant Mr Amery in Whitehall. The point which has caused a certain amount of

bitterness is the reference to the searching of their own conscience by Congress prisoners; it is considered that this is a piece of arrogant self-righteousness which comes with little grace from a Viceroy who has the reputation of being a chivalrous soldier. The reaction to this part of the speech has been to suggest that there are plenty of things about which it is time the British searched their own conscience. Apart from this two main reactions are discernible.

1. There is little disposition on the part of the Hindus to attach any special importance to the Viceroy's emphatic reference to the geographical unity of India. When the same point was touched by Lord Linlithgow, it gave rise to a great deal of speculation, and considerable sections of the Hindu community thought it was a slap to the Muslims. It is only extreme sections of the Hindu Mahasabha and they are few in number – who now think on those lines. The majority seem to have convinced themselves that the British having deliberately encouraged Mr Jinnah over the last four years now find he is going a little too far for them and are trying to keep him within bounds. The public considers it significant that the spokesmen of the Muslim League in this Province are not particularly perturbed at this part of the speech.
2. The effect of the speech has been to harden the Congress Mr K.F. Nariman an old Congressman who fell out with the party owing to a violent feud with Mr Vallabhbhai Patel some years ago and has, ever since, been a persistent critic of the Congress recently issued a statement as follows:

'I was one of those who strongly opposed the starting of the movement on the basis of the August 1942 Resolution. Still, now I feel that both from the Congress point of view as well as in the interests of freedom movement, there should not be that abject and complete surrender which the Viceroy's proposal indicates.

Such a surrender does not only involve a question of prestige, but at this juncture would mean practical extinction of the Congress as a mass organisation, as it would have a terrible reaction on mass psychology. On the other hand, allowing the present condition to continue may ultimately allow the Congress to survive, review and function as a powerful mass organisation after the crisis is over'

The only other matter of political interest during the fortnight was the passing away of Mrs Gandhi. There is little doubt that there is much genuine sympathy for Mr Gandhi over this bereavement. Spontaneous hartals on a wide scale were observed throughout the Province for a day. The public view is that so far as jail conditions allowed everything that was humanly possible was done by Government for the treatment of Mrs Gandhi.

*Civil Disobedience Movement* - References have been made in previous letters to the state of lawlessness in Satara District. The position, while never getting out of hand, was such as to cause anxiety to Government, and it was clear that in some parts of the district people were beginning to lose confidence in the ability of the police to protect them. A large force of armed police under a special officer has been operating in this district for some time and has already achieved good results. People who were afraid of giving information are now coming forward to do so and some notorious gangsters have been captured. The results now being achieved are also partly due to improved operational methods adopted by the Police. Their previous efforts were sometimes frustrated by tactical mistakes; improved training has led to more effective results.

There was a recrudescence of gang activity in a part of Belgaum District. One gang consisting of 50 persons set fire to two village chavdis, a liquor shop and some jowari stock, burnt the

village records at one place, plundered the house of four persons including those of the police patil and the revenue patil and decamped with six swords, a few ornaments, a cash of Rs 1,800 and revenue collections amounting approximately to Rs 940. The damage done to the property was estimated at Rs 3,200. Another gang consisting of 150 persons attacked the village chavdi and stole the revenue collection of Rs 740. A third one consisting of 50 persons set fire to a village school and a Branch Post Office. A Postal runner was waylaid by 5 persons and robbed of his mail bag.

Among other incidents reported in connection with the civil disobedience movement during the fortnight were the following:

Attempts at railway sabotage were reported at four places – two on the M. & S.M. Railway and two on the B.B. & C.I. Railway. No damage was caused. The derailment of the goods train on the G.I.P. Railway reported in my last letter is now stated to have been due to mechanical defects in the goods wagon or the track and not to sabotage.

— — —  
 1 See Doc 97 in chapter XVIII (C.L.A. Debates – Vol. I, 1944 – NMML)

## 107: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

In the Tamruk subdivision of the Midnapore district two more cases of interference with Tahsildars of the Mahishadal Raj have been reported, and on the 28th February a dacoity was committed at Basudubpur, Police-station Sutamata, by men dressed in Khaki shorts and shirts who were thought to be Congress volunteers. Reports have been received which show that Congress arbitration courts are functioning in this area, and there are indications that these courts are gaining some popular support owing to the speed with which they are said to dispense justice. In spite of these black spots, however, the Commissioner reports that the collection of chaukidari tax and union rates has not been seriously affected.



# 108: Government of India to Government of Bengal

File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

*New Delhi, the 3rd March, 1944.*

From

S.J.L. Olver, Esquire, I.P.,

Under Secretary to the Government of India,

To

The Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

Home Department,

Calcutta.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 1923 H.J. dated 22nd Feb., 1944<sup>1</sup> I am directed to invite the attention of the Provincial Government to paragraph 6 of the Home Department letter No. 16/11/42 – Poll (I) dated 3rd March 1942,<sup>2</sup> regarding action against certain Forward Bloc leaders, and to the Provincial Government's letter No. 1077 H.J. dated 16th March, 1942.<sup>3</sup> I am to request that should consideration of the representation from Babu Pannalal Mitra<sup>4</sup> lead the Provincial Government to the conclusion that he should be released from detention, the Government of India should be consulted before his release is ordered.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(S.J.L. Olver)

Under Secretary to the Government of India.

*Official Note on the above case.*

Bengal have undertaken not to release Panna Lal Mitra without consulting us and I have no doubt that they would do so before acting on any decision to release as a result of the representation.

1.3.44

JS

V. Sahay

If Bengal have given such an undertaking recently, it may be all right. If not, I think they should be reminded of it.

R. Tottenham

1, 2, 3. Not printed.

<sup>4</sup> See Doc. No. 95 above.

## 109: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Civil Disobedience Movement* - The Bombay City Police succeeded during the fortnight in locating the place of printing of those pernicious publications - 'Ninth August' and 'Krantikari' - and other illegal literature. In raids carried out in this connection both in Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District 10 persons were arrested and a considerable quantity of illegal literature including the complete issue of 'Ninth August' for February 1944 and a large number of copies of 'Krantikari' and of the pamphlet 'Rebels Must Advance' by Ram Manohar Lohia were seized. Type-script copies of pamphlets in preparation, a cyclostyle machine, two hand presses, drawers full of type and an automatic pistol with ammunition were also found. It is hoped that this action will stop the dissemination of illegal literature produced in Bombay, at any rate for the time being.

One more absconder involved in the pylon sabotage in the Thana and Kolaba Districts referred to in my last letter was arrested by the District Police.

The Police drive in Satara district referred to in my last letter is continuing to have most encouraging success. A notorious bandit who was terrorizing the countryside for many months surrendered himself to the police together with his gun. He explained that, as a result of the drive, he had little sleep for a whole month.

The police succeeded in discovering the headquarters of the Trotskyite's organization in Ahmedabad City and in arresting its principal organizers. The police seized a secret press and much party literature.

The following incidents were reported during the fortnight:

A postal runner was assaulted in Satara District and a Branch Post Office bag containing stamps, money orders and letters was looted. Some saboteurs attacked a postman in the Belgaum District and robbed him of the mail bag. There was some telegraph wire cutting in the districts of Kaira, Satara, Belgaum and Kanara. On the 28th February, stone was placed on the railway track between Bannikoppa and Harlapur on the M. & S.M. Railway as a result of which slight damage was done to the cow-catcher of an engine. On the 7th March nine large stones were placed on the railway track between Shivajeenagar and Kirkee on the G.I.P. Railway.

*Collective Fines:* Collective fines amounting to Rs 4,000 were imposed during the fortnight. Out of the total of Rs 8,34,450, so far imposed, about Rs 15,206 remain to be recovered.

## 110: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

... *Law and Order* - Inquiry into the circumstances of the escape from the Central Jail, Ajmer,

of security prisoners Jwala Prasad and Raghuraj Singh has revealed the failure of several jail officials to comply with the provisions of the Jail Manual. Two officials are being prosecuted, two have been dismissed, two fined, and the services of the Assistant Jailer, who was on probation, have been dispensed with. This will tighten up the jail administration which appears to have been lax in time of the late Superintendent – Lt. Co. Kharegat.

## 111. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Congress Socialist Party* – Gaya reports that one Sudama Singh is now running the 'BAGHI', and that Radha Mohan Singh has returned and held a secret meeting on the 1st of March to start propaganda against the Savings Drive.

On the early morning of March 11th Mohiuddinnagar railway station on the Oudh and Tirhut Railway was burnt and papers and instruments were destroyed. According to the Assistant Station Master and 2 policemen, a mob of about 200 people attacked the station, seized that Assistant Station Master and 2 policemen and after setting fire to the station and destroying tickets and instruments took the 3 men a mile or two along the railway line before releasing them. The facts however are obscure and certain facts in the story suspicious. The whole incident may be more concerned with the Holi than with the Congress Socialist Party.

It is reported from Darbhanga that the acquittal of Janki Raman Mishra by the High Court has caused a slight sensation since he is generally known to have led the attack on Laheriasarai when firing had to be resorted to.

In the Bhagalpur district villagers of Kharik and Telghi are reported to have paid money to Siaram Singh's gang. The District Magistrate is about to propose a collective fine, and is considering the question of additional police.

The party gangsters still at large have been particularly active in the Tirhut Division during the fortnight under review. A country-made bomb was thrown in to the quarters of the railway police inspector at Samastipur, but fortunately did little damage. An armed dacoity was committed by the Azad Sena in Sadar police Station, Darbhanga, on the night of the 29th February. The police were quickly on the spot and within a few hours had recovered 114 sets of dark blue uniform that had been used by the culprits, a toy pistol and some rifle cartridges, from the house of a man whose brother is a security prisoner. Several arrests have been made. The Criminal Investigation Department believe that the attack on the Mohiuddinnagar railway station – mentioned above – is the work of this party. This station is in the same locality as Bidhupur, where the station and post office were attacked in July 1943. Bindabasni Prasad Singh, a school master and an active socialist worker, is known to have been responsible for the attack on Bidupur, and it is interesting to note that this man, who has since been absconding, was arrested by a lone constable in Police station Mehna, District Muzaffarpur, on the 2nd March. A friend of Bindabasni attempted to bribe the constable but failed in his purpose. While the constable was on his way to the police station with the prisoner, he was surrounded and severely assaulted by 10–12 armed men who rescued the prisoner and then made off.



Other incidents, viz. the theft of sub-inspector's gun at Barhee, District Monghyr, an armed robbery in Barhee Bazar, an attempt to kidnap a constable in Gogri in the same district and the disappearance of another police helper in Banka district Bhagalpur, has also been reported. The Monghyr Police, during a search for absconders in Jamui, recovered a pistol and a quantity of ammunition, and in Tarapur a pistol in the course of manufacture from the house of Lohar. At a secret meeting of the inner circle of the party held in Darbhanga recently, it was decided to organise the Azad Sena with an active and a reserve branch. The aim apparently is to organise an effective force in each thana three times as strong as the local police force, to ensure success in future attacks on police stations.

## 112: Inspector General of Police's Note on Shyamnandan Singh M.L.A.

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 440/1944  
[Bihar State Archives]

*Govt. of Bihar  
Political (Special)  
F. No. 440/1944  
21-3-44*

Shyamnandan Singh, M.L.A., son of Thakur Prasad of Amhara, Bikram, Patna, a prominent CSP absconder has been arrested in Calcutta.

It is requested that this arrest be kept *secret* for some time as certain enquiries arising from the arrest are to be made.

For Deputy Insp-Genl. of Police  
C.I.D. Bihar

Bihar Archives  
440/1944

Form No. 377/S.B.  
24.4.44

In continuation of my U.O. No. 1186-S.B., dated 6.4.44. I enclose a dossier on Shyamnandan Singh

(D.I.G., C.I.D., Bihar)

Shyamnandan Singh  
(Red list No. 323)

Shyamnandan Singh, B.A. (Bhumihar) is the son of Thakur Prasad Singh of Amanara Bikram Prasad, Born in 1905.

He was a very active Congress worker and in 1931 was elected a member of the Working Committee of the Patna district Congress Committee. Sentenced to 3 months R.I. and fined

Rs 200 in default 4 months' R.I. on 5.5.32 under the C.L.A. Act. Elected a member of the Provincial Congress Committee in 1933 in which year he acted as Dictator of Patna Districts. He was arrested in August 1933 and convicted u.s 17(1) of the Cr.L.A. Act, and sentenced to 6 months' R.I. on 7.8.33.

In 1934 he was a Member of the Provincial Congress Committee, the Provincial Kisan Sabha, and the Bihar Socialist Party, and attended the A.I.C.C. meetings and Socialist Conference held in Patna in May of that year.

Was elected a member of the Council of Action of the Bihar Socialist Party in 1935. He was also Assistant Secretary of the Bihar Socialist Party in 1935. He was also Assistant Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha and Secretary of the Patna District Congress Committee for the year.

In 1938 he was Secretary of the Provincial Kisan Sabha, President of the Patna District Kisan Sabha and a member of the Working Committee of the Patna District Congress Committee. Attended the A.I.C.C. Session held at Lucknow in April, 1936. The same year he was elected a member of Bihar Legislative assembly on Congress ticket.

In 1937 he was selected by the party to join the Socialist study camp at Almora (U.P.). Was then a leading member of the executive committee of the Bihar C.S.P. Attended a meeting of the Bihar C.S.P. on 6.8.37 at C.S.P. at Patna at which it was resolved to urge the Congress Ministry to release immediately political prisoners in the Andamans.

In 1938 he was deputed by the party to look into the affairs of Harinagar Sugar Mills Strike and advise the Council accordingly. Was on the teaching staff of the Summer School of Politics (C.S.P. training Camp), at Sonapur (Saran in May 1933).

On 30.9.39 attended a meeting of the Council of Action of the Bihar C.S.P. At which it was resolved to organise the masses by making extensive tours and to enrol members for the party and distribute leaflets secretly. Was then the president of the South Bihar Sugar Mills Mazdoor Union and was conducting a labour strike there also acting as secretary of Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha.

In 1940 was again elected a member of the Council of Action of the Bihar C.S.P. Attended the 4th Patna district Kisan Conference at Tengaraila (Patna) at which bakasta land disputes, increase in sugarcane prices, etc., were discussed. Presided over a largely attended meeting at Manner on 2.9.40 and delivered an objectionable speech for which he was convicted and sentenced to 8 months' R.I. and a fine of Rs 20 in default 3 months' R.I. U/r 38(5) D.I.R. on 1.10.40.

After release from Jail in 1941 became secretary of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha, On 29.5.41 attended a meeting of the Council of action of the Bihar Provincial Socialist Party at Patna at which it was decided to organizer Kisan and Mazdoors on Socialist lines and not to join hand with Jamuna Karji's Orthodox Kisan Group.

On 10.8.41 attended a meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar C.S.P. at which it was resolved to send felicitations to the U.S.S.R. for their brave stand against Nazi Aggression. Another resolution condemned the adamant and unsympathetic attitude of the British Government in respect of India's freedom. On 14.9.41 attended a meeting of the Council of Action of the Bihar C.S.P. at Patna at which it was decided to form a rival Students' Federation which would be affiliated to the All India Students' Federation of M.L. Shah's Group. The latter's organisation was opposed to the pro-war stand of the Farooqui group (C.P.I.). Was prominent at a meeting of National Executive of the Socialists at Patna at which it was decided not to support 'individual satyagraha' but to organise the peasants on a large scale and to incite them

against Imperialism. According to secret information he was an organizer for the South Bihar Circle of the Hindustan Republican Association. Later on he was reported to have become the Commander of the Bihar Branch of this Association. On 15.3.42 presided over the Gaya District Socialist Conference at Jenhanabad at which he strongly criticised Government's attitude towards India. He also apprehended that Government would ban the Congress Socialist organisation. After the Open Conference he attended a secret meeting of the workers at which it was decided to organise Kisan volunteers for the purpose of starting a no-rent campaign. Attended a meeting of the Council of Action of Bihar C.S.P. at Patna on 12.2.42 at which it was decided to organise volunteers corps in collaboration with the Congress. Became secretary of the Reception Committees of the All Indian Kisan Sabha (C.S.P. group) held at Bedaul (Muzzafarpur) in June 1942, and was elected secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha (C.S.P. Group) for 1942-43.

He attended the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay in August 1942 and went underground apprehending arrest. During the height of the disturbances he was reported to have moved in villages in Patna district and to have organised subversive activities. He made contact with Ram Chandra Sharma, a notorious F.B. absconder, and issued anti-British leaflets. At the beginning of 1943 he was in Benares with other C.S.P. absconders of Bihar and U.P. and was known as 'Baba' among his party members. There he took charge of 9 revolvers and 200 cartridges which were purchased at Peshawar by Kanhaiya Lala Varma (now a security prisoner) through Sarfraz Khan, an arms smuggler of the N.W.F. Province. He subsequently distributed the arms and ammunitions to party members. In June, 1943 a wireless transmitter, printing press, prejudicial leaflets etc. were recovered from these C.S.P. dens in Benares. He was in close touch with J.P. Narain after the latter's escape from Jail in November, '42 and became his right hand man. He was in charge of party funds and maintained contacts with the various C.S. Parties throughout India. He was always on the move and conveyed verbal order, rules programmers and other important information about the party. For these reasons he was known in the party as 'All India Radio' and 'Tufan Man'. He often visited Jai Prakash Narain at the latter's quarters in Nepal and was one of those who was arrested along with Jai Prakash Narain by the Nepal Police in May, '43 and subsequently escaped from the Hanumannagar lockup when the latter was attacked by a raiding party organised by absconder Suraj Narain Singh. While Jai Prakash Narain was in Calcutta after his escape from Nepal, Shyamanandan Singh continued to be close touch with him and it was arranged that they would meet in Kashmir. He attended a C.S.P. meeting at Gaya in July, '43 at which Dr Ram Manohar Lohia, Surajnath Chaube and other absconders were also present. It was decided that sabotage should be started on a small scale in a particular place from where it would quickly develop into a mass movement. On 13.11.43 and 14.11.43 he attended C.S.P. meetings at Patna in order to review the situation consequent on the arrest of Jai Prakash Narain at Lahore in September, '43. It was decided that these meetings that members should frequently meet at Patna to receive instruction from the C.S.P. High Command. Shyamanandan was then acting as the provincial dictator.

He was arrested in Calcutta on 16.3.44. when a mass of important party documents and letters, including a large number of names and addresses of contacts throughout India were seized from the room he was occupying.



## 113: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Political* -- There was little political activity this fortnight. Mrs Gandhi's death continues to occupy front lines in most newspapers. An all India Prayer Day in her memory was observed in a good many places on 5th March 1944, and in Madras there was a meeting of various women's organisations at which an appeal was made for funds for a suitable memorial. Similar meetings are reported from various places in the mufassil and in some towns hartals were observed. A 'Quit India' Pamphlet purporting to be a Telugu fortnightly publication, issued by the Andhra Provincial Satyagraha Committee has come to light in West Godavari Districts. In Guntur one Ratna Raj Dev of Bihar, stated to be an emissary of a secret revolutionary party, was arrested on 4-3-1944 and a dagger and some Congress Socialist literature were seized from him.

## 114: Govt. of India to the Govt. of Bengal regarding statistics of prisoners

File No. 18/15/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*D.O. No. 18/14/43 – Poll (I)*

*Home Department*

*New Delhi*

*27th March 1944*

My dear Bapat,

We have recently been examining statistics of persons undergoing detention. We maintain graphs showing the position in each Province and I must confess that the Bengal graph has proved somewhat unruly!

The enclosed statements will, I think, make the reasons for this clear.

2. Three sets of totals are given in respect of

- (a) All security prisoners; and
- (b) Congress Security Prisoners

The first column indicates the total number in detention, the second, the number detained during the month and the third, the progressive total of persons detained. The first obvious point is the striking fluctuations in column 1 of both statements 'A' and 'B'. The decrease one month to another may be due to release during the month and need not necessarily bear any relation, therefore, to the corresponding figures in column 2. Any increase can only have resulted from detention during the month, however, and must clearly be directly related to

column 2. The striking falls in the total of 1-7-43 and 1-10-43 in statement 'A' succeeded in each case by almost equally striking increases do not correspond to any fluctuations in column 2, the same applies to the totals for 1-6-43, 1-7-43 and 11-9-43 in statement 'B'. Column 3 must obviously be in direct relation to column 2 and either show an increase if there were detentions during the month or remain stationary if these were none. 1-5-43, column 3 of statement 'A' shows a sudden drop of 300 odd. Apart from these difficulties there have been the separate figures reported in the press from time to time, and in your letter No. 8864/H/J/ dated 17th July, 1943, according to which there were at the end of January 1943, 1,643 persons in detention including 610 detained in connection with the Congress Movement. This same letter went on to mention a total 568 releases from then until 12th July leaving some 40 Congress Security Prisoners only in detention.

3. Confusion arises in art, no doubt, from the difficulty to which you have referred in another connection of distinguishing in Bengal between Congress and non-Congress security prisoners, but this does not evidently explain the whole case, since statement 'A' for all security prisoners shown practically as many discrepancies as statement 'B' for Congress security prisoners. The matter may, as far as that figures are concerned, appear of academic interest only and I must apologize for troubling you. Nevertheless, it is of some importance to us to be able to assess accurately the extent to which it was necessary to continue detaining people in connection with the Congress movement during various periods in 1943, the moment at which releases started to exceed subsequent detentions and so on. Three literal interpretations, for instance, of column 1 of Statement 'B' as it now stands would be that the congress movement in Bengal had by June 1943, sunk to so low a state that it was possible to release all Congress Security prisoners, but that by the beginning of August, it had been necessary to detain some 650 further persons, 560 of whom had been released by the beginning of September and so on. We should be most grateful therefore, if you could endeavor to supply us with accurate figures corresponding to the enclosed statements 'A' and 'B'.

Yours Sincerely,

S.J.L. Olver

S B Bapat, Esquire, ICS  
Deputy Secretary,  
Home Department,  
Government of Bengal,  
Calcutta

*Enclosure to Doc. 114*

#### Figures Reported in Fortnightly Reports

<i>Month ending</i>	<i>A. All Security Prisoners</i>			<i>B. Congress Security Prisoners</i>		
	<i>No. in detention</i>	<i>No. Detained during preceding months</i>	<i>Total detained to date</i>	<i>No. in detention</i>	<i>No. Detained during preceding months</i>	<i>Total detained to date</i>
1.1.1943	812	130	1627	80	12	850
1.2.1943	1174	116	1717	84	68	918

Month ending	A. All Security Prisoners			B. Congress Security Prisoners		
	No. in detention	No. Detained during preceding months	Total detained to date	No. in detention	No. Detained during preceding months	Total detained to date
1.3.1943	1106	104	1779	104	76	941
1.4.1943	1647	100	1669	90	20	959
1.5.1943	1595	59	1595	77	9	968
1.6.1943	1055	29	1612	0	7	975
1.7.1943	208	3	1615	0	2	977
1.8.1943	1072	-	1615	648	-	977
1.9.1943	1493	-	1615	93	-	977
1.10.1943	901	18	1633	647	-	977
1.11.1943	1422 <sup>a</sup>	-	1633	521	-	977
1.12.1943	1362	-	1633	74	-	977
1.1.1944	1319 <sup>b</sup>	-	1633	69	1	601 <sup>c</sup>
1.2.1944	1297 <sup>d</sup>	-	1633	63	- <sup>d</sup>	-

a Excluding 18 detained under Regulation III of 1818

b Excluding 17 persons

c Total to middle of December was 600. The relevant F.S. contained the following footnote 'On revision this has been found to be the correct figure and not 977 as previously reported'

d Figures since discontinued

## 115: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

In Midnapore a leaflet entitled 'Nirdesh' urging its readers to stop the export of paddy and rouse mass consciousness has been in circulation, and on the 12th March an attempt to stop the sale of grain to Government buyers was made by having recourse to satyagraha. The Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar is said to be responsible for these activities. In the same district a Home Guard of Mahishadal police-station is alleged to have been kidnapped by some Congress volunteers on the 8th March but to have been released on the next day. In Rajshahi communists and adherents of the Muslim League are said to have joined forces to capture the Food Committee recently set up by the Civil Supplies Department, while from Jalpaiguri and Rangpur come reports that members of the Communist party are staging dramas on the food situation in a way likely to cause alarm and dissatisfaction. The Commissioner says that they are being warned and that some of the performances are being banned.

# 116: Official Comments on the statistics of prisoners

File No. 18/15/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The graphs are for information. There is nothing particularly striking and the only tendency of note is the slowing up in the fall for the all-India totals of persons in imprisonment. It is not easy to explain this except on the basis that fresh convictions are almost keeping pace with release. The total number of detention has for the first time fallen below than in October, 1942, when we first began recording these figures.

(S.J.L. Oliver)  
4.4.44

D.S.  
Addl. Secy.

. . . H.M. may be interested to see the two graphs on the folder below.<sup>1</sup>

R. Tottenham  
6.9.44

<sup>1</sup> Not printed

# 117: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Political – Congress:* Reports indicate that the sense of frustration grows, among a large section of the public, on account of the barrenness of the outlook so long as political leaders remain in Jail, and the success of the savings drive referred to above has been achieved inspite of a good deal of propaganda in certain quarters against it. From Bhagalpur it has been reported that members of Siaram Singh's gang of political dacoits have been going round asking people to pay them their subscriptions, instead of investing in national savings. The tone of the politically minded section as expressed in the press seems to become more and more bitter and discontented; yet there is a vast amount of readiness on the part of the general public to help in the prosecution of the war.

*Congress Socialist Party* – An attack was made on the 22nd of March on a dak-runner at a lonely Spot a few miles away from Sitamarhi in Muzaffarpur district. He gave the alarm, and villagers and chaukidars rapidly assembled and chased the dacoits and arrested 4 of them, one of whom turned out to be an important absconder of the Congress Socialist Party. Substantial rewards are being distributed to the villagers whose promptness in turning out

to catch the dacoits reflects great credit on them, and the reward should be an encouragement to other villagers to do likewise. On the imposition of a fine of Rs 10,000 on the surrounding villagers in connection with the railway (reported in my last report) has just come to Government. The perpetrators of that outrage have been discovered, but there is little doubt that it is the work of active members of the Congress Socialist Party of whom there are not a few in that particular area. The difficulty of organizing an effective system of village patrols has been great, and an experiment is about to be tried of appointing non-official organizers or Inspectors who will be paid a monthly honorarium and given a badge or uniform. There have been some important arrests in the last fortnight, notably of Shyamanandan Singh, M.L.A., who was arrested by the Bengal Police and Surajnath Chaube, a dangerous absconder of district Shahabad, who was arrested in Patna. Rajendra Prasad Sharma, who was suspected recently to have thrown a bomb in the Police Inspector quarters at Samastipur, has also been arrested. The leaflet campaign continues.

## 118: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Central Provinces and Berar for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Political:* Efforts to organise a national week in Nagpur from the 6th to the 13th met with little response owing to lack of public support. An attempt to hold a *hartal* on the 6th failed, and the only noticeable feature of the week was the hoisting of Congress flags over residential buildings and shops. The collection of Subscription for the relief of the families of detenus continues in Nagpur. In Wardha also the celebration of national week fell very flat, although teachers and members of the Sewagram Ashram took out a procession to perform the flag salutation on the 16th and also did continuous spinning for twelve hours every day during the week. As a result of the review of the first batch of representations received from detenus orders have been passed for the immediate release of 26. Other cases are still under review. Two old cases concerned with the Congress disturbances of 1942 were decided during the fortnight. Seven persons have been convicted in the Civil Lines Bomb Case of Nagpur, and five have been convicted in Raipur for an attempt to blow up the Jail and for burning letter boxes. Amongst those convicted at Raipur was a son of Pandit Shukla, the late Prime Minister, who was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for a year and a half.





# 119: Government of United Provinces to the Govt. of India – B.H.U. Bomb Case

File No. 3/14/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

D.O. No. 2011-CX

*Lucknow*

*April 15/17/1944*

My Dear Oliver,

Reference to your confidential D.O. Letter No 3/14/43 – Poll (I) dated March 15, 1944<sup>1</sup> about the B.H.U. arson case. I am desired to enclose a copy of the relevant portion of a report from the investigating officer which will give you all the important material to date. I did not submit this previously, as it has not yet been decided whether a case will be run or not.

Yours Sincerely

D.S. Barron

S.J.L. Oliver,  
Under Secretary to the Govt. of India,  
Home Department,  
New Delhi

*Enclosure to Serial No. 25*

## CONFIDENTIAL

On the night of 7-8-2-1943 between 8 and 9 p.m. about 15-20 men mostly in masks, some of whom were armed with pistols and revolvers, raided the I.A.F. Hangar (Aeroplane Shade) and M.G.O. office of the Government, situated in the Engineering College, B.H.U. They caught hold of the Engineering College Jamadar who was on duty and patrolling near the Hangar and M.G.O. Office, two chaukidars and a relative of the Jamadar at the Chaukidar's room at a short distance from the hangar. They tied them round with cords and kept them in confinement. They broke open the Hangar and the M.G.O. office and set fire to them. The M.G.O. Clerk's office was completely burnt. In the Hangar a wing of an aeroplane and some furniture etc. were burnt. The culprits took about half an hour to do the action and then ran away. Later on hearing the news the Government trainees, officer-in-charge of M.G.O. and others collected at the spot and with the help of the Fire Brigade extinguished the fire.

Simultaneously some explosive substance was put by another party in an outlet of the Registrar's office, which is a part of the University Central Office and is only about a furlong off from the Hangar and the M.G.O. Office. A loud explosion took place there. But the armed sentry of the University Branch Imperial Bank on duty at the time and another Jamadar there on account of the fire burning at the M.G.O. office thought that the explosion may have taken place at the M.G.O. Office. A wall of the Registrars office got cracked and very little damage was done there. People came to know about it next day when the office was opened.

One gelignite African Explosive was recovered from the Induction Pipe of the aeroplane

which was partly burnt and another from a hole made in an outer corner wall of the Hangar. At the Registrar's office a burnt wire and a broken cup of clay containing some substance were recovered.

In the beginning the investigation was made by the local police but shortly after it was taken up by the C.I.D., I.B., U.P. The statement of Jaichand Vidyalankar who was a prominent Congress organizer of Benares had led to the complete working out of the case. A number of arrests have been made from time to time and some are still to be made. Good many accused persons made confessions before the Police. The confessions of some of them have also been recorded by Magistrates U/s 164 Cr.P.C.

Some of the revolvers, pistols and daggers possessed by the culprits at the time of this action were later kept by Bal Chand, student in the Chhedi Lal Jain temple, Mohalla Bhadeni, Benares. Soon after his arrest on 10-8-43, Balchand had almost all of them thrown into the deep flowing water of the Ganges by his friends. Still from the search of the above temple on 22-9-43 a M.L. 5 Chamber Revolver, some bottles suspected to contain explosive substances, Chloroform, a map of Waziristan, showing road communications, names, hacksaws (Ari) etc. meant for sabotage were recovered.

From the evidence collected so far it is clear that Chandra Shekhar Asthana, Professor of Kashi Vidyapith, Benares, who was Congress dictator of Benares division in January last and who is now absconding, Jaichand Vidyalankar of Benares who is now detained in the Punjab and Chunni Lal Sharma, ex-student of the B.H.U. who is undergoing a sentence in the District Jail, Fyzabad, organized the B.H.U students to commit this crime. They arranged for the supply of arms and explosives to the students. At mohalla Rana Ghat, Benares in a rented house on 2-6-43 the C.I.D., Benares recovered cyclostyle machine and parts of transmitters etc. Ashthana used to call up Kunwar Raj Gulati and other students and incite them for the sabotage. The idea underlying was to cause destruction to Central Office, Post Office and Science Library in order to close the University for relieving the students to help the Congress movement and to hamper the war efforts by destroying the hanger and the M.G.O. Office.

List of the names and address of the persons detained in this connection:

1. Balchand is resident of Sangar Dist. (C.P.) lived in Jain Vidyala Boarding House, Benaras, III year Com. Student, B.H.U.
2. Kunwar Raj Gulahti a res. of Sialkot city, 3rd year Pharma B.H.U.
3. Bharati Sahai - Kaisth of Arrah - B. Sc., Final B.H.U.
4. Brij. Valleb Malani - Resi of Jodhpur, III yr Engg. College, B.H.U.
5. Ashoka Pd. - Resi of Benares, Ilyr, Student Engg. College, B.H.U.
6. Rajendra Pd. - Resi of Champaran III yr Com. B.H.U.
7. Siawar Saran Pd - Resi of Chamapra, II yr, Science Student, B.H.U.
8. Nandan Pd. Gupta - Rampur City, Rampur State, II year Engg. College B.H.U.

1 Not printed - See Docs 71, 78 & 121.



# 120: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Political* — A political development which aroused an unusual amount of interest was working partnership of Congress and League groups in the Central Legislative Assembly. The rank and file of the Congress and the League seem to have been genuinely pleased at this phenomenon — which suggests that they at any rate are sick and tired of the quarrel between the two organizations and would be glad to have it settled amicably. Further reflections have shown them that neither side is powerful enough to move without the leaders, and there has been a feeling of disappointment that while in the Assembly Congressmen and Leaguers were fraternizing with each other, Mr Gandhi was in prison in one corner of the country and Mr Jinnah angrily absorbed at another in the power politics of Pakistan. This sense of disappointment is however less keen among the Muslims than among the Hindus, for the former realise that they are tactically in an extremely strong position.

Reference was made in my last letter to the sweeping victories of the Congress in local body elections in Gujrat. These bodies have now decided not to function. The Surat Municipality for instance has passed the following resolution — it is quoted in extenso to show the temper of Congressmen in Gujrat, several of them recently released from prison:

‘Whereas the Indian National Congress assured the United Nations that —

- (a) the demand for Indian Independence and the formation of National Government was made not with a view to help but to resist aggression, and
- (b) The Indian people are anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of India, China and Russia, or the war efforts of the United Nations in general, and whereas, the Indian National Congress appealed to Britain and the United Nations to define their war aims and to declare India as a free sovereign country.

And whereas all shades of public opinion have been insistently demanding the establishment of popular National Government responsible to the people of this country, both for the Centre as well as the Provinces in India, as an earnest of British sincerity, that the United Nations are really fighting the present war for the cause of freedom.

And whereas, instead of peaceful negotiations with leaders of public opinion, the Government adopted a policy of repression with a view to crush the Indian National Congress, the most popular organisation striving for power for the whole people of India.

And whereas, the same policy of repression going the length of making even the highest judiciary functionless as against the irresponsible executive with unwarranted suppression of all civil liberties is continued even now with total disregard of the public opinion in the country.

And whereas, in the absence of popular National Government effectively representing all the people of India, there is widespread economic distress, particularly in the matter of food and clothing entailing untold hardships and privations to the people of this country.

And whereas, an overwhelming majority of the electorate has returned its representatives

to this Board on the specific issue and for the specific purpose of supporting the National Demand for an immediate establishment of popular National Government which will function in the interests of Indian people as a whole.

And whereas, Local Self Government being an integral part of National Self Government, the electorate has supported the said demand to enable this Board to function properly and adequately in an atmosphere of full freedom, and as a part of a fully National Government enjoying complete independence.

Be it resolved that under the circumstances broadly stated above

- (1) This Board is definitely of the opinion that as steps are not taken to negotiate with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of public opinion to create the political atmosphere contemplated in the preamble of this resolution this Board feels that no Local Self Government Institution can discharge its normal functions in the true interests of the people with independence and self respect; and that this Board, inclusive of its President and Vice-President, shall cease to function forthwith and that this Meeting do stand adjourned sine-die.
- (2) The President is requested to forward this resolution to the proper quarters'

It is likely that all other bodies in Gujarat will do likewise.

The 17th Session of the All India Women's Conference was held at Bombay during the fortnight under the presidentship of Mrs Kamladevi Chattopadhyaya.\* This lady was released not long ago by the Madras Government on the ground that her health had deteriorated seriously in jail. She appears to have gained in health considerably as a result of her freedom and certainly she spent a most strenuous time in Bombay. In her presidential speech she did deal with various questions legitimately pertaining to the All India Women's Conference as a non-political organisation though she could not keep off politics altogether. Thus she said that while England continued to hold India in political and economic bondage, the United Nations were doing everything to perpetuate a colossal lie of humanity by declaring that they were fighting for democracy and freedom. The bulk of the discussion however was non-political and several prominent persons taking part in the conference were non-Congressmen.

*Civil Disobedience Movement* – The public observance of the 'National' Week from the 6th to the 13th of April was remarkably inconspicuous. In view of the fact that a fairly considerable number of Congressmen, some of them with a great deal of local influence, had been released in March it was apprehended that demonstrations might be arranged on a large scale. This was nowhere done and in fact the week, so far as overt activities were concerned, was no way different from any other week in recent months. A number of authorized bulletins were noticed but even those did not incite readers to do anything dangerous from the point of view of law and order. The suggestions covered hartals, flag salutations, fast, prayers and the preaching of independence, and one bulletin, purporting to be issued by the Karnatak branch of the underground All India Congress Committee contained the following N.B.

'It is noticed recently that some activities like looting of tapals at Nipani and Chikodi have taken place. But we hereby make it clear that none of them pertain to the programme of Satyagraha Committee or the Congress activities. There is no connection whatsoever between them and the Congress.'

A number of these bulletins as well as a few newspapers dealt with the Jalinwala bagh tragedy. The number of newspapers that dealt with the subject is however far less than may have been supposed.

There was very little subversive activity during the fortnight. A gang of 20 saboteurs attacked and set fire to the Food Grain Control Post at Mankapur in Belgium District and shouted congress slogans. In Ratnagiri District some persons raided the house of the Branch Post Master, assaulted him and decamped with Government and private money. 13 telegraph posts were damaged on the Kopargaon Mhaswad Line in Satara District. It is noteworthy that this is the only incident reported from Satara District – which is both a tribute to the efficiency of the recent drive under an energetic and intelligent Police Officer and a demonstration of the fact that organized criminal lawlessness had no popular root but depended entirely on the leadership of a few daring and unscrupulous individuals.

## 121: Govt. of United Provinces to the Govt. of India (B.H.U. Bomb Case)

File No. 3/14/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Lucknow*  
*April 25, 1944*

My dear Oliver,

In confirmation of my secret letter No. 2011-C.X. dated April 15, 1944<sup>1</sup> about the B.H.U. arson case, I am desired to send herewith for the information of the Govt. of India, an extract from the latest report from the C.I.D. on the subject. As you will see from that report, it is not possible to run a substantive case.

Yours Sincerely

D.S. Barron

S.J.L. Oliver,  
Under Secretary to the Govt. of India,  
Home Department  
New Delhi

*Copy of an extract from the latest report of the C.I.D. U.P.*

As a result of further arrests and interrogation in this case the complete background was made known to us and there is no doubt that the students of the B.H.U. assisted by some outsiders from Bihar, were responsible for this outrage, under the inspiration and direction of Chandra Shekhar Ashthana, a professor of the Kashi Vidyapith, Benares, Jaichand Vidylankar and Chunni Lal Sharma. These men also arranged for supply of arms and explosives. Chandra Shekhar Ashthana remains to be caught but the other two are under detention.

The whole action was in pursuance of the sabotage and terrorist campaign instituted by the C.S.P. Central Directorate during the rebellion started by Congress in August 1942. The immediate intention was to destroy the Post Office, the Science Laboratory, The Registrar's Office, the M.G.O. Office and a hanger which housed a demonstrated aeroplane. The attack was therefore aimed at interfering directly with the war effort.

Apart from the instigators, some 33 students and others were involved. In the absence of any identification, however, it has not been found possible to send this case to court. With the consent of Government, 16 persons are being detained while seven persons including Chandra Shekhar Ashthana and a student of the B.H.U. named Priyaranjan Sinha are absconding. The remaining suspects have been released as being of minor importance or because they did not take any actual part in the crime.

Despite a difficult start in which the C.I.D. officers were severely handicapped by the delay in handling the investigation over as also by the early failure of the district authorities to take such action in the shape of arrests and interrogation as was possible, this case has been completely worked out. The whole story serves to illustrate the extent to which Benares was used from August 1942 onwards as a base for organizing sabotage and terrorism and also to show to what extent students of the B.H.U. had become infected with anti-British and subversive feeling. In the past 10 months, however, excellent work has been done by the local police in cleaning up this hive of rebel activity and the C.S.P. organisation is for the moment disinterested and inoperative. It remains, however, to arrest Chandra Shekhar Ashthana and other rebel organizers of less importance.

Doc 119

## 122 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Political:* There is evidence that the Congress is trying to get back into some form of activity and to regain its position to some extent. Some members suggested a conference similar to that recently held in the United Provinces, but Sri Krishna Singh and other party leaders are not prepared to commit themselves without instructions from the higher ranks in the party. There are reports that congress workers in Hajipur in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihar are secretly organizing parties of women for satyagraha work in courts and other Government buildings. *Many Congress workers are taking an active part in collections for the Kasturba fund and many seem to hold that this will restore some prestige of the party.* Some Congressmen are also taking part in the strenuous agitation which is being worked up by the land-lords against the Cess Enhancement Bill. Sri Krishna Singh is one of those who is taking part in the agitation. It may be mentioned here that another prominent figure in this agitation is Mr C.P.N. Singh, Leader of the National War Front in the province.

*The Congress Socialist Party:* Various causes have led to some increases in the number of recruits to the Congress Socialist Party, the principle cause being the cleverly worded Japanese broadcasts.

Very little interest was taken in the Congress National Week. There is reason to think that an attempt to raid the Pusa Road Railway Station was frustrated by the fact that information was received some hours before and armed patrols were sent from several directions to concentrate on the spot. A local zamindar with the help of the village headman also assembled

50 men near the Railway Station to help the railway authorities. It is noteworthy that information was also received by the police some hours before the raid on the Kishanour Railway Station in Darbhanga district which took place on the 9th April 1944. From Patna it is reported that the Congress week was marked by active sale of *Khadi* and that the Congress have also concentrated on anti-Savings Drive propaganda.

In the Bhagalpur Division seditious leaflets and posters were found in various places and there were one or two cases of hoisting of Congress Flags. In the Purnea district the absconding Secretary of the District Congress Committee apparently observed the Congress Week by selling cloth at a very cheap rate.

Other incidents, with which it is believed that members of the Congress Socialist Party were concerned, are that on the night of the 11th April, the glasses of the outer signal lamps at a Railway Station in the Darbhanga district was broken, and there was an attack by a number of people on an Indian soldier who was apparently absent from his Unit without permission. The soldier put up a stout resistance and managed to save his rifle, but lost 20 rounds of ammunition and the bayonet. The District Secretary of the Congress Committee in Darbhanga district has been arrested and a number of other important absconders have also been arrested. On the 28th April Mrs Sucheta Kripalani was arrested in Patna.

# 123: D.M's (Raipur) Order on I.C. Shukla

Govt. of C.P. & Berar Pol. & Mil. Dept File No. 141  
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

8.5.1944

## Order

WHEREAS I am satisfied that in respect to Ishwari Charan Shukla, son of Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, Station House, Raipur, that with a view of preventing him from acting in manner prejudicial to the defence of British India, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of war, it is necessary to direct him to notify his residence to the police.

I, therefore, under the powers delegated to me u/s 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944) require him to notify his departure and arrival to the nearest police station house to another and to give statement of his movements to a Police Officer not below the rank of a Head Constable whenever called upon to do so.

Kariwalla  
District Magistrate  
Raipur

May 8th, 1944



# 124

## Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*The Congress Socialist Party:* Considerable underground activity is reported. There is reason to think that there is some disorganization in the party and that there is a plan for the creation of two dictatorships, one for North Bihar and one for South Bihar.

There has also been a fairly large number of acts of violence by members of the Congress Socialist Party in the Bhagalpur district, a mail runner was held up by two men at the point of a revolver. In Darbhanga district a group of the Azad Sena, which is in this locality under the leadership of Suraj Narayan Singh, attacked a villager who had given some assistance to the police after the raid on the Kishanpur railway station. The heroes of the Azad Sena bound and gagged the man and then poured acid into his eyes. It is known that plans were made in the same district of Darbhanga to attack an isolated police beat house, but when the desperadoes heard that the police were armed, the attack was abandoned. In the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Purnea, Rama Bahadur Singh and Siaram Singh and their followers have been collecting money from villagers with threats. In one case the money was collected at the point of a revolver. A group of four men was arrested red-handed collecting money under threats and a revolver and ammunition were recovered from them. These men admitted that they were followers of Siaram Singh. In Purnea a servant of a zamindar, who objected to the extractions of the outlaws, was murdered. Siaram Singh is reported to have collected money from Marwaris for the defence of Parasuram Singh, the notorious outlaw, who terrorized the country-side for many months in the Bhagalpur Division and was responsible for many murders and other outrages. Government have moved the High Court for the imposition of the death sentence on Parasuram Singh who was recently sentenced to life imprisonment by the Additional Sessions Judge.

A number of important arrests were made in the fortnight under review, including one Ganesh Bhagat, who was arrested in the house of a detenu's wife in the Saran district. In the same district a large number of extremely objectionable leaflets was found and also a large store of miscellaneous explosives. The latter were found in a temple. Mahendra Gope has again succeeded in escaping from the police who were, at least on one occasion, hot on his loot and Rs 3000 in cash, believed to have been the proceeds of his dacoities, were recovered by the police. One of Siaram Singh's lieutenants, Pashupati Singh, has been arrested by the police.

*Law & Order:* There was an unfortunate incident in the Patna district which illustrates the danger of releasing convicted dacoits on bail when they appeal to High Courts, 12 persons had been convicted and sentenced to three years, rigorous imprisonment for dacoity by the Additional sessions Judge of Patna. They appealed to the High Court and pending hearing of the appeal, were released on bail; the appeal was dismissed, but the accused persons refused to surrender to their bail and when constables went to the village to arrest them, they were set on by the accused, and other villagers. Some of those who helped the accused have been arrested but the 12 men have so far escaped capture. It is proposed to inflict a collective fine on the village.



# 125: Govt. of Bihar to the Govt. of Bengal      Case of Shyamnandan Singh

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 440/1944

[Bihar State Archives]

Government of Bihar  
Political Department  
(Special Section)

From    M.S. Rao, Esqr I.C.S.  
          Deputy Secretary to Government of Bihar

*Patna, the 21st May, 1944*

To       The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal,  
          Home Department, Calcutta

Sir,

I am directed to refer to the correspondence resting with this Government letter No. 19850 dated the 5th April 1944<sup>1</sup> regarding Shyamanandan Singh M.L.A. Son of Thakur Prasad Singh of Amhara, Bikram, Patna. The provincial Government understand that the Intelligence Branch, Bengal, do not intend taking action against him for being found in possession of prejudicial documents and have moved your Government for his transfer to this province. The Government of Bihar have already passed a detention order under section 3(1) (b) of Ordinance III of 1944 against Shyamanandan Singh which has been made over to the Intelligence Branch of Bihar Police for Service, and a copy of which is enclosed. The prisoner may be transferred to the Bhagalpur Central Jail, under police escort.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servant,

M.S. Rao

Deputy Secretary to Government

Memo No. 2976 C-440/44

*Patna, the 21st May 1944.*

Copy with copies of the Government Order No. 2978 dated the 21st May 1944 in duplicate detaining Shyamanandan Singh. M.L.A. son of Thakur Prasad Singh of Amhara, Bikram, Patna, forwarded to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Bihar with the request that the Government order may be served on Shyamanandan Singh. M.L.A. now in his place of detention in Bengal if this can be conveniently arranged on his arrival at the Bhagalppur Central Jail and the date of his arrival may be reported in due course.

By order of the Governor of Bihar

Deputy Secretary to Government

<sup>1</sup> Not printed - See Doc. 112.

# 126

## Government of India to Govt. of Bengal

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 281/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Secret

D.O. No. 732-S

Government of India

WAR DEPARTMENT

New Delhi, the 29th May, 1944

My dear Williams,

Dr Amarendra Nath Ghosh, whose address is given as 'Ghosh Lodge' of Thana and P.O. Panchapukur par, District Mymensingh, was commissioned in the I.A.M.C. on the 20th March 1944 and is now serving the usual six months probationary period. The D.I.G. Intelligence Branch, Bengal, has, however, reported that he was a member of the Mymensingh Anushilan Samiti in 1935 and joined the 'Revolted' Group of the Anushilan in 1937. In the light of this information, we have now to consider whether he is a fit person to retain his commission.

Our policy in respect of candidates for commissions is that a person who has been engaged in subversive or anti-Government activities at any time in the past should normally be recommended for rejection, provided that, in the interval, he has not given positive evidence of a change of attitude. In this case, Dr Ghosh has already been commissioned and there is no record of anything against him since 1937. Unless we assume that once a person is a terrorist he is always a terrorist, we consider that there are, at present, inadequate grounds for declaring this officer unsuitable to retain his commission. Before, however, we reach a final decision, we should be grateful if you would advise us, if necessary after consulting the district authorities, whether in your opinion, this officer should retain his commission. And, in particular, what his attitude and activities have been since 1937 and whether they have been such as to create a reasonable presumption that in retaining him as a commissioned officer, we should not be taking any undue risks.

I should be grateful for a very early reply.

Yours sincerely,

A de C. William Esq., CIE, ICS  
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal  
Calcutta



# 127: An Appeal from I.C. Shukla<sup>1</sup>

Govt. of C.P. & Berar Pol. & Mil. Dept. File No. 141  
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

30.5.44.

To  
The Secretary to the Government of C.P. and Berar,  
(Military and Political Department)  
Pachmadhi C.P

Sir,

I am the fourth son of Pandit R.S. Shukla. Ex-premier C.P. and Berar. After passing the I. Sc., examination from Science College, Nagpur. I joined the Nagpur medical School in 1941. Owing to circumstances beyond my control I had to go home to Raipur in August after my father's arrest on or about the 11th of that month. At Raipur I became a victim of Police Suspicions (now proved wholly unfounded) and was detained under Rule 26 (1) of the D.I.R. Subsequently while under detention towards the end of May 1943, I was involved by the Police in what is known as Raipur letter Box Burning Case. I was first prosecuted by the Special Court on the 7th June 1943 and sentenced to two years R.I. This conviction, however, was set aside owing to Federal Court Judgement and retrial was ordered. This retrial though begun in the middle of June 1943 was protracted and dragged on till 29th of March 1944 when the Magistrate, Mr Dave, was pleased to convict me again for 18 month R.I. On appeal however, the learned Sessions judge, Raipur found as a fact that I was wholly innocent of the charge laid at my door and on the 29th April 1944 last he honourably acquitted me.

Not withstanding my honourable acquittal by the Session Judge and my confinement in jail from 27th of October 1942 to 29th of April 1944, the police were not satisfied and therefore on the 29th of the April, while intimating to me in the jail office that I was honourably acquitted, the jailor in the same breath also communicated to me the order of my further detention in jail under Section 129 D.I.R. for 15 days. During this period of 5 days it is not possible for me to say what reports were submitted to the Provincial Government by the Police and the District Magistrate of Raipur. I feel almost certain that they must have sent to you a copy of the judgment of the Session Judge and I presume the Provincial Government found no ground for my further detention Under Section (2) of the Detention and Restriction Ordinance and therefore on the 13th instant there was left no alternative to the police and the District Magistrate Raipur but to release me. But my prosecution was not yet on end. At the time of release before I was out of the jail office, a fresh order by the District Magistrate Raipur, dated the 8th May 1944 was served on me, a copy of which is hereto annexed.<sup>2</sup> I have to submit that my detention Under Section 129 D.I.R. after my honourable acquittal by the Session Judge Raipur was wholly unwarranted. The District Magistrate's further order referred to above, besides being unwarranted, is unjust, unfair, ill-conceived and arbitrary. Having been found not guilty of the charges brought against me, there is no room for such an order. You must have seen that when in Britain only recently the wife of an Admiral (Mrs Nicholson) was acquitted but rearrested and

detained, the Parliament appointed a committee to effectively check such cases of injustice. Here, in India, all powers of the judge and the Jury are vested in you and therefore I submit that in all fairness you will be pleased to direct the immediate cancellation of the order against me of the District Magistrate, Raipur dated 8th May 1944.

I may be allowed to say that you can well realise the anxiety of a son to see his father who has been ailing so long and is still lying ill in the General Hospital, Madras. On release I found that the Government was pleased to allow his sons and our mother to attend on him, I therefore now come here to attend on him in place of my mother or my younger brother as necessity arose. But for the illness of my father and my anxiety to meet and be of some service to him, I might have been either rotting in jail or practically interned at Raipur.

Shortly I may have to go back to seek admission in the Medical school or College. I therefore request that orders may be passed on this representation of mine as early as possible and communicated to me to my address given below.

Yours truly

I.C. Shukla

My Address:

Pandit Iswara Charan Shukla  
C/o The Resident Medical Officer,  
Government General Hospital.

Park Town, Madras.

Madras, Dated; 30.5.1944

1 Doc 123.

2 Not printed.

## 128 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Political – Congress:* Provincial Congress leaders, now out of jail, for whom a large number have been released in the last month or two as a result of the review of their cases made on the reports of personal interviews with the Commissioner and the Deputy Inspector General of Police) are planning to have a meeting on the 7th of June in Patna to discuss the present situation and to make plans for the future. The local leaders have apparently been hoping that Mr Gandhi would try to obtain an interview with the Viceroy at which he would suggest a political settlement and demand the release of leaders and other political offenders. The general attitude of the politically minded has, in fact, been for the last week or two to wait and see what line Mr Gandhi will take. The publication of his letter to Dr Jayakar' in to-day's paper (1st June) in which he says that it is impossible for him to withdraw the August Resolution will undoubtedly come as a shock to many Congressmen and others who are hoping to see some sort of a settlement.

In Jamshedpur a number of the principal members of the Managerial staff of TISCO have formed a committee for raising subscriptions to the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund. The President is the General Manager, Mr J.J. Ghandy.

*C.S.P. Activities* – There has again been a number of acts of violence. In Darbhanga district a mail runner was attacked but rescued by villagers. In the Bhagalpur district another mail runner was assaulted and his bag containing Rs 400 was stolen. It is believed that this was the work of the gang of the notorious political dacoit and murderer Mahendra Gope. There is reason to fear that a Muhammadan in the Banka Subdivision of South Bhagalpur, who was kidnapped by Mahendra Gope and others of his gang, has been murdered. This Muhammadan was the principal witness in another case of kidnapping with intention for murder in which the accused persons are Mahendra Gope himself and another very notorious leader Sridhar Singh who is in jail. It appears that a co-accused with these desperadoes was released on bail and there is reason to think that he is one of those responsible for the kidnapping and probable murder of the witness. A detailed enquiry is being made about the release on bail in a non-bailable case of an accused person in a case of this character.

In the Collegiate school, Muzaffarpur, an explosion took place in the room of a student, some of whose fingers were blown off. There is reason to think that he was manufacturing or handling a bomb. In the Hajipur police station of the Muzaffarpur district, a gang of 30 or 40 men, believed to be members of the so-called Azad Sena, attacked the house of a village headman, one of those appointed under the new village headman system which is being developed throughout the province. The house was burnt down and some of the inmates were assaulted and injured. The headman himself escaped. The attack is believed to have been in retaliation for assistance given by this headman in the arrest of a political ruffian, Akshaubat Rai.

The campaign against the political gangsters met with a number of successes. A badly wanted man, Radha Mohan Singh, who was to have been made the C.S.P. dictator of South Bihar, was arrested by the Gaya police on the 17th of May. In North Monghyr the local police brought off a smart coup which resulted in the death of a notorious outlaw, Kare Tanti, a Lieutenant of Siaram Singh. The police received information that Kare Tanti and his gang were preparing to commit a dacoity and a Police Inspector with an armed force went to the spot in bullock carts disguised as members of a wedding party. They managed to surround the gang, but Kare Tanti's suspicions were some how roused and he and his men opened fire. The police returned the fire and Kare Tanti was injured and died afterwards. Seven members of the gang were arrested and a double barrel gun, two revolvers, a small rifle, ammunition, a dagger and a military haversack were recovered. In Arrah five other men were arrested and a large quantity of objectionable leaflets was recovered.

There is reason to think Suraj Narain Singh and his gang are preparing to raid police posts. Precautions are being taken. There is reason to believe also that other C.S.P. gangsters are trying to collect arms and explosives. In Shahabad a very objectionable leaflet purporting to come from the Indian National Congress has been circulated. This leaflet claims that Mr Gandhi was released as a result of 'revolutionary assaults' and makes a plea for further fighting until the leaders give the order to stop.



## 129 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from the United Provinces for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The arrest of Ram Manohar Lohia in Bombay along with Mrs Purnima Bannerji was a notable event, for he has been one of the mainstays of the underground directorate of the left wing of the Congress. Another notable arrest was that of Kailashpati Misra, terrorist, who escaped from the Gorakhpur lock-up when the Sahjans decoity case was about to be heard. He had been in hiding in Nepal prior to his arrest in Basti last month.

## 130: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Mr Gandhi's release has led to much searching of hearts by Congress socialists and other who, masquerading as his followers, have indulged in acts of violence which they knew he would not have approved. It is understood that Mr Achyut Patwardhan has, through his contacts, been trying to persuade Mr Gandhi not to condemn Congress socialists out of hand. There is some information to suggest that Mr Gandhi's advice is that underground leaders must surrender themselves, and that this advice is not acceptable to Achyut Patwardhan. In the meanwhile underground workers have stopped activities for the moment. An intercepted Kannada bulletin contains the following instructions:

In view of the release of our leader and having observed the effect it has had in the country, the All-India Satyagraha Council directs that the aggressive defiance programme be suspended until Mahatma Gandhi issues a pronouncement on the situation. It is hoped that all Karnataka workers will follow the above instructions. The Committee would, however, like to make it clear that, inspite of the above directions, non cooperation with Government and resistance to acts of injustice by Satyagraha must not be stopped.

*Congress Activities:* The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held on the 17th May a meeting of those of its members who are out of jail. Source information indicates that the purpose of the meeting was to prepare a future course of action to enable the Committee to function at a moment's notice in furtherance of whatever policy Mr Gandhi may decide to adopt. It was decided that, as the Committee was illegal it should reconstitute itself under a different name and that district Congress Committee should also adopt a new nomenclature in order to avoid being declared illegal, should Government disapprove of future activities.

*Civil Disobedience Movement:* There was very little subversive activity during the fortnight. The only important incidents reported were from Panchmahals and Dharwar Districts. On the 20th May a gang of 20 men armed with pistols attacked Ambali police outpost in Panchmahals

District and took away two muskets, a small quantity of ammunition and two bayonets. On 16th May, the Kulkarni of Jagapur in Dharwar District, while returning to Nargund, was waylaid by 5 persons and asked to hand over the land revenue collection. On being told by the Kulkarni that the collection had already been handed over to the Police Patel at Jagapur, two men of the gang detained the Kulkarni and the rest proceeded to Jagapur. On reaching Jagapur they went to the Police Patel, threatened him with a pistol and took away a sum of Rs 700 including some private money belonging to him. On 23rd May, some people attacked the house of the Police Patel of Hoswal (Dharwar District) and burnt his records.

Ram Manohar Lohia, the notorious Congress Socialist leader, was arrested in Bombay on 21st May. One more absconder, Shantilal Vrajilal Gujar, involved in the pylon sabotage in the Thana and Kolaba Districts referred to in my letter of 4th February 1944, was arrested by the Bombay City C.I.D.

## 131: Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of Bihar Shyamanandan's Case

Government of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 440/1944  
[Bihar State Archives]

S.B. Bapat, Esq., I.C.S.  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal  
The Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bihar  
Political Department (Special Section)

Memo No. 7187 H.S., dated Calcutta, the 8th June, 1944

Sub: Transfer of security prisoner Mr Shyam Nandan Singh alias Baba from the Presidency Jail to the custody of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Bihar.

Ref: Your letter No. 2976 C-440/44 dated the 21st May 44.<sup>1</sup>

The undersigned is directed to say that the Provincial Government have issued orders (copy enclosed) for the transfer of the above named prisoner from the Presidency Jail to the custody of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Bihar. The Deputy Inspector-General of police, Intelligence Branch, Bengal has been requested to effect the transfer under proper guard as soon as the prisoner is fit to undertake the journey on his recovery from illness.

2. This Government order under section 3 (3) of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 against this security prisoner will be cancelled after he has actually been confined in a Bihar Jail.

Government of Bengal  
Home Department  
Special section

Order No. 7189 H.S.

*Calcutta, the 8th June 1944*

Whereas the person known as Mr Shyamnandan Singh alias Baba son of late Thakur Singh of Ambara, Patna, Bihar and of — Strand Road, Calcutta, is now under detention in the Presidency Jail as a security prisoner under Government Order No. 5303 H.S. dated the 25th May 1944 under the provisions of clause (b) of sub-section (1) and sub-section (4) of section B of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance 1914 (Ordinance III of 1944).

And whereas it is expedient that the said security prisoner should be transferred from the Presidency Jail to the custody of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Bihar.

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (a) of sub-section (5) of section 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (Ordinance III of 1944) and with the consent of the Government of Bihar, the Governor is pleased to direct that the said Mr Shyam Nandan alias Baba shall be transferred forthwith from the Presidency Jail to the custody of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Bihar, and shall remain therein and shall be subject to the conditions of detention as the Government of Bihar or any other officer, authorized by them in their behalf, may prescribe.

By order of the Governor

C.B. Bapat

Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal

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1 Doc 125 - See also Doc 112

## 132: Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar to Commissioner, Bhagalpur

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 542/1944  
[Bihar State Archives]

D.O. No. 1234 C.W.

*Patna*  
*The 16th June 1944*

My dear Lee,

In enclosing a copy of a memo which has been issued to the District Magistrates of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Purnea, I am to explain that Government want to know what the District authorities, as opposed to the Divisional and Range authorities, have done towards the capture of the political desperadoes and their gangs and what they intend to do in the future. For one thing Government would like to make sure that the District Officers are using initiative and not merely depending for orders from above in this matter.



2. In Appendix A to his report, Hare gives a list of about 50 villages which assist Siaram Singh. It is suggested that collective fines might be imposed on the selected few of these villages and that a stern warning in writing be issued to other villages pointing out that collective fines have been inflicted on certain villages and that more and heavier collective fines will be imposed on the rest if this rendering of assistance to the desperadoes does not stop and if they do not do everything in their power to bring the criminals to book.

3. Government think that it would be a good thing to issue a proclamation to all headmen and residents in certain areas. The leaflets or proclamations should issue over the signature of the District Magistrate. I enclose a draft form of proclamation which you might find useful as a basis. The notices or proclamations might be printed and widely circulated in the affected areas. When I was acting as Commissioner of Bhagalpur last year, I had a certain number of notices of this kind printed. Perhaps you could get hold of one of those notices to see if that would be useful. Government think that a meeting of headmen would be useful. For one thing there would be some *prima facie* reason to suspect headmen who fail to turn up.

4. As regards the point which you make in your confidential D.O. No. 525 C of the 9th June 1944<sup>1</sup> about the Babhan population supporting Siaram Singh, it is clear that this is a great difficulty, but it is suggested that there must be a certain number of Babhans who are prepared to help Government and who disapprove of lawlessness and crime and, in any case, there are plenty of other communities who would be prepared to help. It is suggested that it may be made widely known that Government will not merely punish people who help or harbour the political absconders or fail to help in their arrest, but will reward those who give assistance to Government in the matter.

5. As regard the point in your D.O. letter mentioned above, about troops marches, I am taking the matter up with Brigadier Nicholas.

6. The question of powers to requisition ponies by police, down to Sub-Inspector is also being examined.

7. With regard to your letter No. 541 C, dated the 12th of June 1944,<sup>2</sup> I am telephoning to Crofton today and will let you know on the telephone what date is fixed for the conference in Ranchi.

8. As regards collective fines, it seems strange that Hare gave orders to Mitter to come up for imposition of collective fines on certain villages and that nothing was done about this apparently for a couple of months at least. It should have been possible to remind Mitter or ginger him up so as to get something done. It is also not clear why the District Magistrate did not take more action about collective fines.

Yours sincerely,

J.W. Houlton

E.O. Lee, Esqr., CIE, ICS,  
Commissioner,  
Bhagalpur Division

*Enclosure*

GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR  
POLITICAL DEPARTMENT  
SPECIAL SECTION

SECRET

Memo No. 1233. C.W.

*Patna, the 16th June, 1944*

To The District Magistrate,  
Bhagalpur  
Monghyr, Purnea

A conference will be held at the end of June or beginning of July in Ranchi which will be attended by the Commissioner of Bhagalpur and the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Eastern Range. In this conference it is intended to discuss plans for bringing to book Siaram Singh and other political absconders and desperadoes and their gangs. I am to request that you will be good enough to send, so as to reach me by the 26th of this month, a note showing –

- a) the action which you as District Magistrate have taken to this end;
  - c) the action which you propose to take, and
  - c) the plans or courses of action in general which you recommend for the purpose of securing the arrest or elimination of the leaders and their gangs as soon as possible.
2. Your report may be sent direct to me with a copy to the Commissioner.

By order of the Governor of Bihar,

J.W. Houlton  
Chief Secretary to Government

- 1 Not printed  
2 Not printed.

# 133: Government of India to all Provincial Govts

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 542/1944  
[Bihar State Archives]

Confidential  
Government of India  
Home Department

## Express Letter

From Home, New Delhi  
To All Provincial Governments,  
The Chief Commissioners  
Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, and Baluchistan  
The Resident, Indore

No. 44/15/44 – Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 22nd June 1944*

Enclosed is a list of persons detained under orders issued by us under Defence of India Rule 25/Ordinance III of 1944. Review of these cases, orders in respect of which expire on

15th July 1944, is now in hand. We shall be glad to have urgent intimation whether the list is complete; if not, i.e. if there are any persons detained in your Province under orders of the Government of India in the Home Department *not* included in the list, would you kindly let us have details immediately.

(S.J.L. Olver)  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India  
TR. 20 (20-VI-444) D

<i>Name</i>	<i>Number and date of Detention Order</i>
<i>Madras</i>	
1. K.V.K. Shambhu	44/80/43 - Poll (I), dt 11/12 April, 1944
2. Sarat Chandra Bose*	28/11/41 - Poll (I), dt 11th Dec. 41
3. Shankar Lal Bansal*	94/23/41 - Poll (I), dt 8th Nov. 41
<i>Bombay</i>	
1. Dennis Gomes	44/54/43 - Poll (I), dt 24-7-43
2. Cissy Ismail (Miss)	39/71/43 - Poll (I), dt 3-3-44
3. Thakar Singh	44/5/44 - Poll (I), dt 18-2-44
<i>Bengal</i>	
1. Amarendra Nath Bose	16/1/42 - Poll (I), dt 9-3-42
2. Cheh Pha	44/49/42 - Poll (I), 9-6-42
3. Maung Tha Noe	44/49/42 - Poll (I), 9-6-42
4. Po San	44/49/42 - Poll (I), 9-6-42
5. Pya Tha Tun	44/49/42 - Poll (I), 9-6-42
6. Po Aung	44/49/42 - Poll (I), 9-6-42
7. Oh Laung	44/49/42 - Poll (I), 9-6-42
8. Rammarwadi Ba Tun	44/49/42 - Poll (I), 9-6-42
9. Tha Tun	44/49/42 - Poll (I), 9-6-42
10. S.K. Bhadra	16/1/42 - Poll (I), dt 5-4-42
<i>United Provinces</i>	
1. B.N. Agnihotri	25/32/40 - Poll (I), dt 12th Aug. 1940
2. Satya Ranjan Bakshi*	16/1/42 - Poll (I), dt 9-3-42
3. Sher Jung	75/2/40 - Poll (I), dt 23-5-40

*Punjab*

1. Aurobindo Bose\* 94/23/41 - Poll (I), dt 11-12-41
2. Abad Khan 44/19/42 - Poll (I), dt 11 Sep. 43
3. Dalip Singh Gill 7/1/40 - Poll (I), dt 31-12-40
4. G. Sudham Singh 94/6/41 - Poll (E), dt 26/5/41
5. M.A. Khaliq 32/7/41 - Poll (E), dt 26-5-41
6. Niranjana Singh Talib 44/19/42 - Poll (I), dt 11-2-42
7. Ram Manohar Lohia\* III/4/43 - M.S., dt 7-6-44
8. S. Mehman Singh 94/6/41 - Poll (I), dt 25.1.41
9. S.S. Caveeshar\* 16/1/42 - Poll (I), dt 9-3-42
10. Uttam Chand 44/119/42 - Poll (I), dt 11/Sept. 43
11. Dwijendra Nath Bose\* 94/23/41 - Poll (I), dt 28-3-42

*Central Provinces*

1. H.V. Kamath\* 16/1/42 - Poll (I), dt 11-6-42

*Delhi*

1. Amulya Charan Mukerji 44/19/42 - Poll (I), dt 30 Dec. 42
2. M.S. Gokhale III/4/43-M.S., dt 6/5/44

*Indore*

1. Sadhu Singh 98/40 - Poll (I), dt 13-4-40
  2. Harnam Singh 98/40 - Poll (I), dt 13-4-40
  3. Zafar Ali 98/40 - Poll (I), dt 13-4-40
  4. Bagh Ali Khan 98/40 - Poll (I), dt 13-4-40
  5. Sirajuddin 98/40 - Poll (I), dt 13-4-40
  6. Kabul Singh 98/40 - Poll (I), dt 13-4-40
  7. Partap Singh 98/40 - Poll (I), dt 4-11-40
  8. Teja Singh 98/40 - Poll (I), dt 4-11-40
  9. Waryam Singh 98/40 - Poll (I), dt 13-4-40
  10. Kartar Singh 39/16/44 - Poll (I), dt 6-4-44
  11. Nazar Singh 39/16/44 - Poll (I), dt 6-4-44
  12. Piara Singh 39/16/44 - Poll (I), dt 6-4-44
  13. Ujagar Singh 39/16/44 - Poll (I), dt 6-4-44
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## 134: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### *Political Situation*

'Rebellion' activity has again been practically nil, though sporadic attempts continue to be made to form underground organisations. In Malabar a cyclostyled leaflet purporting to be the manifesto of the Kerala Congress Socialist Party has come to light. The leaflet announces the formation of a branch of the Congress Socialist Party in Malabar for working a revolutionary programme. The Party wants according to the manifesto to infiltrate into labour, students, peasants and youth movements and to utilise them for carrying on a programme of violence and destruction.

The case of suspected sabotage on a railway bridge in Nellore District, which I referred to in my last report, has been now investigated by the Police. The culprits seem to have been actuated by no political motive whatsoever and it is suspected that the fire was caused by the railway menials in order to get the inhabitants of an adjoining village, with whom they had a quarrel, into trouble.

## 135: District Magistrate, Purnea to Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar (Reg. Siaram Singh's Case)

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files, File No. 95  
[Bihar State Archives]

No. 560 C

SECRET

From  
B Sivaraman, Esqr., I.C.S.,  
District Magistrate of Purnea

To  
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar  
Patna

*Dated Purnea, the 24th June, 1944*

Sir,

With reference to your memo No. 1233-C.W. dated the 16th June, 1944,<sup>1</sup> I have the honour to report as follows:

The gang of political dacoits, as far as can be ascertained, seems to be a group working under or for Siaram Singh. As far as I can make out the putting down of these dacoits seems to be directly under the D.I.G. of Police of the Range. Most of the leading absconders are of

the Bhagalpur district. They affect this district by crossing in from time to time and taking the help of a few of the local men. I have a feeling that there seems to be an opinion amongst some police officials that Siaram Singh is a fiction. First of all it has to be cleared out who exactly is the person wanted. To the best of my knowledge, I do not think, District Magistrates have so far been consulted about any list about persons who have to be arrested.

I come into the picture in trying to keep down the dacoities committed by these absconders at the point of revolver. Their activities usually take the form of collecting money. They have also actively helped in political cases by threat to witnesses and on two occasions at least by shooting people. So far there has been no direct complaint against anybody for these offences. I have started working up a campaign amongst public by getting influential men to do propaganda against these dacoits. The intention is that the public should be encouraged to try and lodge cases against these dacoits so that when we catch them we may have some concrete case against them. One of the main difficulties in our attempts to catch these dacoits is that even if we catch them we have not got any case against them. With the help of influential people in the Dharampur area we have been able to make up a list of persons of this district who are suspected to be with the dacoits. It is to be seen how far the local people will help us in getting cases. The public are also pretty scared. They are afraid of informing against the dacoits because they are not sure that firstly, their names will be kept from the dacoits and secondly, prompt action will be taken. There has been some slackness amongst the subordinate police officers. Some tightening of control over subordinate officers is necessary. Then we can induce confidence amongst the public and thereby get at these dacoits. This is a long term policy based on good will and reason.

I believe, amongst the dacoits there are some people including Siaram Singh against whom there are definite cases. If a proper list is made out and an organized attempt is made to round up these people by sustained activities in the Kosi Diara region, it may be possible to arrest these persons. I may point out that we were able to arrest many of the leading accused of the Rupauli case by concentrated activities. Once the leaders against whom cases exist are rounded up, I believe, the public will come forward to help us further. It is absolutely no use rounding up people without any case and with the chance that finally a High Court judgement would make these people martyrs. The whole problem requires very careful thought.

A copy of the letter is being sent to the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division, as ordered.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

B. Sivaraman  
District Magistrate

SECRET

Memo No. 560 C

*Dated Purnea, the 24th June, 1944*

Copy forwarded to the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division with reference to Chief Secretary's Memo No. 1233-C.W. dated the 16th June, 1944, addressed to the District Magistrates.

District Magistrate

# 136: Govt. of India to all Provincial Govts (statistics connected with Congress disturbances)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 238  
[TNA]

Secret

No. 3/52/43 – Poll (I)

Government of India  
Home Department

From  
S.J.L. Olver, Esquire, I.P.  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

To  
All Provincial Governments and  
Chief Commissioners

*New Delhi, the 24th June, 1944*

Reference our letter No 3/52/43 – Poll (I), dated the 5th January 1944.<sup>1</sup> A copy of the final statement of All India statistics of Congress Disturbances, corrected upto 31st December 1943 is enclosed.

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

TR. 18 (23-vi-44) D

# Statistics Connected with the Congress Disturbances

S. No.		Provinces							
		Madras	Bombay	Bengal	UP	Punjab	Bihar	CP	Assam
<b>A. Government Servants (Excluding those of the Central Govt.)</b>									
<b>(1) Police</b>									
1.	No. of occasions on which police fired	21	226	63	116	1	96	42	4
2.	No. of casualties inflicted - Fatal	30	112	87	207	-	166	45	15
3.	No. of casualties inflicted - Non-fatal	86	406	149	458	-	508	181	19
4.	No. of casualties suffered - Fatal	-	6	5	16	-	26	8	-
5.	No. of casualties suffered Non-fatal	9	563	80	333	-	342	256	17
6.	Number of defections from Police	6	6	-	1	-	205	2	-
<b>(2) Other Government Servants</b>									
7.	Number of attacks on other Government Servants - Fatal	-	11	-	3	-	4	2	-
8.	Number of attacks on other Government servants Non-fatal	19	50	14	141	-	87	39	-
9.	Number of defections from other Government services	-	3	-	9	-	4	-	-
<b>B. Damage to Property (Excluding Central Government Property)</b>									
1.	Number of Police Stations or Outposts etc., destroyed or severely damaged	5	46	4	42	-	72	29	4
2.	Number of other Government buildings destroyed or severely damaged	50	318	95	45	2	103	41	64



	<i>Provinces</i>						
	<i>Madras</i>	<i>Bombay</i>	<i>Bengal</i>	<i>UP</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>Bihar</i>	<i>CP Assam</i>
3. Number of public buildings other than Government buildings Municipal property, schools, hospitals, etc destroyed or severely damaged	57	152	58	37	4	92	45 66
4. Number of important private buildings destroyed or severely damaged	11	38	29	3	5	119	2 61
5. Estimated loss to Government (Rs)	22592	845410	171876	363366	1000	354720	424840 284582
6. Estimated loss to other parties (Rs)	916025	563231	55391	102778	105000	495231	167270 194867
<i>C. Use of Explosives</i>							
1. Number of bomb explosions	17	447	51	60	-	8	10 10
2. Number of bombs or explosives discovered without damage	35	738	106	157	1	218	18 9
3. Number of casualties caused to Government servants - Fatal	-	5	-	12	-	-	- -
4. Number of casualties caused to Government servants - Non-fatal	2	95	3	9	-	4	- -
5. Number of casualties caused to the public (including those to bomb-makers, etc. themselves) - fatal	-	18	1	9	-	3	- 1
6. Number of casualties caused to the public (including those to bomb-makers, etc. themselves) - non-fatal	11	144	5	23	-	3	4 4
7. Number of casualties caused to (a) women and (b) children Fatal (out of those included in item 5)	(a) - (b) -	1 4	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -

8.	Number of casualties caused to (a) women and (b) children Non-fatal (out of those included in item 6)	{a} - (b) 1	2 29	- 1	1 5	- -	- -	- -	- 2
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*D. Cases of Sabotage (Other than sabotage to Central Government property or services)*

1.	Number of cases of sabotage to electric supply companies or their apparatus or installations	41	73	20	7	-	16	3	1
2.	Number of cases of sabotage to roads	32	78	57	84	-	169	7	43
3.	Number of cases of sabotage to canals or tubewell irrigation systems	1	5	-	40	-	10	1	1
4.	Number of cases of sabotage other than above	383	1284	79	327	-	308	215	15

*E. Other Statistics connected with the Movement*

1.	Number of cases in which Collective fines imposed	71	199	60	579	-	412	70	106
2.	Amount of Collective fines imposed (Rs)	1,01,359	817950	605503	3176973	-	2660765	344595	339487
3.	Amount of Collective fines collected (Rs)	1034359	788288	234911	2905631	-	2411444	343377	257169
4.	Number of courts set up under the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance	53	21	149	269	-	139	141	7
5.	Number of cases disposed of by these courts	183	49	856	4658	-	2834	1592	134
6.	Number of persons convicted by such courts	807	206	1623	10146	-	8475	3741	124
7.	Number of cases disposed of by ordinary courts	1711	4254	575	1609	555	1654	480	594

	<i>Provinces</i>						
	<i>Madras</i>	<i>Bombay</i>	<i>Bengal</i>	<i>U.P.</i>	<i>Punjab</i>	<i>Bihar</i>	<i>CP Assam</i>
7a. Number of cases disposed of by military courts							
8. Number of persons convicted by ordinary courts	3311	9180	730	2833	911	2199	695
9. Total number of death sentences imposed	2					19	35
10. Number of death sentences confirmed	2					10	25
11. Number of sentences of whipping inflicted	295	17	2	1252		340	282
12. Number of arrests made	5859	24416	4818	16796	2501	16202	8753
13. Number of local authorities superseded under Defence Rule 39B or otherwise for the period ending 31st December 1943	27	19	11	7		3	35

*Statistics Connected with the Congress Disturbances (Cont'd)*

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Provinces</i>						
	<i>N.W.F.P.</i>	<i>Orissa</i>	<i>Sind</i>	<i>Coorg</i>	<i>Delhi</i>	<i>Ajmer Merwara</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>A. Government Servants (Excluding those of the Central Govt.)</i>							
<i>(1) Police</i>							
1. No. of occasions on which police fired	1	9			22		301
2. No. of casualties inflicted - Fatal	3	69			20		753
3. No. of casualties inflicted - Non-fatal	13	111			10		1941
4. No. of casualties suffered - Fatal		1			1		63
5. No. of casualties suffered - Non-fatal	52	26	90		62		2012

6.	Number of defections from Police	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	216
<i>(2) Other Government Servants</i>									
7.	Number of attacks on other Government Servants - Fatal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
8.	Number of attacks on other Government servants Non-fatal	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	364
9.	Number of defections from other Government services	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	22
<i>B. Damage to Property (Excluding Central Government Property)</i>									
1.	Number of Police Stations or Outposts etc., destroyed or severely damaged	-	5	-	-	1	-	-	208
2.	Number of other Government buildings destroyed or severely damaged	1	25	-	1	4	-	-	749
3.	Number of public buildings other than Government buildings Municipal property, schools, hospitals, etc. destroyed or severely damaged	-	8	2	-	4	-	-	525
4.	Number of important private buildings destroyed or severely damaged	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	273
5.	Estimated loss to Government (Rs)	2000	46450	1904	120	15456	-	2736925	
6.	Estimated loss to other parties (Rs)	-	33596	2932	245	37076	-	3000944	
<i>C. Use of Explosives</i>									
1.	Number of bomb explosions	1	-	50	-	10	-	664	
2.	Number of bombs or explosives discovered without damage							1	
3.	Number of casualties caused to Government servants - Fatal							-	

	<i>Provinces</i>						<i>Total</i>
	<i>N.W.F.P.</i>	<i>Orissa</i>	<i>Sind</i>	<i>Coorg</i>	<i>Delhi</i>	<i>Ajmer Merwara</i>	
4. Number of casualties caused to Government servants - Non-fatal	-	-	1	-	1	-	115
5. Number of casualties caused to the public (including those to bomb-makers, etc. themselves - fatal	-	-	2	-	-	-	24
6. Number of casualties caused to the public (including those to bomb-makers, etc. themselves) non-fatal	2	-	11	-	5	-	212
7. Number of casualties caused to (a) women and (b) children Fatal (out of those included in item 5)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 (a) 6 (b)
8. Number of casualties caused to (a) women and (b) children Non-fatal (out of those included in item 6)	-	-	-	-	1	-	168 (a) 38 (b)
<i>D. Cases of Sabotage</i> (Other than sabotage to Central Government property or services)							
1. Number of cases of sabotage to electric supply companies or their apparatus or installations	-	-	5	-	7	-	173
2. Number of cases of sabotage to roads	-	4	-	-	-	-	477
3. Number of cases of sabotage to canals or tubewell irrigation systems	-	-	-	-	-	-	58
4. Number of cases of sabotage other than above	2	22	41	2	22	-	2700
<i>E. Other Statistics connected with the Movement</i>							
1. Number of cases in which Collective fines imposed	-	9	-	-	-	-	1500
2. Amount of Collective fines imposed (Rs)	-	27750	-	-	-	-	9066382
3. Amount of Collective fines collected (Rs)	-	26250	-	-	-	-	8001320
4. Number of courts set up under the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance	-	9	1	-	10	-	790

5.	Number of cases disposed of by these courts	-	230	2	-	168	-	10706
6.	Number of persons convicted by such courts	-	684	9	-	552	-	26457
7.	Number of cases disposed of by ordinary courts	1508	800	295	36	32	-	14606
7a.	Number of cases disposed of by military courts	-	-	-	82	-	-	82
8.	Number of persons convicted by ordinary courts	1643	1276	859	42	40	33	25232
9.	Total number of death sentences imposed	-	1	2	-	3	-	71
10.	Number of death sentences confirmed	-	1	1	-	-	-	40
11.	Number of sentences of whipping inflicted	-	9	365	-	-	-	2562
12.	Number of arrests made	2339	2806	3689	90	860	96	91969
13.	Number of local authorities superseded under Defence Rule 38B or otherwise for the period ending 31st December 1943	-	5	-	1	-	-	108

Last 5 lines of figures not printed as the figures in the original are not clear - Ed.

**Part II***Statistics connected with the Congress disturbances for the period ending 31 December 1943**Central Departments**A. Railways*

1.	Number of attacks on employees – Fatal	8
2.	Number of attacks on employees – Non-fatal	43
3.	Number of passengers killed in accidents whose cause was connected with the movement	43
4.	Number of passengers injured in accidents whose cause was connected with the movement	213
5.	Number of Railway stations destroyed or severely damaged	332
6.	Number of cases of serious damage to tracks since 1st October 1942*	411
7.	Number of cases of serious damage to rolling stock	268
8.	Number of derailments or other accidents resulting from sabotage	66
9.	Estimated loss to railway property	Rs 52,00,000
10.	Number of defections in railway servants	Not known but believed to be nil

*B. P and T Department*

1.	Number of attacks on employees – Fatal	–
2.	Number of attacks on employees – Non-fatal	258
3.	Number of P and T offices, sub-offices, etc. destroyed or severely damaged	945
4.	Number of cases of destruction or serious damage to other property (telegraphs and telephones)	12286
5.	Estimated loss to P and T property	Rs 3,37,561
6.	Number of defections in P and T servants	11

*C. Military*

1.	Number of occasions on which military fired	68
2.	Number of casualties inflicted – Fatal	297
3.	Number of casualties inflicted – Non fatal	238
4.	Number of casualties suffered – Fatal	14
5.	Number of casualties suffered – Non-fatal	70
6.	Number of defections from personnel	13

7.	Number of cases in which military property or installations were destroyed or severely damaged	35
8.	Estimated loss	Rs 20,610
9.	Number of occasions of firing from air	

*D. Other Central Departments*

1.	Number of attacks on employees - Fatal	1
2.	Number of attacks on employees - Non Fatal	26
3.	Number of cases of destruction or severe damage to Government property	41
4.	Estimated loss to Government property	Rs 1,27,456
5.	Number of defections in Government servants	2

\* 'Damage to track' was so widespread before 1st October 1942 and varied so greatly in extent, that it is impossible to give detailed figures. The cost of each damage was, however, approximately Rs 9 lakhs, compared to which the damage done in the case recorded since 1st October 1942 is almost negligible.

1. Not printed.

## 137: District Magistrate, Bhagalpur to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar – (Siaram Singh)

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files, File No. 95  
[Bihar State Archives]

Subject: Report on August Movement and arrest of Siaram Singh and his gang 1943-45.

Secret  
No. 517-C

From  
J.N. Gonsalves, Esqr., I.C.S.,  
District Magistrate, Bhagalpur.

*Dated Bhagalpur, the 26th June, 1944.*

To  
The Chief Secretary to Government  
Political Department,  
(Special Section), Patna.

Sir,  
With reference to your Memo No. 1233 C.W., dated the 16th June 1944,<sup>1</sup> I have the honour to report as follows:

(A) Under this paragraph presumably the action of the District magistrate as such is wanted



and I have therefore included in my report the action taken by my predecessors as well prior to my recent assumption of charge. The action taken by me and my predecessors, in addition to general co-operation with the Police has been through the use of collective fines, appointment of headmen, detention orders, proclamation of rewards, cancellation of arms licenses and grant of weapons in suitable cases, compensation to victims, and arrangement of troops marches through the affected areas.

- (i) Collective fines have been frequently imposed by the District Magistrate, or on his recommendation in cases where the amount recommended exceeded his powers, on village guilty of sabotage or of open or secret help to Siaram Singh and other political absconders and desperadoes. Statement 'A' shows the total fines imposed in each subdivision Thana by Thana. Statement 'B' shows the number of times collective fines have been imposed on particular notorious villages. Further proposals have just been made fines on two sets of villages with consistently bad reputations of continued assistance to Siaram and his gang.
- (ii) Headmen under Sec. 45 Cr.P.C. have by now been appointed throughout the district in all villages and have been given printed parwanas setting out the duties enjoined on them under Sec. 45 Cr.P.C. In many of the larger villages more than one headman has been appointed, one for each Tola. Statement 'D' shows the position in this respect.
- (iii) Detention orders have been passed on the recommendation of the District Magistrate against 64 political offenders and desperadoes, out of whom 33 persons have since been released, 28 are in jail, and 3 are absconding. Statement 'E' contains a list of such persons.
- (iv) The District Magistrate has from time to time proclaimed rewards for the apprehension of the absconders. Statement 'G' contains the names of absconders showing the amount of rewards notified for each. (In certain cases Government or the Police have also announced higher rewards mentioned in the Statement 'G1').
- (v) Arms licenses of undesirables, and of those known to be helping offenders and absconders have been cancelled. Statement 'H' contains a list of the licenses cancelled. A further revision of all licenses on this criterion has been taken up.
- (vi) Licenses for weapons have been granted in suitable cases to those who had been attacked, and to helpers of the Police and to those who are in danger of the reprisals. A list of such cases has been appended in statement 'H1'.
- (vii) Compensation has been granted to those who have suffered loss or damage at the hands of the desperadoes, and to the dependents of those who have lost their lives at such hands. The total amount of compensation so far awarded to Chowkidars, police personnel, police informers, Excise vendors and non-officials etc. amounts to Rs 85,878/13/6.
- (viii) During troop marches through the affected areas public meetings have been arranged at each halting place and the general public and village headmen etc. have been brought into contact with the troops. Demonstration of weapons, football matches etc. have also been arranged. Contact with the troops has raised the morale of the public by giving confidence to the law abiding population and lowering the stock of the desperadoes.
- (ix) All efforts have been made for the speedy disposal of cases against those members

of the gangs who have been apprehended, and for the imposition deterrent sentences. The Magistrate have mostly been put on full time criminal work and are giving priority to such cases. Asst. Police Prosecutors have been appointed to assist the Police by relieving them of some of the cases. Steps have been taken for ensuring that case diaries are studied carefully and for insurance of the attendance of witnesses on the dates prescribed, as frequent non-attendance was hampering the progress of cases and for the recording of evidence promptly under Sec. 164 Cr.P.C. of witnesses likely to turn hostile.

- (x) Information communicated to the District Magistrate and other Magistrate in respect of movements of these gangs and their misdeeds have been promptly communicated to the Police.
- (xi) Camping of Magistrates in the affected areas.

(B) The action which I propose to take is more or less on the lines of what is being done with a few as far as possible by removal of defects in the existing courses of action and ensurance of closer attention of all concerned to these and any new courses of action proposed. As far as I can see the task of the elimination of these gangs and their activities can only be tackled by two simultaneous courses of action one under the direction of the Magistrates and the other by the Police both working in co-operation with each other. The District Magistrate can take steps calculated to penalise both specific individuals and areas, which by their assistance make the activities of the gangs possible, and foil the attempts of the authorities and the machinery of law to bring them to book. For this purpose he has the weapons of collective fine, detention orders, cancellation of arms licenses etc. These constitute however a negative though an essential form of attack of the problem. Among the positive courses of action are deterrent and speedy punishments on those of the gangs associates against whom sufficient evidence is available, and means for securing the co-operation of the public as a body and of specific individuals with sufficient influence in particular. The actual apprehension of offenders must remain a task of the police unless of course a Magistrate by coincidence comes across any of them. The main difficulties of the Police are lack of accurate information which must ultimately come from the public. For this purpose the appointment of village headmen should, if suitable persons are appointed and they perform their duties conscientiously, be invaluable. The movement of these gangs, as most of them are proclaimed offenders, and their activities, fall within the scope of the information required to be communicated forthwith to the nearest Magistrate or Thana Officer by every village headmen and failure to do so is punishable by law. In actual practice it may be difficult to prove knowledge on the part of the headman in a court of law, but a certain number of prosecutions might ginger them up. As regards the co-operation of the public we might divide them into two classes, the first a negligible percentage who will give information for reward, and the second the major portion who will refuse assistance and shelter to the gang and assist in their arrest if they are convinced of their atrocities. For the first class rewards are proclaimed and the police have also funds for remuneration to informers. This class of person is however always in danger of reprisals and must be protected by ensuring that there is no leakage of any information conveyed or that rewards are paid with the utmost secrecy. In suitable cases and to sufficiently responsible persons licenses for weapons of protection can be granted. As regards the second class which is more important a certain amount

of propaganda both in pictorial and leaflet form representing the proved atrocities committed by the offenders is necessary both to counter the propaganda of the latter and to show them up in their true form. It is also essential to eliminate corruption from all agents of Government working on this problem. Unjustified arrests, and abuse of the Defence Rule over innocent persons were not made it worthwhile belief in their innocence is a most potent form of propaganda against the authorities. Constant publicity more particularly by influential non-officials, whose views as emanating from conviction will be more readily accepted, than those of officials always open to the criticism of being paid a salary to say so, must be intensified.

Thirdly raising the morale and confidence of the law abiding public is very necessary. This purpose can be achieved by frequent camping of Magistrates and officials particularly in the affected areas, frequent patrols of Police including Mounted and Military Police, and Occasional troop marches. Such courses of action will increase the confidence particularly of those who are reluctant to help for fear of reprisals and will raise the morale of the Mofassil and particularly rural police. Adequate compensation should also be given and promptly to both Government servants and non-officials in case of loss, damage or hurt suffered by them in consequence of their assistance to the authorities.

In addition to these measures I think it desirable to quarter Additional Police under the provisions of the Police Act, for a period of one year on two sets of villages namely Kharik and Telghi, in P.S. Bihpur, and in the group of villages Tilakpur of P.S. Sultanganj and Ranuchak and Makanpur of P.S. Nathnagar which have consistently bad records and in respect of which proposals for additional place of collective fines have just been submitted, and also in the Sonbarsa Diara area in respect of which a proposal has been submitted and further information called for has recently been supplied.

Ultimately however the only way of elimination of the Offenders is their physical apprehension. For this purpose it seems desirable to post a Special Police Officer on special duty with jurisdiction in this district as well as in the bordering areas of the Monghyr and Purnea districts which comprise the field of operations. He should work out a systematic arrangement for receipt of accurate information and action thereupon without delay and for this purpose might have a sort of central control room with a map and flag indicators showing both reported and anticipated movements of the principal persons on the basis of a systematic appreciation of reliable information, from which surprise raids for their interception can be directed. This control should of course be leakage proof and information from all sources should be immediately communicated to the center. The main difficulty is of course unsatisfactory communications. The new roads recently sanctioned should help, and two or three wireless transmitters would be of invaluable assistance. The provincial cipher system known to Sub Inspectors also should be frequently used, if not at present utilised, for such messages.

I have dealt in this paragraph with paragraphs B and C of your Memo together for the sake of convenience in analysis and have not included details for the working out of the general courses of action proposed which are more or less obvious. I would however draw attention to two or three other points which require, if approved, action by Government.

- (1) The number of Sessions cases pending is still very large. There are at present 152 under-trials pending over one year, and 28 under-trials pending over 1½ years, and on an estimate made by me in the middle of May on the basis of figures of under-trials in Magistrates Courts, over 100 cases are likely to be committed to Sessions for trial

in the near future. Most of these are dacoity charges. I understand that a Sub Judge with sessions powers is shortly to be posted to the northern area of Bhagalpur but this will not help adequately. With the permanent Sessions Judge on fairly long leave, and the recent divestment of one of the Sub Judges of his Sessions powers. I think it desirable to post temporarily at least one more Addl. Sessions judge, and two Asst. Sessions Judges to this district.

- (2) Under Sec. 45 (f) Cr.P.C. the local Government can sanction any order made by the District Magistrate for the communication by village headman etc. of additional information. More use might be made of this section for supplying information likely to lead to the elimination of the offenders. I shall submit a separate proposal.
- (3) District Magistrate at present have powers to sanction compensation up to Rs 100 to Chowkidars and up to Rs 250 to Sardars and Parganaits, without reference to Government, I think it desirable to extend these powers to the cases of non-Government servants also as this will assist in the prompt ward of some compensation even if amounts in excess of these figures have to be referred to Government.

Copy of this letter is being submitted to the Commissioner as desired.

I have the honor to be  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J.N. Gonsalves  
District Magistrate.

Memo No. 518-C

*Dated Bhagalpur, the 26th June, 1944.*

Copy forwarded to the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division with reference to Chief Secretary's Memo No. 1233 C.W., dated the 16th June 1944. The report has been submitted direct to the Chief Secretary at the request of the latter.

J.N. Gonsalves  
District Magistrate

1. See Doc. 132.



# 138 D.I.G. Patna to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar – (Regarding a pamphlet ‘Congress Samachar’)

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 540/44  
[Bihar State Archives]

No 14309 S.B.  
129-44

From  
H.E. Bruce, Esqr., M.C. I.P.,  
Deputy Inspector-General of Police.  
Criminal Investigation Department

*Patna, the 27th June, 1944*

To  
The Chief Secretary to Government,  
Bihar

Sir,

I have the honour to forward for the orders of Government a pamphlet in Hindi entitled ‘Congress Samachar’ (Congress News) alleged to be a monthly organ edited by an individual named Awadesh Narain Singh.

An English translation prepared by the Government Translator is enclosed in duplicate.

The pamphlet contains pernicious and dangerous propaganda, menacing the efficient prosecution of the war, of the nature described in sub-rule (7) of rule 34 of the Defence of India Rules read with sub-rule (6).

It is recommended that the pamphlet be proscribed under clauses (b) and (c) of Sub-rule (1) of rule 40.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your Most obedient servant,

Deputy Inspector-General of Police  
C.I.D. Bihar

*Enclosure*

CONFIDENTIAL

## REVIEW

Forty Crores will not be repressed, ‘Bande Mataram’ – (Will) Do or Die.

CONGRESS-SAMACHAR

June 1944

(Leading Monthly Organ of the Bihar branch of the Indian National Congress)

Editor – Awadhesh Narayan Singh,  
In charge Congress, Bihar Branch

### Grand National Week

National week was observed in every nook and corner of the province. Seventy arrests were made in this connection throughout the province.

Patna – National week was celebrated in Patna town with due eclat. Several processions were taken out in the town. Twenty two persons were arrested in this connection.

Bhagalpur – On the occasion of the 'National Week' every nook and corner of Bhagalpur echoed with the calls of 'Long Live Immortal Martyrs'. Processions were taken out in every village. Meetings were held at places and posters were posted, during this festival the brave soldiers of this place sold Khadi by going round the streets. Hartal was observed in several bazars and schools. On this occasion, sufficiently strong anti-warloan propaganda was made. The most distinguishing feature was that on the very day of Wavell's visit to Patna four youngmen of this place shouted the slogan of 'Britishers! Quit India' on the main road of Patna. They were all arrested. The Police gave them a good beating too in the lock-up. In connection with the taking out of processions of Bhagalpur and Supaul sixteen volunteers were removed to unknown destination.

On the occasion of 'Independence Day' also, five volunteers from the district came to Patna for demonstration and they were arrested with the procession in Patna.

Santal Parganas – There was enough of activity in the district on the occasion of the 'National Week', processions were taken out at places and charkha demonstration was held. Leaflets were distributed and posters were posted. National flag was hoisted on the Deoghar Zila school building on the 6th of April but the Headmaster, a puppet of the exploiting Government, had it removed at once. On the 13th April, fifty youngmen took out 'Pravat Pheri' throughout the town but no arrest was made.

### Fight The Dacoits

'A thief will not listen to the talk of Dharma' so goes the saying. This proved true in the case of the dacoits of Banka. Mahendra Gope is one of those notorious eighty dacoits released during the last August disturbances from the Banka jail to commit loot and dacoity and to discredit the Congress and his fiendish acts have created a havoc among the people. He was warned by the District Congress, to desist from indulging in unlawful acts but he was not going to listen to the talk of *Dharma*. He knows that the British Government is his helper. The public should by all possible means, disown this traitor as well as Pradyman Singh.

Muzaffarpur – Akshayabat Rai, a leading Congress worker of this district, was arrested in Hajipur subdivision in April.

### A CALL TO BIHAR REVOLUTIONARIES BY ARUNA ASAF ALI

Comrade,

India finds the people of Bihar deeply imbued with the spirit of patriotism and bravery. Your wonderful power was exhibited during the terrible days of August, and since then your bravery, out to destroy the traces of British domination has inspired courage in many people and filled us with hopes of revolutionary power latent in the people. Even today there is more strength and co-ordination in your organized revolution than in that of the neighbouring places.

Therefore as soldiers of revolution your responsibility increases all the more. And I am firmly convinced that you will realise it. You have to crush the enemy's bid to utilise the moral and material resources of India in order to save their empire which is fast breaking up. Under the direction of Rajendra Babu and Sri Jai Prakash Narayan Ji it is easy for you to show to Wavell and his masters that to defeat Japan, their erstwhile disciple, is a bit difficult job. Let you at once reorganise your forces. Let you concentrate your opposition forces in important places of your province. Let you ask every soldier of freedom to choose his field of action and if the goal be the same, let you not be involved in the futile discussion of the principle of violence and non-violence leading you astray from the hard realities of today. In the fight waged against Britain we have so long recognized, and shall ever recognize, the principle that we do not intend either to kill or wound anybody but that it is the duty of every patriot to employ all possible means to extirpate British rule from his sacred motherland. In spite of the terribly limited resources at the disposal of secret revolutionary leadership, I shall continue to give you my advice and assistance. But you have to display originality in your method of work and to produce new leaders. Let you fill every void in the line and take a lesson from the revolutionary experiences of the past months. With faith and courage let you ever carry on the fight for freedom.

Yours  
Aruna Asaf Ali

*(Translated by the Editor, Cong. Samachar)*

#### NOT 'SABOTAGE' BUT 'DISLOCATION'

While commuting the death sentence of Bishnu Singh to transportation for life, Justice *Paurmik* of the Nagpur High Court observed. 'It is proved from the records of this case that before taking any action he (Bishnu Singh) used to thoroughly guard against loss of any human life'.

By characterizing some, revolutionary activities of the Indian people as sabotage more harm has been done to the tranquility of the world than perhaps by any other thing. The act of sabotaging going on in Europe, aims not only at the destruction of material resources but also of human life. The truth is rather that the revolutionaries of Europe attach perhaps more importance to blowing up troop-laden trains and bombing foreign army canteens, than to cutting roads, telegraph wires or attacking Government Institutions.

What our countryman did in 1942, and will do again, can in no way be compared to the acts of the sabotaging going on in Europe. There is no place in our programme for the taking of human life. 'Not to kill any one, not to wound any one', is our motto.

An Indian Judge at last duly admitted that even while launching fiercest attack on the objectives (sic) of 'Goonda Shahi' administration the 'Goondas of Gandhi' bear it in mind that nobody should be killed. This in fact, means wonderful restraint and inner discipline which has prompted the mass of our people to court death without killing the enemy.

The European type of sabotaging, not being complement to mass revolution, is its substitute in which the masses are a nonentity, only a few adventurous guerilla fighters taking part in it.

In our struggle too has remained included the (programme of) destruction of the centres and resources of foreign rule, but on the one hand the aim is not to take the life of the enemy, and on the other, it is the result of and complement to the mass rebellion of the people in which is also included the programmes of breaking the laws, stopping the export of foodgrains from

villages and of spinning and weaving. Therefore if a correct name is to be given to the activities of the August revolution, 'Dislocation' and not Sabotaging would be the appropriate term.

The efforts to stop the destructive activities these days are being carried on, on a wrong line. In fact it is futile to drag the principle of 'Ahimsa' in this connection. As long as unarmed parties carry on these activities of 'dislocation' without killing or injuring anyone, it can in no case be called violent. In this connection some people do also argue that collective fines are imposed on the public of the area in which these destructive activities are carried on, and this leads to weakness in them. This opinion is wholly erroneous. A nation doomed to be wiped from the pages of history is alone subdued by repression. Our experience bear testimony to the fact that our nation is not doomed to perish and that wherever, the wheel of repression moves strongest the people there are most advanced. Repression can at best bring on a temporary lull, to last only till the masses are averse to display bravery. 'Dislocation' according to the principle of non-violence, is not only justified but also indispensable for exterminating foreign rules.

### ORGANISE REBELLION (By Dr Ram Manohar Lohia)

There was no organisation to lead the open rebellion of the 9th August 1942. We have to remove the weakness so that this may not happen again. Gandhiji does not hold the same opinion today about British character and British policies as he held on 8th August 1942. Although a rebel he thought he had good personal relations with the Viceroy. Till the last year he believed that the British liked the method of Round Table Conference. By suggesting to Linlithgow the method of Round Table Conference he went to rest on the 8th August 1942, with the conviction that he was not going to be arrested till all the avenues of settlement had been closed. I had the good fortune of seeing Gandhiji at a distance on the 9th August. As soon as the police car dashed forth, I noticed a peculiar sternness in Gandhiji's face. His eyes were trying to catch a glimpse of the future, which must have been due partly to the British policy of using swords while talking of Round Table Conference.

The British people know of no value other than the political. Personal relation between Gandhiji and Linlithgow was friendly enough, but when the question of British rule over India was raised the British Viceroy assumed the role of a cheat, traitor and murderer like Satan. He bade goodbye to the Round Table method. He put to death thousands of unarmed Indians. He tried to kill Gandhiji. We have to know it full well that our enemy knows no manners except that art of politics.

Gandhiji has tried to arouse the spirit of rebellion in crores of such people who, by remaining non-violent, are anxious to carry on the fight against violence to some extent. For rebellion he has never insisted on the organisation of few selected persons. I have been influenced more than anybody else by the ideas of Gandhiji and up till September 1942, I had full confidence in the sacrifice of unorganized people. In the first six weeks of our revolution I had complete faith that no power could crush our revolution and that we would be victorious without launching any more attack. For a few weeks the unarmed mass demonstrated their wonderful capacity to work and to die without taking revenge, but after this, their spirit was damped before success had been attained. Some of them are entertaining the hope that the fire of revolution will ignite once more somehow or other and consume the last vestige of British power. This may happen perhaps, but we cannot depend on this. With organized and trained units we should help self developing strength of the people. There is nothing to conceal about



the programme of these units. For every specific work there should be trained and disciplined units of five persons each. These mobile units should be ready during the coming mass movement to reach the ultimate goal of success by leading the mass revolution everywhere. Under the leadership of these units mass movement is bound to succeed. These units should be well-versed in the art of cutting roads and wires, in destroying bridges and railway lines and in attacking police stations, Jails and Courts. They will have to get these things done by the people in a scientific manner. It can easily be imagined that these units will root out the British rule from those places where the people will rebel and by doing so induce the masses of other places to do the same. The formation and training of these units should be kept secret until the mass movement is started. Then they should work quite openly. Today, there is much discussion going on about secrecy. This is useless. To try to understand Gandhiji's view on secrecy is, of course, something else. Gandhiji denounces secrecy and there can be no two meaning to it. I shall not therefore avail myself of the futile discussions in order to prove that the formation of the organized unit is in conformity with the views of Gandhiji. I am prepared to gladly accept the denunciation by Gandhiji. Secrecy is never a commendable thing, but we must know why Gandhiji does not like Secrecy so that we may act upto his wishes, if possible. In my opinion, Gandhiji does not like that a few people should rebel on the strength of arms. He does rather prefer open unarmed rebellion by a huge mass of people, and this is the reason why he condemns secrecy. This very desire on the part of Gandhiji is the foundation of a new world (order). If the world is going to be better place to live in then crores of people must be ready to sacrifice their lives by fighting as rebels against oppression without retaliation. Bearing this new principle in mind it is indispensable for Gandhiji to be dogmatic and it is no use quarrelling with him for his wrong notion of British character, his indifference to organisation and his aversion to secrecy. His one and only aim is to produce an awakening in crores of people to launch a non-violent fight against violence and this he is doing splendidly. We have to help him in this important task and in addition to this we have to start such an organisation as may keep this non-violent fight going on and help it in reaching the goal. Every soldier of Gandhiji -- (and those who put different interpretations to Satyagraha on different occasions) -- and I claim myself to be a good soldier of Gandhiji -- should do this Without caring for the approval or disapproval of Gandhiji, his soldiers should set themselves to work for carrying on the fight against oppression and for giving strength to it. For doing so, the spontaneous mass movement should be guided and helped by the organized units. The organisation is never to be given the place of spontaneous movement. These trained units are meant to be source of help to the unarmed movement launched by crores of people and not that they should be the main part of our non-violent fight. We have to give prominent place to mass movement and we don't propose to arm our units. In it lies the true wish of Gandhiji. I have already told you that we cannot argue with Gandhiji for his indifference in respect of Revolutionary organisations. Although sometimes I am tempted to do so, but we cannot rightly fight for this even with the Congress Working Committee, not because the committee can claim like Gandhiji that it is trying to put the reins of government into the hands of the unarmed mass, but because its members for the last five years have been continuously doing hard work and making great sacrifices. We still want that they should lead us with the help of their political wisdom, but we cannot accuse them even for a moment for the weakness of the organisation.

Thus, my fight is with self, i.e., with those thousands of Congressman who know what it is to rebel and yet are indifferent towards organisation. I will frankly confess that we have

wasted ten years in futile discussions. Nothing is more clear than the fact that as long as British rule and the Congress are there, a clash between these two is bound to take place some day. Therefore, the fighting spirit should not be wasted in idle talks but it should be utilised in the task of creating organisation for rebellion. I am afraid these useless discussions are again cropping up. It is but natural that Congressmen interested in elections will now divert their attention to municipal elections, although I am of opinion that it is in contravention of the Congress mandate and creed. Still we don't mean to fight with them. It is but natural for Congressmen of such mentality to feel exhausted after 1 years of imprisonment in jails. We should not quarrel with them. It is also natural that some Congressmen might denounce open rebellion in order to justify their inactivity while others will try to minimise their loss under the cover of 'Ahimsa'. We don't propose to fight with them either.

Today, we have only to arouse the spirit of rebellion in the hearts of crores of people and to help this awakening with organized units. We have to form units of rebellion, wherever possible.

(Translated by the Editor, Cong Samachar)

Bhagalpur – In village Udhodih in the Sultanganj police-station, father and son (Garbbu Mahar and Shoocharan Mahar) were mercilessly beaten by police. Police realised 3/4 seer of 'Khesari' as illegal gratification.

Bhagalpur, 30th April – A meeting of the Indian National Congress, Bhagalpur, was held with due eclat on this day, under the presidentship of Babu Siya Ram Singh, district in charge. 150 leading Congress workers of the district attended the meeting.

1 See Doc. 132.

# 139: I.B. Calcutta to Addl. Secretary, Bengal

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 316/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

No. 19815, 597/42

13, Lord Sinha Road,  
Calcutta, the 27th June, 1944

My dear Tufnell-Barrett,

Please refer to your Memo No. 652-PS, dated the 26th June<sup>1</sup> forwarding a letter to the Government of Bengal on the subject of a subversive body called the All India Satyagraha Council, and asking whether it would be advantageous to declare this body and its Committees to be unlawful Associations.

A note on this organisation recently received from the Director, Intelligence Bureau, is sent herewith for your perusal and return.

In Bengal the All-India Satyagraha Council first came to notice in November 1943 when the absconder Annada Prasad Chaudhuri<sup>2</sup> circulated some pamphlets describing the formation

of this new organisation. This is referred to in the Director's note. Up to the present, the only activity of this body has been in Midnapore District where small groups of Satyagrahis have attempted to carry on an agitation against the Government of Bengal's rice procurement scheme. A number of these youth has been arrested.

The intention of the organisation is to form Provincial and District Committees and commence an agitation on the more well-known Congress lines of open defiance. One of the forms which this defiance should take was specified as the obstruction of Government's removal of foodgrains from deficit Districts and Provinces. It was also suggested that suitable form of satyagraha would be the paralysation of the work of law courts.

A report from Midnapore District indicates that one Satish Sahu, who had been arrested on 12-3-1944 for offering satyagraha in connection with rice procurement, stated that he had met Annada Chaudhuri and three other members of the All-India Satyagraha Council in Calcutta and had been instructed to frame a satyagraha movement to meet the local situation. It was explained that it was unnecessary to form a Satyagraha Committee in Tamluk Sub-division as the Jatiya Sarkar was already functioning there. (N.B. - This Jatiya Sarkar is the body responsible for the murders, black-mail and extortion which have been committed in the sub-division over a long period).

As the All-India Satyagraha Council is a secret body and so far has not gained any influence in Bengal outside the District of Midnapore, there would seem little advantage in declaring it to be an unlawful association. Its members are being arrested as they give evidence of open unlawful activity and attempts to secure the arrests of the underground members continue to be made. The literature prepared and circulated by the All-India Satyagraha Council is extremely objectionable and, since it does not bear the name of the press in which it is prepared, persons found in possession of such literature are liable for prosecution under the Defence of India Rules. Finally, there is the possibility that the declaration of this body as an unlawful organisation would give it a far wider publicity than it has so far been able to obtain by its own efforts.

Yours sincerely

Brayden

H. Tufnell-Bartlett Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal

1 Not printed

## 140: Official Notings (dt 27.6.1944-28.6.1944) (extracts) — Reg. All India Satyagraha Council

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 316/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Letter No. 19815 dated 27-6-44 from D.I.G. I.B.<sup>1</sup>

We may accept the view of D.I.G. I.B. that, in view of the limited activities of this organisation,

it would be a mistake to declare it unlawful in this Province. OI may be informed accordingly. C.S. should see.

E.B.H. Baker  
27/6/44

Yes. I would like to see the rept. before issued.

A. De C. Williams  
28/6/44

1. Doc. 139.

## 141: Superintendent of Police, Midnapore to the Inspector General of Police, Midnapore and to the Dt. Magistrate

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 416/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

*July 14th, 1944.*

To  
The Inspector-General of Police, Bengal  
Writers' Building  
Calcutta

(Through the Dy. Insp. Genl. of Police,  
Burdwan Range)  
Chinsurah

&  
The District Magistrate,  
Midnapore

I regret to have to report a serious deterioration in the state of Law and Order in the Tamluk sub-division. This area is notorious for the peculiar nature of its subversive activity with which an extremely high proportion of the population are in sympathy and a so-called 'National Government' has existed since the Congress Rebellion of 1942. The local rebels have terrorized the population by kidnapping, murder, torture and black-mail but the number of overt acts decreased towards the end of 1943. Since the release of many rebels who were acquitted in cases in connection with the attacks on Police Stations, murder of Government supporters etc. because witnesses were too terrified to depose, there has been an intensification of subversive activity in a most barbarous form.

The attached statement shows reported cases in 1944 but this is not by any means a full catalogue of offences of this nature because the local people are afraid to report cases to the Police lest they incur the further displeasure of this band of hooligans. That this fear is well

grounded is demonstrated by the appalling atrocities already committed. In one case a Muslim was seized and carried to a place where his eyeball were stuck with pins resulting in blindness while at another place, an unfortunate had incision made in his arm and salt rubbed into the wound. The 'National Government' has established its own 'courts' and inflicts its own punishments but without the co-operation of the local people, investigation of the cases and apprehension of the criminals is most difficult. On 8th June two soldiers who were on leave, arrested a youth with 77 case records of one of these 'Courts'.

In some cases the persons responsible have been named and we already have the names of the chief organizers but apart from the lack of assistance from the people, the isolated Police officers require further support to boost their morale. Officers who have acted energetically have received threatening letters.

The situation therefore demands attention before it gets out of control completely.

Flag Marches and demonstrations have no lasting effect and when the troops are finally withdrawn the hopelessly inadequate force of Police is left alone to face the resentment of the whole population. The people of Tamluk are no longer impressed by troops and recently, the day after a Flag March, robbers staged a further demonstration by way of a counter. At the present times there are five Armed Police posts in the area which are moved from place to place and while there is no doubt that they are having a healthy effect in the immediate vicinity of the posts, here again, the effect is only temporary, for at one post, the building was set on fire the night the party evacuated it.

We must therefore devise fresh new arms to the discipline of Law and Order and I would suggest the introduction of the well-tried Identity card system. This method proved very successful in Chittagong and I see from the files of this District that it is useful in proving to the general Hindu youths who had given trouble, as well to terrorists, that Government could keep order if it wanted to. That is exactly what we have to prove to the people of Tamluk.

Law-abiding members of the public can have little objection to the Identity Card System since the production of a card will prove identity and save unnecessary harassment. It is proposed to call upon all Hindu males between the ages of 15 to 50 to take out cards and the following shows the number of males involved:

Tamluk	54885
Mahisadal	56958
Sutahata	26416

Special assistance will be necessary to institute the scheme and check for evasion of the orders. It is therefore proposed to post small parties of the E.F.R. at different points in the affected area. This force will not be employed in making indiscriminate searches or on any work involving unnecessary oppression of the population but will assist in the search for absconders and other wanted persons.

A special Magistrate will be necessary in Tamluk.

In view of Home Department Letter No. . . . P.S.D. dated 31st May,<sup>1</sup> 1938 (copy attached for ready reference), Government must be asked for permission to use the provisions of the B.S.T.O. Act and the rules framed thereunder.

Unfortunately, owing to the reluctance of the general population to dispose against the hooligans of Tamluk sub-divisions, the eminently suitable proceedings u/s 100 Cr. P.C. cannot be instituted and are compelled to fall back upon this special legislation which was devised to meet such a case.

Enclosure.

**List of Outrages & Overt Acts Committed by Congress Volunteers in  
1944 – Tamluk Subdivision**

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Date of occurrence</i>	<i>Nature of Offence</i>	<i>Place of occurrence</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>P.S.</i>
1.	4-1-44	Tehsildar Sitanath Panda of Kukrahatia Khas Mahal office was attacked and Rs 11/11 looted.	Raghunatho khak	IX	Sutaheta
2.	4-1-44	Attack on Collecting Panchayats (6) son and Chaukidari tax money and records looted	Near Polanda	VI	Tamluk
3.	4.1.44	4 unknown men entered into the house of Ramapat Kuila, looted Rs 14 (rent collection & attempted to snatch away records).	Madhabpur	VI	Mahisadal
4.	5.1.44	8 or 9 men raided the house of Rampati Kuila and took away records forcibly.	Madhabpur	VI	Mahisadal
5.	6.1.44	12 volunteers entered into the house of Jnanada Prasad Maiti, Tahsildar, Mahisadal Raj Estate and looted Rs 217 (tax collected) & records.	Gopalpur	IX	Mahisadal
6.	15.1.44	Kidnapping of Srikanta Mandal of Natsal and ransom of Rs 500 later on demanded from his brother.	Natsal	X	Mahisadal
7.	25.1.44	Attack on Chaukidar Kshirode Maiti of Kalyanchak by 8 men	Between Kalyanchak and Chunakhali	VII	Mahisadal
8.	1.2.44	Tax collector's son was assaulted by 7 volunteers while collecting hat-tolls and Rs 40 robbed.	Gopalganj hat	IX	Mahisadal
9.	6.2.44	3 volunteers stabbed Gostha Bihari Maiti, Mahisadal Raj Estate Tahsildar and robbed him of Rs 7/4/6 (rent collected) and records.	Barsirui	XXII	Tamluk
10.	11.2.44	The villagers took away rice from a bullock cart at the instigation of the Congress volunteers.	Between Kumarsara & Bagmari	IV	Mahisadal
11.	14.2.44	A Home Guard was assaulted and Rs 1000 was demanded of him.	Madhabpur	VII	Mahisadal
12.	14.2.44	Congress volunteers ordered the Sub-Manager, Mahisadal Raj Estate to make over paddy for the Congress.	Mahisadal	VIII	Mahisadal
13.	17.2.44	Assault on Prahalad Maiti a suspected informer.	Daliabachak	VI	Sutahata

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Date of occurrence</i>	<i>Nature of Offence</i>	<i>Place of occurrence</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>P.S.</i>
14.	21.2.44	3 men attacked 2 Mahisadal Raj Tahsildars and looted cash Rs 10 and rent receipts.	Basanchak	V	Sutahata
15.	25.2.44	5 men attacked Mahisadal Raj Tahsildar Kunja Jans and robbed cash Rs 110 watch etc.	Jalpai (Kalaparis)	I	Mahisadal
16.	Middle of Feb. 1944	Attack on Choukidar	Sutahata elaka	VIII	Sutahata
17.	28.2.44	20 men dressed Khaki shirts and shorts committed dacoity in the house of Sudhir Ch. Das Adhikari.	Basudevvpur	IX	Sutahata
18.	8.3.44	Abduction of Home Guard Tej Chandra Kulavi of Kumarara, P.S. Mahasidal (subsequently released) – A doubtful case.	Near Sitaram nagar	X	Sutahata
19.	22.3.44	Assault on Bijoy Krishna Das Adhikari of Ishhapur (suspected to be an informer).	Ishhapur	XII	Mahisadal
20.	23.3.44	Rescue of Congress volunteer Ashu Mandal of Belun from a Chaukidar by Congress volunteers.	Belun	III	Tamluk
21.	31.3.44	Assaults on Hem Chandra Das of Mohammadpur and his son by 3 men.	Agadore	II	Sutahata
22.	1.4.44	Assault on Shyama Pada Chakrabarti, a private tutor of Haripada Bhattacharji and servant to deprive him of labourers for the cultivation of his land.	Jogikhop	III	Tamluk
23.	27.4.44	Burning of the house of Himangshu Panda of Birulia for helping the police in the arrest of a Congress absconder.	Birulia	II	Mahisadal
24.	12.5.44	Looting of cash money, records and documents of Zamindar Basanta Mandal of Deulpota by 15/16 men.	Deulpota	IV	Sutahata
25.	28.5.44	Wrongful confinement, rioting & grievous hurt on Naba Khan whose eye balls were pierced by pins by 50/52 congress volunteers and blinded him completely.	Baruttarh	V	Sutahata
26.	3.6.44	Section of National Court and assault on defendants Gopal Ch. Bisai and Ram Krishna Das of Babughat on their refusal to carry on the orders of the Jatiya Sankar.	Bijitpur	VIII	Sutahata

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Date of occurrence</i>	<i>Nature of Offence</i>	<i>Place of occurrence</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>P.S.</i>
27.	8.6.44	Assault on Dafadar Upendra Nath Rana of Tumluk.	Hijalbaria	XII	Tamluk
28.	9.6.44	Causing grievous hurt & stabbing Murari Mohan Manna of Chaulkhola and attempt to abduct him by 12/15 Congress volunteers for his taking leading part in organizing an anti-Jatiya Sarkar meeting.	Chaukihola	XII	Sutahata
29.	15.6.44	Assault on Gobinda Bhaumik of Santipur by 20 Congress volunteers as he refused to pay Rs 1000 demanded of him by the Jatiya Sarkar about a month before.	Santipur	X	Tamluk
30.	4.6.44	Assault on Nagendra Nath Hasra, Asstt. P.P. of Balluk by 5/6 Congress volunteers for lodging a case of abduction of his son at . . . P.S.	Near Ram Tarakhet	IV	Tamluk
31.	Any time in June, 1944	Assault of Rupe Nath of Barabari in course of arbitration of a case of land dispute and salt rubbed on an incision made on his arm, feet by the Congress volunteers.	Solat	VIII	Sutahata
32.	15.6.44	Burning of the house of Bishnupada Adak of Chandramer, P.S. Tamluk. This house used as a police camp and after the house was vacated the Congress volunteers burnt it.	Barsirui	XII	Tamluk

**List of Notices for Extortion, 1944 Issued by Sarkar, Tamluk Subdivision**

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Date of notice</i>	<i>Purport of notice</i>	<i>To whom issued</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>PS</i>
1.	26.2.44	Demand of Rs 800 for the Jatiya Sarkar fund.	Kali Charan Patra of Tamluk town	Tamluk	Tamluk
2.	In March 1944	Directing Adhar Chandra Sen, the Complt. of a police case not to depose against the accused.	Adhar Ch. Sen of Durhachek	X	Sutahata
3.	In March 1944	Demand of 4 mds of paddy for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Nitichi Das of Lalpur	IV	Sutahata



<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Date of notice</i>	<i>Purport of notice</i>	<i>To whom issued</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>PS</i>
4.	In March 1944	Demand of Rs 3000 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Haripada Bhattacharji of Jagikhop	XII	Tamluk
5	In March 1944	Demand of Rs 1000 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Debendra Nath Pal of Agar	IV	Tamluk
6.	25.5.44	Demand of Rs 2000 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Jabed Mallik of Agadoro	II	Sutahata
7	—	Demand of Rs 500 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Adhar Ch. Ray of Paikpari	IV	Tamluk
8.	9.5.44	Demand of Rs 2000 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Biharilal Rana of Radhamoni Bazar	IX	Tamluk
9.	11.5.44	Demand of Rs 5000 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Rai Sahib Badya Nath Sarkar of Kelomal	IX	Tamluk
10.	12.5.44	Demand of Rs 10000 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Basanta Kr. Mandal of Harikhali	VI	Mahisadal
11.	18.5.44	Demand of Rs 5000 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Atal Bihari Das of Bhemua, P.S. Subang. The notice was served at his house at Bargoda Jalpai, P.S. Mahisadal	X	Mahisadal
12.	21.5.44	A threatening notice in red ink warning of serious consequence for his activity against the Jatiya Sarkar.	Officer-in-charge Sutahata P.S.	VII	Sutahata
13	In May	Demand of Rs 1000 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Surendra Nath Kar of Srirampur	VIII	Tamluk
14.	3.6.44	Demand of Rs 10000 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Ashutosh Ray of Radhamoni Bazar	IX	Tamluk
15.	20.6.44	Demand of Rs 2000 for the Jatiya Sarkar.	Bihari Lal Rana of Radhamoni Bazar	IX	Tamluk

1. Not printed.



# 142: District Magistrate, Midnapore to Inspector General of Police Calcutta regarding 'Jatiya Sarkar'

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 416/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

*Midnapore*  
*The 16th July, 1944*

From  
F.O. Bell, Esq., I.C.S.  
District Magistrate, Midnapore.

To  
The Inspector General of Police, Bengal  
Calcutta.

Sir,

I forward herewith a note by the Superintendent of Police<sup>1</sup> about the state of affairs in the Tamluk, Mahishadal and Satahata Thanas of the Tamluk Subdivision. This has been discussed at length by the S.P., D.I.G. and myself and the note has our joint consent. The S.P. attaches considerable value to the introduction of the Identity Card system as a means of checking up on people who live in these three Thanas. I am not sure of the legal authority to the Identity Card system, but presume it can be done under authority of rule 16(a) of the Rules made under the Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act (see section 18). See sub-clause (4) — 'conduct him or themselves in such manner' etc. Anyhow, as the system was in force in Chittagong some ten years back, the legal authority for such a system must be on record at the Secretariat. As regards the terrorist nature of the activities committed by the 'Jatiya Sarkar' in this area the list of outrages given in the schedule to S.P.'s letter speak for itself. The other advantages of the use of the Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act is that sections 11(a), 11(b) and 11(c) would enable us to take possession of the houses of absconders and all places where Arbitration Courts are thought to have been held — an action which, I think, would have a good psychological effect upon the country side. Further the Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act would enable us to employ Special Magistrates to try cases specified in the schedule of the Act which includes such offences as robbery, dacoity and hurt and grievous hurt with deadly weapons. If this proposal is accepted and Special Magistrate is appointed for Tamluk, the Appointments Department may have to make some changes. As far as I know, neither Mr Sahab, S.D.O., nor Babu Bhupen Sen, Addl. S.D.O. has exercised first class powers for a period of 4 years and Anil Bose who probably has done so, is not, in my opinion, a man with sufficient mental capacity or judicial discretion to exercise such powers. While of course it is important to ensure that witnesses will tell the truth for the prosecution in courts, Special Magistrate can try a case more quickly than a Sessions Judge under Jury. The major cases of rebellion tried in this district such as the raids on the Thanas at Mahishadal, Satahata, Nandigram, all ended in acquittal, though in some cases only by majority verdict of the Jury.<sup>2</sup>

There is reason to believe that the acquittal of people who were widely known to have taken part in such overt act of rebellion, created a very unfavourable impression of the Government's ability or even wish to deal with its enemies. If so required, I will secure further information about the results of the principal cases which were started for offences committed in September and October, 1942. A rapid trial means a lesser time in which witnesses can be intimidated.

The other steps which I would suggest to help to maintain the morale of the rural police is the granting of higher rate of pay. At present a Dafadar gets Rs 7 and a Chaukidar Rs 6 a month and under Act VI of 1870, this is the most that a Chaukidar can be paid. I would suggest that they may be given a special bonus of Rs 3 a month or even more, if Government is disposed to do so. In 1943-44 they were given a special bonus of Rs 1/8 in consideration of their special duties brought upon them as a result of the cyclone relief, but now that relief has stopped in these Thanas, except for 4 Unions of Sutahata, they have less to do and this bonus has not been repeated for 1944-45. The introduction of Identity Card system will mean a lot more work for the rural police and the special bonus can be justified for this reason alone. I should also ask for a special grant to replace Chaukidars' uniforms. This would have been done long ago, it had not been for the fact that a consignment from the Rajshahi Central Jail has been lost in transit. But a second replacement would probably mean special government orders, as it would be outside the Chaukidari Equipment Fund rules.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

F.O. Bell.  
District Magistrate Midnapore.  
16.7.44

Enc: S.P's letter.<sup>1</sup>

HMC 16  
Memo No 902, C d/16.7.44

Copy forwarded to A. de C. Williams, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secy., to the Govt. of Bengal for information

District Magistrate  
Midnapore

1 1 and 3 Doc No 141

2 In this context Docs 8 & 9 in Chapter VII may also be seen - Ed.



## 143: Governor of Bengal to the Addl. Secretary, Govt. of Bengal (Terrorism in Tamluk)

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 416/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

*dt 22-7-44*

My dear Baker,

His excellency has seen a copy of a secret letter addressed to the Inspector-General of Police, Bengal by the District Magistrate of Midnapore, No. 902 S. dated the 16th July, 1944<sup>1</sup> in which it is reported that a serious situation in respect of law and order still exists and that outrageous acts are being committed regularly in the Tamluk Sub division of the Midnapore district. The Local Officers consider it necessary to introduce the Identity Card system in this subdivision and to deal with outrages under the provisions of the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist outrage Act, 1932. It has also been suggested that the Chowkidars and Dafadars of this Subdivision should be given a higher rate of pay or a bonus with a view to maintaining the morale of the rural police.

2. His Excellency is interested in a very early decision upon these proposals and would like to have the views of the Home Department within the next week.

3. Will you please get Inspector General's views on the proposals and submit them to His Excellency with the recommendations of the Home Department as early as possible.

Yours sincerely

F.P.H. Baker, Esq., C.P.L., I.C.S.,  
Addl Secretary to Government  
of Bengal, Home Department

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 142.

## 144: Official Notings (dt 22.7.44- 1.8.44) (extracts) 'Jatiya Sarkar'

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. 416/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

... I am of the opinion that it would be an advantage to have declared unlawful the 'Jatiya Sarkar' and all its branches in the Midnapore district under section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.

As regards the application of the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Act (XII of 1932) I do not think the application of this Act desirable for the following reasons; The Act was framed in 1932 'to provide for suppressing the Terrorist Movement in Bengal'. The validity of applying

it to any later movement is therefore almost certain to be challenged on legal grounds. It can be argued that the Terrorist Movement was duly suppressed and that any present disorder is not a continuance of that Movement.

The only advantage which the B.S.T.O.<sup>1</sup> Act would appear to confer which cannot be secured by the use of the Defence of India Rules, is the appointment of Special Magistrates who are competent to try Sessions trial cases. Under the Defence of India Act, a special tribunal u/s 8 would have to be convened. It is doubtful if the services of so many officers can be spared.

As regards registration and control of the movements of persons in the Tamluk Subdivision by means of passes, this can as readily or more readily be done under rule 9 (i) (c) of the Defence of India Rules.

Before coming to a final decision in the matter it might be an advantage to consult the Dist. Magistrate, Midnapore again in the light of this note but it is very desirable that early action should be taken as the campaign for the suppression of lawlessness in the Tamluk Subdivision has already commenced. I would suggest that with a view to expediting trial of cases arising out of the present outbreak one particular magistrate might be deputed for the purpose. There will remain the necessity for expeditious disposal of Sessions trial cases if it is decided that officers cannot be spared for the convening of Special Tribunals under the Defence of India Rules.

D.A. Brayden  
D.I.G., I.B.  
22/7/44

D.O. No. 2150S dated 22-7-44 from D.S.G.B.

This should be read with the correspondence below and with the note of D.I.G., I.B. above. Earlier noting need not be read. I have discussed with D.I.G., I.B. and with I.G. The proposals of the local officers at Midnapore are four-fold, as follows:

- (1) Action u/s 16, Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, to declare the Jatiya Sarkar at Tamluk (and its off-shoots) to be an 'unlawful association'. The justification for this proposal is to be found in the reports of the local officers. There can be no doubt that this organisation attracts the operation of sec. 15(2)(a) of the Act, and that action u/s 16 would be justified. It is not quite clear whether the 'Garam Dal' is a part of the 'Jatiya Sarkar' or whether each requires separate specifications. That, however, can easily be ascertained. There need be no delay in taking the main decision to apply Sec. 16 (page 8, manual). Action u/s 17A can be taken later, if necessary.
- (2) Application of the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Act. . . . Chapter II (Possession of certain literature) of this act, as well as the schedule (list of offences), extend to the whole Province by virtue of Sec. 1(2). Chapter I (Emergency Powers) was extended to the Midnapore district on 12-1-33. The act will be found on page 45, Manual, and the relevant Notification on page 62. Consequently, the Rules made under the Act (page 63, Manual) also apply to Midnapore district, which was declared to be an emergency area in terms of Rule 116A(1) on 14-6-34 (page 57, Manual). The D.M. was empowered to act u/s 25(1) on 11-2-35 (page 68, Manual).

On 31-5-38, however, District Officers were instructed to cease using the provisions

of this emergency legislation (circular letter from Chief Secretary,<sup>2</sup> copy at page 13, Correspondence) (Home Dept's printed file below).

The preamble to the Act makes it clear that this enactment was designed 'for the purpose of suppressing terrorist movement in Bengal'. It would be difficult to rebut the contention that the operations of the Jatiya Sarkar at Tamluk are entirely distinct from the 'terrorist movement'.

As the D.I.G., I.B. points out in his note above, the powers required to control movement and enforce an Identity Card system at Tamluk exist under D.I.R. 9(1)(C) & 9(2), with particular reference to 9(2)(c). The necessary orders under this rule might have to be somewhat lengthy but they would be less open to objection than the re-employment of the B.S.T.O. Act and Rules.

It is suggested that the D.I.G.'s proposal for the use of D.I.R. 9 should be approved, that the necessary orders under that Rule be made in consultation with the D.M., and that a particular Magistrate be appointed to dispose of the resulting criminal cases.

- (3) Posting of a detachment of the Eastern Frontier Rifles to Tamluk to assist in enforcement of Identity Card system and to help District Police to maintain order and search for absconders.

At page 19, correspondence, the I.G. proposes that 3 platoons of the EFR<sup>3</sup> be sent to Tamluk, under the command of an Assistant Commandant, and that their HQs should be at Tamluk, Mahisadal and Sutahata. It seems that accommodation can be found. The proposal may be approved.

- (4) Grant of bonus to Daffadars and Chowkidars

The D.M.'s proposal is at page 19, Correspondence.<sup>4</sup> He suggests a bonus of at least Rs 3 per head per mensem, in view of the extra work involved by the Identity Card system. It seems that they received a bonus of Rs 1/8 for cyclone relief work in 1943-44. A bonus of Rs 3 per head per mensem for all Daffadars and Chaukidars in the Unions affected may be approved.

The suggestion for a special grant for replacement of uniforms will also be examined.

2. C.S. should now see these proposals. I doubt if it is necessary to take any of them in Cabinet, provided that action is not taken under the B.S.T.O. Act. HCM<sup>5</sup> must of course see. He is in Dacca, and I understand from his Private Secretary that he is likely to be in Calcutta for only 3 hours when he returns on the 26th. He leaves for Lahore thereafter. In these circumstances I suggest that, when C.S. has noted, the file might be sent to SGB, might be taken to Dacca when H.E. goes there on the 25th, and might be discussed there with HCM.

E.B.H. Baker  
23/7/44

I doubt whether the plan to send the file to Dacca will work. A.S. must try and catch H.C.M. on his way through Calcutta (he ought to be here much more than 3 hours). H.E.'s orders can be taken as soon as he returns.

A. dec. Williams  
24/7/44

HCM's time of return tomorrow from Dacca is entirely indefinite. He is coming by air, and is not expected until the afternoon. His train for Lahore leaves at 19.50 hrs. I have arranged

that his Private Secretary will ring up A.S.(I) as soon as he can get word of HCM's arrival. It is essential to obtain HCM's orders before he leaves for Lahore.

E.B.H. Baker  
25-7-44

H.C.M. discussed this case yesterday evening with C.S., A.S.(I) and Joint Secretary. He agrees to the 'Jatiya Sarkar' and, if a separate organization the 'Garam dal' being declared unlawful association under section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, and to three platoons of the Eastern Frontier Rifles under an Assistant Commandant being sent to Tamluk immediately. [A]

As regards the proposed introduction of the identity card system and the grant of a bonus to Daffadars and Chaukidars, he would like to discuss this question with the I.G. of Police, the D.I.G., I.B., and Mr Hands, who has experience of the system, on his return to Calcutta.

2. The D.I.G., I.B. may now be asked u/o to supply us with the full title and description of the 'Jatiya Sarkar' and to let us know whether the 'Garam dal' is part of the 'Jatiya Sarkar' or a separate organisation.

D.I.G., I.B.  
Mr Brayden

27-7-44

The Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar organisation, with its branches and the organisations named 'Garam dal' and 'Bidyut Bahini' in Midnapur may be declared unlawful u/s 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act.

I shall see H.C.M. as desired as soon as possible.

D.A. Brayden  
4-8-44  
D.I.G., I.B.

- 
- 1 Bengal Suppression of Terrorists outrages.
  - 2 Not printed
  - 3 Eastern Frontier Rifles
  - 4 Doc. 142
  - 5 Hon'ble Chief Minister

## 145: Government of Bengal to the Government of India

File No. 18/15/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Bengal Secretariat  
D.O. No. 773-P.S.

*The 24th July 1944*

My dear Oliver,

Please refer to your secret demi-official letter No. 18/15/43 - Poll (I) dated the 27th March 1944<sup>1</sup> on the subject of the Bengal statistics of security prisoners.

2. I apologize for the delay in sending my reply and can only plead in extenuation the fact that a considerable amount of 'historical research' was necessary before we could prepare anything approaching reasonably accurate figures.

3. A policy of attacking the various terrorist and subversive groups in Bengal by detention of their most prominent and active leaders and members was initiated in 1940. Up to July 1942 the number of such security prisoners was between four and five hundred, and they were all known terrorists. On the outbreak of the Congress movement in August 1942 all our terrorist groups took advantage of the situation and joined in the general programme of sabotage and violence. For the next few months there was a sudden increase in the numbers of persons arrested under Defence of India Rule 129. Many of those were successfully prosecuted on specific charges, while the others were detained as security prisoners under Defence of India Rule 26. As the continued detention of the great majority of the security prisoners was necessary to break up and paralyze the various terrorist and subversive organisations and as the line of demarcation between terrorist and Congress movement prisoners was extremely difficult to identify, statistics of the two classes were never systematically kept.

4. Arrests were going on all over the Provinces at the instance of local authorities and orders under Defence of India Rule 26 were also being issued in some cases by the local officers in exercise of powers delegated to them. All these factors combined to make the collection and maintenance of accurate statistics extremely difficult.

5. We have now had time to examine the previous cases and to prepare the enclosed tables 'A' and 'B', the figures which can, I think, be regarded as very reasonably correct.

6. It must be pointed out that these figures refer to the political security prisoners only. We have in Bengal used the powers of detention under Defence of India Rule 26 (now replaced by Ordinance III of 1944) for the detention in custody of active and habitual criminals (of the Goonda class) whose remaining at large in the very rigorous blackout conditions obtaining in Calcutta and the neighboring areas would be a very grave danger to the maintenance of public safety and public order. Strictly speaking their number should be included in table 'A' under the head 'all security prisoners', but I find that in the statements submitted to the Government of India from time to time figures in respect of these criminal security prisoners have all along been left out.

The reason, I think, is that the heading of part I of Appendix II of the Fortnightly Reports refers to action taken under the Defence of India Rules in respect of 'political' or anti-war activities, which description clearly does not apply to the cases of the criminal security prisoners.

Yours sincerely,

S.B. Bapat

To  
S.J.L. Olver, Esq., I.P.,  
Under Secy. to the Govt. of India,  
Home Department.





# 146: Statement of convictions and detentions

File No. 18/15/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Telegram 2 No. 9755 dated 25th July 1944.

From: Governor General (Home Department), New Delhi.

To: Secretary of State for India, London.

Continuation Home Department telegram 7791 of 10th June.<sup>1</sup> Following is summary of 40th issue of statements of convictions and detention for month ending 1st June.

1. (a) 2086  
(b) 104041  
(c) 8135
2. (a) 549  
(b) 22036  
(c) 5900
3. 10217
4. 2914

Following are correct Orissa figures for 1st May. Please substitute for these reported in statement sent with our letter of 13th June and correct totals accordingly.

1. (a) 339
2. (a) 307
3. 543
4. 305

P.S.V. SECY. EX COUNCIL SECY. & DEPARTMENT (2)

P.K.W.

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<sup>1</sup> Not printed.

# 147: Note of Intelligence Bureau (Home Department) regarding Congress Socialist Party

File No. 3/28/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Extract from Bihar CID Fortnightly Report for the Fortnight Ending July 28, 1944*

*Congress Socialist Party* – There was considerable talk in C.S.P. circles of commemorating the August Rebellion, though plans did not appear to have matured. South Muzaffarpur absconders

were said to be recruiting party units, collecting volunteers, trying to suborn the rural police and threatening informers . . .

Those forgetful of 1942 had a reminder on the night of July 25/26 when attacks were made on the small E.I.R. stations of Bandhua and Kasta about 5-6 miles east & west of Gaya on the Grand Chord line. According to details available at the time of report, the attacking gang at Bandhua was 10 to 15 strong, carried a gun, burned station records and damaged instruments. The mob at Kesta consisted of about 40, three of whom flourished pistols. They damaged & burned instruments, records, furniture and a signal cabin & loosened some fish plates and keys on the track.

G. Ahmed  
Deputy Director – 1.8.44

## 148: Govt. of Bengal to Govt. of India – Reg. Amarendra Nath Ghosh

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 281/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

To  
The C.M. Trivedi, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Govt. of India,  
War Department

*31st July, 1944*

My dear Trivedi

Please refer to your demi officials letter No. 732-S of the 29th May<sup>1</sup> regarding the case of Dr Amarendra Nath Ghosh.

A precis of the information about Dr Ghosh's activities prior to 1937 is enclosed. There is no recorded information against him since 1937, and particulars of his attitude and activities since that year can only be obtained by questioning him and checking up on his replies.

The question whether any undue risk would be involved in retaining him as a commissioned officer must be decided in the light of the principles set out in paragraph (i) of the Government of India, Home Department, Intelligence Bureau, Secret Circular Memo No. 7/AI/41, dated 10th October, 1941.

Yours sincerely,

<sup>1</sup> Document 126.



# 149: Official Notings on 'Jatiya Sarkar'<sup>1</sup> (dt 5.8.44-17.8.44) (extracts) (continuation of Doc. 144)

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 416/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

... Orders prepare. Draft put up.<sup>2</sup> It may be shown to Legal Department before issue. It is presumed that I.G.P. has already deputed three platoons of the EFR to Tamluk with reference to [A] of Addl. Secy.'s note prepare. [Note in Doc. 144 dated 27.7.44 - Ed.]

I take it that D.I.G. means that besides the 'Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar' with its branches, there are two other associations, viz., 'Garam Dal' and 'Bidyut Bahini' that these are to be declared unlawful associations, even though I feel that D.I.G.'s note of 4-8-44<sup>3</sup> (prepage) may be read as meaning that this is one organisation called 'Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar' which has branches known as 'Garam Dal' and 'Bidyut Bahini'. Corr. 4, the Commissioner describes 'Garam Dal' as an offshoot of 'Jatiya Sarkar' even though in Corr. 5, he recommends notification for both 'Jatiya Sarkar', 'Garam Dal'. If Addl. Secy. considers necessary, he may please ring up D.P.S. & get the matter still further clarified.

Subject to this, the draft has been a little revised on the lines of a 'precedent'.

I should mention here that S.G.B. wrote to us to say that H.F. wanted to have very early the views of the Home Deptt. of the I.G. on the proposals about (i) introduction of Identity card in Tamluk (2) application of BSTO Act (3) increase of payment of bonus to the Dafadars and Chaukidars.

The first point has not yet been finally decided and is pending for H.C.M.'S discussion with D.I.S. and Mr Hands.

The 2nd point has been decided that it would not be very legal to apply BSTO Act of 1932 at the present time.<sup>4</sup>

As regards the 3rd point, Addl. Secy.'s note of 23-7-44<sup>5</sup> (Serial 4) may be seen. C.S. approved that Rs 3 per head per mensem might be granted as bonus.

To be on the safe side, the Legislative Deptt. may be asked to see the draft notification before issue

After issue the file may be submitted to S.G.B.

Draft should be shown to Legal Dept.

S.C. Chatterji  
5-8-44

The draft notification as slightly revised is in order.

K.A. Ali  
8/8/44

I have spoken to the I.G. and he is arranging to send the 3 platoons of the Eastern Frontier Rifles to Tamluk. The draft notification is placed below may issue after D.I.B. has seen. [A] Thereafter the meeting regarding identity cards will be arranged.

9/8

Seen thanks.

Signed

14/8/44

Issue draft notification and then resubmit.

Chatterji  
14/8/44

O.I. No. 4183-4183 P1, dt 14-8-44

(Resubmitted with reference to ['A'] above). Besides this question of identity cards proposed to be issued under D.I.R. 9, there remains the implementing of the decision of granting a bonus to the rural police at Rs 3 per head per mensem. It was also introduced that the suggestion for a special grant for replacement of uniforms would be examined. The concurrence of the Finance Deptt. have not yet been obtained. Before, however, the matter is referred to F.D., I.G.P. may see how much will be required in meeting the cost of bonus for the Chowkidars and dafadar of the area in question and also that of replacement of their uniforms. The figures for each of these items should be given separately.

Chatterji  
Addl. Secy. I  
16.8.44.

The question of the payment of a bonus to chowkidars and dafadars is bound up with that of the issue of identity cards. The next thing, therefore, is to arrange the meeting suggested by H.C.M. I would suggest that instead of asking Mr Hands, we ask the I.G. of Police to get Mr Springfield in. He had experience of the identity card system in Chittagong and will have to work the proposed system in Midnapore. He will, therefore, be in a specially good position to give advice on the subject.

If H.C.M. agrees, will he kindly suggest a date for the meeting? I suggest it should be held towards the end of the month.

17.8.44.

- 1 Continuation of Doc. 144
- 2 Not printed - See Doc 150 below
- 3 Doc 144.
- 4&5. Doc. 144.

## 150: Notification from Home Department - Govt. of Bengal

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 416/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Home Department Political Notifications.

*Calcutta, the 14th August 1944*

Whereas in the opinion of the Governor the associations in the district of Midnapore specified in the schedule below have for their object interference with the administration of the law and the maintenance of law and order and constitute danger to the public peace.

Now therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 (XIV of 1908), the Governor is pleased to declare the said associations to be unlawful associations within the meaning of Part II of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.

The schedule

1. The Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar.
2. The Garam Dal
3. The Bidyut Bahini

By orders of the Governor,

E. Tufnell-Barrett.

Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

No. 4183/1-F.

Copy forwarded to the District Magistrate, Midnapore, for information and necessary action.

No. 4185/ S.P.

Copy forwarded for information to the Comm. Burdwan Dvn. I.G. of Police/ D.I.G., I.B./S.G.O.

S.C. Chatterji

Asstt. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

14.8.SKB. 14.8

## 151: Official Notings on All India Satyagraha Council (extracts)

Govt of Bengal (Home) File No. 316/44

[Bengal State Archives]

Express letter No. 1/4/44 - Poll (I) dt/21-8-44<sup>1</sup> From the Government of India, Home Department

As the Bengal Govt. have no intention to declare the All India Satyagraha Council to be an unlawful association, the P.G.U. do may be shown to the D.I.G., I.B. Bengal and C.P. Col. with special reference to para 3.

C S. of A.S. (1) have seen

Chatterji

25/8/44

Addl. Secy.

Seen and returned with thanks. The Director, Intelligence Bureau's Circulars Memorandum

No. S/Cong/44(I) dated 14-6-44 which was forwarded to you in original under cover of this office Do. No. 19815 of 27-6-44 may kindly be returned.<sup>2</sup>

for D.I.G., I.B.

Seen thanks.

Signed  
6/9/44

1. Not printed.
2. Doc. 139.

## 152: Official Notings (dt 5.9.1944) (extracts) – Underground movements in Midnapore

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 416/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

A meeting was held in H.C.M.'s room yesterday (the 4th September) which was attended by I.G. of Police, D.I.G., I.B. Mr Springfield and Additional Secretary.

H.C.M. explained that in view of the fact that Mr Gandhi had ordered the stoppage of all underground movements and directed all underground workers to come out into the open as from the 9th August, 1944 and as there appeared to be some signs that these order were obeyed it would be difficult to take additional coercive measures there at this stage without being accused of attempting to take the credit for what had already been done by Mr Gandhi of causing unnecessary harassment. If however, it became clear that the underground movement in Midnapore has actually been functioning after the 9th August and that further acts of oppression, kidnapping etc. had occurred, he would be quite prepared to agree to the issue of identity cards and to defend the matter in the House. After some discussion it was agreed that the D.I.G., I.B. should prepare a list of incidents which had occurred in Midnapore from the 9th of August upto the end of September<sup>1</sup> and that the matter should be considered again on receipt of this list. In the meantime arrangements should be made to get the identity cards ready but they should not be printed off finally at this stage. Mr Springfield explained that there would be only one colour of card – white – and that card would only be issued to Hindus between the ages of 15 and 50. Total requirements would be one lakh. It was agreed that if identity cards were introduced, chaukidars and dafadards would be allotted an extra Rs 3 per month as remuneration for the extra work involved and that the amount should be paid by the Provincial Government.

A.S.  
dt 5.9.44.

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1. The decision that 'no action is now contemplated . . . ' may be seen in Chapter I-C, Doc. 74.

## 153: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 -- Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The political situation in the Tamluk subdivision of the Midnapore district continues to show improvement. The District Magistrate reports that the old Congress workers of this subdivision have held an informal meeting at which it was decided that if members of the Jatiya Sarkar failed to court arrest as instructed by Mr Gandhi, a joint manifesto would be issued urging the people to refrain from giving the offenders food or drink. In the meantime, many prominent members of the Jatiya Sarkar have either surrendered or been arrested, and some of these have been tried and given heavy sentences.

## 154: Extracts from evidence of Mr C.J. Minister, D.I.G., C.I.D., before Famine Enquiry Commission on 20.4.44

Nanavati Papers -- Vol. IV

[NAI]

1. Chairman. You are in charge of the Enforcement Branch? Is the C.I.D. work heavy? - Yes, definitely, because like everything else it has multiplied immensely since the war.

2. Pure C.I.D.? - Oh Yes. We had to increase the staff of the C.I.D. to meet the situation which arose. Last year we had over 7,500 dacoities reported throughout the provinces. In fact the situation was desperate at some places as, for example, in Midnapore.

3. In 1943 in Midnapore? - Yes. The number of cases reported was over 1,900. In the beginning of that year there was a monthly increase in crime and we had to arrest that progress.

4. You are speaking of 1943? - Yes, I am. Then we had to increase the C.I.D. staff. The eventual result of the crime was that in the matter of dacoities alone we had seven and a half times the normal.

5. That was due entirely, I suppose, to famine? - Oh no. A certain proportion was, what may be termed, purely hunger cases though that was really very small. But the professional criminal seized the opportunity of the situation and he used to get together a band of the hungry people and say, 'I know where there is plenty of foodstuffs. Come with me'. He would then take them to the paddy and rice stores while he himself would go into the house and get hold of the cash. Of purely looting cases there was not a great deal and they were mostly on boats or carts in transit.

6. What was the increase due to? - Well, it was due to a number of factors and I do not know which should be placed first. But it had become obvious towards the latter part of 1942 that something was going to happen in 1943.

7. You mean as regards food? - No. As regards crime which had already begun to go

up. It first became really noticeable about October and about the same time I first began to notice the manifestations of food trouble. I glanced through the Weekly Reviews of Dacoity cases of that time last night and I found that on the 20th October, 1942, I mentioned 'It is a very significant sign of the times that in not less than 33 cases utensils and cloths are specifically mentioned amongst the stolen property and in seven cases foodstuffs also were either the sole objective or were taken along with other things. It is many years since dacoits bothered themselves with such items as utensils and cloths'. Later, the 1943 situation developed and though 1944 is better we still have a very serious crime situation in the province.

8. What is the main cause to which you attribute the very large increase in dacoities? – Personally I am inclined to think that the original cause was the steady relaxation of police surveillance over known criminals followed by the Congress rebellion which left the police no time to do anything else and that immediately opened the way. The criminal elements were slow in beginning to realise the relaxation, for with the pressure of other things such as the denial policy, the registration of boats and bicycles and all that kind of things, all of which had to be thrown on to the police, necessarily the only thing that could suffer was the ordinary patrol work and surveillance generally and that did suffer. It was on account of this that it took a little while (as it also happened in 1930) for the criminals to realise that they had a much greater opportunity than they had before and then they began to try out in the early part of 1942.

9. In the early part of 1943? – No, 1942. I can trace it back to the early part of 1942 although at that time we were not able to appreciate the real significance of it. Then came the Congress rebellion in August and of course that inevitably absorbed the whole attention of the police who had no time left to take notice of anything else. Then there were other things like food cases coming up at the top of everything and hence it really became obvious in about October, 1942, that something serious was happening. So personally I am inclined to put those two as the prime deciding factors in the increase of crime – the relaxation of police surveillance very much aggravated by the Congress rebellion. It was rather a repetition of the history of 1930–31.

10. Had any other province a large increase in crime? – Well, I have not kept statistics about that, but I think in Bihar round about August 1942 the situation was very bad. To what extent that situation had since been mastered I am not in a position to say.

11. Is that increase still persisting? – No. We have broken the back of it, it has not been the same this year as last year because with the increase in the C.I.D. staff the position has improved. A large number of people have been convicted and many others are awaiting trial. So there has been a noticeable decrease in the dacoity figures. In fact at this time last year there had been well over 5,000 dacoities but up to last Saturday, the figure was 3,239.

12. So, there has been a big drop? – Yes.

13. Was the Congress rebellion bad in Midnapore? – Yes, and in fact it has continued. In Tamluk there have been cases of kidnapping and all sorts of things. There they set up a parallel government.

14. In Tamluk in 1942? – Yes, and it continued. Now the convicts are surrendering.

15. That is in accordance with Mr Gandhi's instructions? – Yes, in accordance with Mr Gandhi's instructions.

16. What about Contai? – Contai was also somewhat affected but it did not continue there to the same extent. In October, Contai also had the cyclone. So that proved a very considerable discouragement. I was not there of course. I have heard about the cyclone and tidal wave



and the fact that a large number of people were drowned. We also heard that crops were destroyed to 5 or 6 miles from the coast so that everybody was affected and was trying to keep alive. They did not then bother about any other thing.

17. In Tamluk there was parallel Government? Yes.

18. Tamluk was not so badly affected? – It was also affected by the cyclone but not so much by the tidal wave. There the lawlessness was very evident. They raided police stations and kidnapped officials, etc.

19. Was it confined to Tamluk? – To the best of my knowledge it was worst in Tamluk. Again, in Tamluk communications are very difficult. In fact Nandigram police station is virtually an island. One can cross the river only when the high tide is up and then one has to walk, as there is no other means of locomotion.

20. Outside Tamluk and Contai subdivisions, Midnapore was not so much affected by the cyclones and the situation in Tamluk was not so serious? – Tamluk was affected to a less degree but Contai bore the main brunt of it. Huts were blown away and trees were uprooted. Further north the damage was less, but it continued even as far as the railway line which was blocked for a long time, by trees, signal posts and other obstacles being blown across the track.

21. Crops in that area were destroyed – I understand that there was no great damage to crops beyond that part which was hit by the tidal wave. From about 10 miles or less from the coast there was no appreciable damage to crops and the deficiency caused by the damage in that belt could easily have been made good from the surplus from the rest of the district. This again I do not personally vouch to be absolutely accurate, but this is my information.

## 155: Official Notings – Regarding Ram Manohar Lohia\* (dt 26.9.1944–10.10.1944) (extracts)

File No. 44/91/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Notes in the Home Dept.

D.I.B.

1. We are opposed to any interview between Hira Lal Lohia and Ram Manohar Lohia for the present, as the Bombay underground Congress party will probably try to establish contact with Ram Manohar through this means, and as Hira Lal's past record is not entirely blameless.

2. Hira Lal's letter<sup>1</sup> may be passed on to his son.

(W.O.B. Stallard)  
(Officer-on special Duty)

H.D. (Mr Shaw)

DIB U/O No. 8/Cap/44(4), Sept. 26, 1944

Have we any indication that a money order for Rs 25 has arrived.

G.A.T. Shaw  
26/9

Poll (I)

No. (We have been receiving money order for another Security prisoner — Mr S. Gokhale — which I have been receiving. The money is sent to the D.I.B. for disposal. If any money order had arrived for Dr Lohia, it would presumably have to come to me. I have not been able to verify from the receipt clerks but am not detaining this as it is marked 'Immediate').

(I have removed the immediate slip).

Ref. the letter below.

Hira Lal's letter is to be passed to his son.

Paras 2 – 3; draft a reply of refusal and add that we have not received the Rs 25. It would be worth asking for further details of the money order.

G.A. Shaw  
27/9/44

Draft put up.' Dr Lohia is detained in the Pb.,<sup>1</sup> presumably in the Lahore Fort. We may address the Chief Secretary, Pb., regarding the letter for him.

The papers regarding Dr Lohia's detention are NGO.

A copy of the letter has been taken and placed among the cor. The original is attached to the dft. to Punjab.

Drafts to issue.

I have made a cross reference on the NGO file (III/4/43-MS).

G.A.T. Shaw  
30/9

The reply to Mr Lohia's letter of 1st Sept. and subsequent telegram issued on the 2nd inst. to his Bombay address, as he has come to Delhi, it will take some time for the letter to reach him if it is redirected from Bombay. For orders whether we may send him a copy.

2. He has repeated the request for permission to interview Dr Lohia. D.I.B. was opposed to permission being granted. As there would perhaps be no great danger if the interviews were held under proper police surveillance and after due security precautions in the way of searching Dr Lohia had been taken, it is for consideration whether we should not ask D.I.B. to reconsider. Dr Lohia has now been in detention for over 4 months.

3. As regards the articles required by Dr Lohia, his place of detention is perhaps being kept secret. Incidentally this has a bearing on the question of granting interview. If so, the articles should be sent to us and we will on receipt pass them on to D.I.B. for disposal. If the place of detention is not or need not be kept secret, Dr Lohia may be asked to send the articles to Supdt. in charge of the jail.

A.P.  
9-10-44

Para 1 Yes. Send a copy

There is no question of allowing an interview at present — Refuse.

G.A. Shaw  
9-10-44

A draft is put up. Mr Lohia intends to send more to his son than intimated by D.I.B. (page-1), but this does not matter.

A.P.  
9.10.44.

Addl. Secy. may see draft below. Our letter to Hira Lal Lohia (S.N.8) has issued.

G.A.

10-10

Addl. Secretary

Issue

Signed

Sl. No. 9 issued

Signed

1 Not printed.

2 See Doc. 158

3 Punjab.

\* See also Document No. 158

## 156: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

The breaking up of the 'Jatiya Sarkar' in the Tamluk subdivision of the Midnapore district is still in progress and several more members of the organisation surrendered to, or were arrested by, the police during the fortnight. In the final issue of the 'Biplabi', dated the 27th August, the acting Secretary of the Tamluk Subdivisional Congress Committee bade farewell to Congress workers and outlined the origin of the 'Jatiya Sarkar', which, he said, was formed under the instructions of the Subdivisional Congress Working Committee. He insisted that though the 'Jatiya Sarkar' appeared to be a different organisation from the Congress, it was primarily the same and added that it was being closed down in accordance with the direction of Mr Gandhi.

## 157 Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from Bihar for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Leading Congressmen who have been released from the jail continue to interest themselves in relief work in North Bihar. A good deal of interest is being displayed in the question of funds. Authorisation has now been received from the Secretary of the Provincial Branch of the All India Spinners' Association to release the money lent to them by the Bihar Central Relief Trust, which was formed after the 1934 earthquake.

Orders have therefore issued to the Accountant General to release a total sum of Rs 1,75,000 from the amounts held by the Government on account of the sale proceeds of cloth etc. realized when the assets of the All India Spinners' Association were seized, to Babu Anugrah Narayan Sinha, ex-Finance Minister, who is the Secretary of the Joint Committee formed for epidemic relief in North Bihar.

The collections for the Kasturba fund continue and there is a certain amount of rivalry between Congress leaders in this matter.

### *Congress Socialist Party*

The special operations in the area frequented by the Siaram Singh and his gangs continue and a number of arrests of minor wanted men have been made. In the meantime activities of other gangs outside the area where special operations are going on continue. In Purnea political dacoits have been particularly active. In one village the house of a man who was suspected of having been a police informer, was surrounded at night by a band of armed men and he was kidnapped and then murdered. In another village a few miles away, the house of a man who was also believed to be a police informer, was visited by a man who said he was a Sub Inspector of Police. This man was also found dead the next day outside the village. In a village in North Bhagalpur the police got information that certain political absconders were in a house in the village. The place was surrounded by the police, but the inmates turned out and attempted to overpower some of the constables. The principal wanted man, Birinchi Missir, was shot dead in the struggle.

In Darbhanga there have been several reports of activities of C.S.P. gangs and some attempts to seize firearms. Suraj Narayan Singh is still at large and leading his gang. There are reports that one Gautam from the United Provinces and some terrorists from Jessore in Bengal have come to Darbhanga to train this gang in the use of firearms.

One of the political prisoners, Saligram Singh, who escaped along with Jai Prakash Narain and others from Hazaribagh jail in the year 1942, and has been at large ever since, surrendered to the police of Hazaribagh a few days ago.

**158:** Regarding forwarding a letter of Hiralal, father of R.M. Lohia to Ram Manohar Lohia<sup>1</sup> (security prisoner)

File No. 44/91/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### **Express Letter**

No. 55/92 – Poll (I) Dated 2-10-44

To The Chief Secretary to Govt. Punjab  
Lahore

Enclosed is a letter in Hindi from one Hira Lal to his son, security prisoner Dr Ram Manohar Lohia. Please arrange for its being forwarded to Dr Lohia an early date.

D.I.B. has been consulted and has raised no objection.

US (I)

44/91/44 - Poll (I)  
DEPARTMENT/OFFICE

*Dated: 2-10-44*

To  
N.T. Shroff, B.A.I.L.B.,  
Advocate,  
Kalear Building,  
Babulnath,  
Bombay-7.

Sir,

With reference to your letter dt 5th Sept. 1944,<sup>2</sup> I am directed to say that the Govt. of India cannot permit Mr Hira Lal to interview his son, Dr Lohia. His letter has been forwarded for delivery to Dr Lohia. But no money order for Dr Lohia has yet been received here. Enquiries will, however, be made if the necessary particulars are furnished.

I am etc.  
Signed

1 See also Document No. 155

2 Not printed

## 159: D.I.G. of Police to Addl. Secretary, Govt. of Bengal

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 416/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

*Office of the Dy. Inspector-General of Police,  
Intelligence Branch - 13, Lord Sinha Road,  
Calcutta, the 7th October, 1944.*

My dear Tufnell Barrett,

You will recall that at the meeting with H.C.M. on the 4th September<sup>1</sup> attended by the Inspector-General of Police, yourself, myself and Springfield, when Midnapore affairs were discussed, it was decided that before action should be taken to enforce a system of Identity cards, a record book to be prepared of all further outrages after the 9th August up to the end of September.

It is satisfactory to be able to report that no further outrages have been committed by the Jatiya Sarkar in the Tamluk sub-division during this period and that many more of the wanted offenders have given themselves up. This great improvement cannot however be wholly ascribed to Mr Gandhi's advice. The first blow to the Jatiya Sarkar was the arrest of the absconder Annada Prasad Choudhuri for which the officers of the Midnapore D.I.B. are to

be congratulated. Later, the stiff sentences including fines involving attachment of property awarded to offenders must have given pause to others while the declaration of the Jatiya Sarkar as unlawful and rumours of the establishment of E.F.R. posts and the introduction of an identity card system also discouraged the continuance of the movement.

The greatly improved situation now makes the introduction of the proposed Identity Card system unnecessary, but the proposal may have to be renewed if the situation should deteriorate again.

Yours sincerely  
D.A. Brayden  
7/10

H. Tuffnell-Barret Esq., CIE, ICS,  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Writers Buildings,  
Calcutta.

1 See also Document No. 152, 153 above

## 160: Casey's visit to Chinsurah – Extracts from Casey's Diary dt 9.10.1944

R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 98  
[NMML]

October 9th – We then went to Chinsurah and I inspected the Civic Guards then had a discussion with the District Officers in the Commissioner's House. The District in that past year has been nothing like as deficit as had been supposed.

The District Magistrate (Mr A.B. Chatterjee) who seems a very good man has one principal trouble – and that is the Arambagh Sub-division, in the West of Hooghly District. Communications make it extremely difficult to get at – and he thinks it should be divorced from Hooghly district and joined on to Midnapore. Arambagh sounds like a plague spot for malarial and also underground Congress activities. The western half of Arambagh is the worst. It was suggested that the tenure of stay of the Subdivisional Officer should be one year and not two.

## 161: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Political:* Congress Meetings have been held in most districts to make arrangements for pushing forward the 'constructive programme'. There are signs that the Congress people themselves are not working very happily together. Anugrah Narayan Singh is believed to be

sympathetic with the Communists while Sri Krishna Singh\* and his supporters seem to be flirting with the C.S.P. In Monghyr district the cleavage appears to be between Bhumihars and Rajputs.

Many of the Congress leaders are now reported to be actively collecting money for the relief of distressed families of politicians and for legal defence. It is reported from Patna that some Congressmen are endeavouring to collect funds for the defence of Jai Prakash Narayan and that they are also trying to find out the names of witnesses in order to influence them.

The Congress Socialist Party activities – The outstanding event of the fortnight is the arrest of two of the worst of the rebel gangsters, Surannarayan Singh\* and Gulalil Sonar. These men were arrested by the U.P. Police in Benares. Another important arrest was that of Parduman Singh, a dangerous gangster, who took the place of Mahendra Gope, and 4 of his companions. Another badly wanted absconder Kapildeo Singh, was arrested in Monghyr.

As has already been reported, the U.P. absconder, Mohan Lal Gautam,\* has paid visits to Bihar and he is now reported to have visited Jamshedpur where he held a secret meeting at which representatives of the Tata Workers' Union were present. The line taken by Gautam was that the Congress Socialist Party should endeavour to get labour organisations on to its side.

Murders by Congress Socialist Party gangs in the Bhagalpur Division have not ceased. The kidnapping and probable murder of a chaukidar from the Banka subdivision is reported and another chaukidar in a police-station north of the Ganges, has been murdered, probably by a rebel gang. Congress Socialist Party gangs armed with revolvers have visited houses to extort money. In the Purnea district the villagers succeeded in beating off a gang of rebel dacoits and in arresting the leader who was handed over to the police. There is reason to think that confidence is returning with the arrest of many of the gangsters and with the operations of the special police force in North Bhagalpur, which show the determination of the Government to put a stop to the reign of terror by political desperadoes.

## 162: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Political – Congress:* Babu Anugrah Narayan Singh, ex-Minister, continues to tour the province and is said to be collecting evidence under instructions from Gandhi for a report on excesses committed by Government Officers during the 1942 disturbances. It is reported also that district committees are being formed for the collection of subscriptions to the distressed detenus' family relief and legal defence fund. There is little doubt that this fund is partly intended for the defence of Jai Prakash Narayan. The 'Searchlight' has started a regular campaign to hold up Jai Prakash Narayan as a national hero. Even the Patna Times (proprietor – Mr M. Yunus,\* M.L.A.) refers to Jai Prakash Narayan as the hero of the Assembly and professes to object to his trial by a non-Bihari Judge.

*The Congress Socialist Party* – The total number of Bihar absconders arrested by the U.P. Police now amounts to 10. These include as reported in my last report, the dangerous leaders

Suraj Narayan Singh and Gulali Sonar. Valuable evidence was obtained from documents in the possession of the arrested persons and this has resulted in still more arrests of C.S.P. members being made in Bihar. There is every reason to hope that the Benares arrests, combined with the special operations in North Bhagalpur and adjoining areas, which have resulted in many arrests of absconders and forced others to surrender or scatter, have struck a very severe blow at the C.S.P. organisation in this province. Another important arrest was made by the District Intelligence Branch in Muzaffarpur district. The leader, Bindabasini Singh, was arrested with two other persons and a country made revolver was found on them.

Further details of the arrest of Parduman Singh, the successor of the gang leader Mahendra Gope, show that the arrest took place after a strenuous chase in the jungle followed by hand to hand struggle between the Police and the gangsters. The struggle was at close quarters and neither side could use firearms.

A daring political dacoity took place in the district of Purnea. A gang of political desperadoes appeared in a village armed with firearms and a handgrenade at 11 o'clock in the morning and demanded money from the villagers.

Still more cases of surrender of political absconders have been reported.

## 163: Intelligence Bureau's Note on Sheel Bhadra Yajee – Forward Bloc prisoner (dt 9.12.1944)

File No. 16/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Attention is invited to this Bureau's u/o No. 4/Cong/48 A.II, dated 11-11-44<sup>1</sup> in which reference is made to the Forward Bloc conspiracy in which Sheel Bhadra Yajee\* was involved before his arrest on 31-5-43. A copy of his history sheet is enclosed.

Yajee is a native of Bihar and wields considerable influence in Bihar Congress, Forward Bloc and Kisan circles. If, therefore, he is transferred to a jail in his own province, it should presumably prove much easier for him to establish contact with his friends and supporters outside jail. If however, the Govt. of Bihar are prepared to receive him and are able to ensure against his being able to renew his old contacts, there should be no objection to his transfer.

(F.J. Beveridge)  
Assistant Director(s)

Sheel Bhadra Yajee alias Laddu Sharma son of Ram Tahal Singh of Bakhtippur, Patna, M.L.A. (Bihar). Vice-President, All India Forward Bloc Working Committee and President. Bihar Provincial Forward Bloc Committee.

The U.P. Suspect List look out Notice No. 110 (29-4-42) gave Sheel Bhadra Yajee's descriptive roll as follows:

Height about 5' 4" medium build, sallow complexion; small moustache, age about 31 years, generally wears Khadi Kurta, dhoti and sandals.

An active Congress worker who was convicted in 1930, 1932 and 1933 under the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act. Became, Secretary of Patna Kisan Sabha in 1935 since when his



interest in the Sabha has been maintained. Though recognized as a Socialist and Kisan worker, was elected to the Bihar Assembly in 1937 on Congress ticket but continued to pursue left-wing policy to the embarrassment of the Congress Ministry. Associated himself with Kisan Propaganda throughout 1939 and, towards the end of the year, toured freely with the object of organizing branches of the Forward Bloc in Bihar having been appointed General Secretary for the province. His speeches advocated direct action and encouraged the audience to take advantage of the present war for obtaining India's freedom.

He was convicted in May 1940 under Rule 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules for making anti-war speeches and sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs 100. Since his release in July 1941, he has done much propaganda work in connection with starting of several district offices of the Forward Bloc. He has appealed for the formation of National Defence Brigades. His undoubted hold on the Bihar Kisans has stood him in good stead. He has also endeavoured to organise student federations and unions in districts where they did not exist. Due to pressure from the Forward Bloc high Command, he severed his connection with the Soviet Aid Committees, which he joined in September 1941.

2. (a) At the end of October, 1941, he met a number of Bengal workers in Calcutta and suggested that the Labour movement should be developed in accordance with Bose's original programme, and that an attempt should be made to capture the Kisan Sabha for the C.P.I. instead of trying to set up a separate Kisan Sabha, and that the primary Committees of the Forward Bloc should serve the role of National Defence Brigades, the open organisation of which was likely to invite Government repression.
- (b) On November 11, 1941, at a meeting held in Patna he said that the present moment of Britain's difficulty was opportune for mass action.
- (c) On November 29th he addressed an audience of 2,000 persons, mostly aboriginals, of Deoghar (Santal Parganas).

He accused the Government of spreading false reports of Subhas Bose's presence in Berlin. He added that even if the reports were true, Bose could not be blamed for what he has done in his patriotic zeal to free this country.

- (d) Early in December 1941 he accompanied H.V. Kamath on a tour of the Bihar province. At Gaya, he said that Bose could not be called a traitor for joining Hitler in the hope of freeing India. At Monghyr, he prophesied that Bose would return from abroad bringing freedom of the Russia model, to his motherland.
3. Secret information has been received that he visited the United Provinces in November 1941 with a view to forming a communist controlled Kisan Sabha in that province in collaboration with Bishambhar Dayal Tripathi. By this means he hoped to free the Kisan movement from the present Socialist domination.
4. He is reported to have told Calcutta workers to the Forward Bloc that he had at least 20,000 Kisan workers to his call in Bihar for use in the event of a rising being organized.
5. At a small meeting held at Monghyr on 21-1-42 local Forward Bloc leaders announced that Yaji would arrive that day to take over the Presidentship of the Peninsular Tobacco Factory Union and asked the workmen to be ready for a final struggle with the Company.
6. In February 1942, as a protest against the Kisan Council's resolution supporting war against the Axis, he resigned the office of Joint Secretaryship of the A-I Kisan Sabha.

A report received about this time mentioned that he has been secretly entrusted with the task of organizing underground work, on behalf of the Forward Bloc, within the Bihar Kisan Sabha. At a special meeting of the Forward Bloc workers jailed in Delhi that month he advised the key leader to go underground as he anticipated that Forward Bloc would shortly be declared an illegal organisation; in urging workers, peasants and youths to join the National Defence Brigade, he claimed that in Bihar the Forward Bloc was enrolling double the police strength in every district and hinted significantly that the Defence Brigade had other secret plans which would be disclosed only at the proper time; he was for exploiting the present situation created by the war to the full advantage. On 19-3-42 he opened the Benares Dist. Forward Bloc Conference over which Ruikar presided. His absence from an important Provincial Forward Bloc meeting held at Patna on 2-4-42 led to the strong suspicion that he might have gone underground; he has been untracked since before the meeting. A statement dated 23-4-42 bearing his name has however since been seen; it makes the fantastic claim that the Forward Bloc is powerful and popular and that its workers are in the forefront of the national struggle for Independence. The statement was issued by way of rejoinder to Nehru's allegation that the Forward Bloc was not heard of outside Bengal.

It was reported that Sheel Bhadra Yajee was in Bihar at the end of May 1942 and instructed the Bihar Forward Bloc to give full support to Gandhi when he would launch his struggle to complete the British to leave India. A Central Government order to detain him under Rule 26(1)(b) of the Defence of India Rules dated 11-6-42 was sent to all local govts and administrations, as Yajee was absconding.

A report received in November 1942 said that he claimed to have united all the extreme elements on the programme of Subhas Bose, visited Calcutta in August 1942, passing under the name of Jamuna Prasad Agasti, met leading members of the Communist League of India, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc and the Bengal Volunteers urged them to work together, obtain firearms, and prepare themselves for a revolt and the paralysation of war effort in India. The installation of portable transmitting apparatus, collection of arms and leafleteering were the measure advocated by him in this connection. He is reported to have said that the accommodation address was 'Bombay Trading Co. Bombay City' and that there would be no difficulty in procuring firearms as the contact with the Frontiers Tribes which was lost had been revived. It has also been reported that he was one of the three representatives from Bombay who visited Calcutta in October 1942, met representatives of the F.B., the Jugantar Party and the Khadi Group and that he told them that the plan of the All India War Council of the congress was to terrorise the Government and prepare the country for an armed revolution and that each district of Bengal was to be supplied with 12 revolvers and formula for preparing bombs, which would be thrown at Government offices, European officer's quarters, military lorries and Government officials.

In November 1942, it was also reported that Sheel Bhadra Yajee and some other F.B. men were hiding in Nepal Terai. Another report in the month of March 1943 said that he was in Assam waiting to escape to enemy occupied territory in the hope of making contact with the enemy. It was reported in March 1943 that he came to Delhi from Karachi and that he was moving from there. He is reported to have said in Delhi that the F.B. organisation though largely disintegrated, maintained number of contacts throughout the country and that there were many members left. According to him, F.B. organisation in Burma is maintaining contact

with the Indian organisation through M.L. Sarkar.' Some of the Burma agents have been dropped in India by parachute and some have come overland; the Japanese have left behind in Assam some wireless transmitters, before the Japanese declared war. Some trained Indians (names not known) of Rash Behari Bose's party were sent to India for fifth column work when requested; they have not so far as is known taken any part in the disturbances but are distributed over Bihar and Orissa and some are now busy training guerilla bands for the Forward Bloc. The German ships in Goa, according to Yajee are prepared to broadcast messages to foreign countries but the F.B. has so far found it hard to get messages to them. The messenger who was sent to them, a month or so ago (reported in March 1943) was arrested on the way in some other connection. He was arrested in Bombay when the underground headquarters of the All India Forward Bloc was unearthed on 31-5-43.

1 Not printed.

## 164: Reports from I.G. of Police, Bengal on political situation in the Province

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 533/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Confidential No. 5716  
A. 731-43

Office of the Inspector-General of Police, Bengal  
Writers Buildings, Calcutta

*The 14th December 1944*

From  
G H. Mannooch, Esq., CIE, IP,  
Inspr. Genl. of Police, Bengal.

To  
P.D. Martyn, Esq., O.B.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Sub: General political situation – for discussion at the Commissioners' Conference 1944.

Ref: Your Memo No. 6242 P, dated 8-12-44<sup>1</sup>

I forward herewith a note from the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Intelligence Branch, on the above subject.

Evans  
for Inspr. Genl. of Police  
A.I.G.

Your note leaves me no time to prepare a considered report, especially as I only returned to

duty on 4/12/44 after an absence of 7½ months on leave out of India. A hasty ill-considered note would be worthless, so I content myself with giving the barest outline, and will endeavour to collect as many notes as possible for the purpose of answering any questions which may arise when this subject comes up.

Broadly speaking the terrorist parties are powerless, because the leaders are still in detention, and their successors have not the capacity to frame and carry out a programme. They have the will, but petty jealousies intervene. Recently one party was found to be making preparations to assist a Japanese invasion, and this necessitated the arrest of certain leaders.

Large number of small arms and ammunition are going astray owing to the presence of military forces in Bengal, and although we have no information that these arms etc. have fallen into the hands of terrorist parties, it is inevitable that a considerable number are doing so, and are being kept hidden till the leaders are released.

### *C.P.I.*

This party recognizes that Congress still has the greatest hold upon the masses, and has been seeking an alliance, and to do this it sponsored a campaign for the release of the Congress working Committee. It desires a settlement between Congress and the Muslim League, as a first step to the formation of a National Government, based on Congress-Muslim League unity. Congress, however, looks upon the C.P.I. with suspicion and is unwilling to admit it to Congress membership. Attempts are being made by the C.P.I. to infiltrate into the Muslim League and Congress Parties, with a view to securing office and power in the future. The financial condition of the party in Bengal is shaky. In labour matters the C.P.I. is unpredictable, it would certainly change if Russia faded out of the war on the termination of the European war. The pro-war policy was adopted to restore the party's fortunes, but many members think this policy is now an obstacle to a rapprochement with Congress.

### *Congress*

With the arrest of Annada Chaudhuri, the district of Midnapore has quietened down. Congress Rightists attempt to shift the blame for the Midnapore outbreak in 1942 to the shoulders of Annada Chaudhuri and the local congressmen. Congress has peculiar difficulties to face in Bengal, an important one being the persistence of Subhas Bose's influence — and so far Congress has made no clear statement of its attitude towards Subhas Bose and a Japanese invasion. Altogether 56 Congress members are in detention, the majority of whom are A.I.C.C. members or B.P.C.C. delegates, Midnapore members and members whose activities lie in E. Bengal near the war area. This is not the time to consider release en masses, each case is reviewed bi-annually. There seems little point in releasing Congress leaders in order to substitute their influence in labour matters for that of the C.P.I. (no longer a banned organisation). Congress might do more harm in this field because its prestige is greater than that of the C.P.I. Congressmen cannot be classified en bloc as Gandhi-ites; many of the Forward Bloc and the C.S.P. members owe allegiance to Congress.

The meeting at the Howrah Town Hall on November 27th and 28th of the Bengal Provincial Congress Workers' Conference indicates that attempts are being made to circumvent the ban on the B.P.C.C. At this Conference an organizing Committee of 75 members was formed to build up an Association throughout Bengal to give effect to Gandhi's constructive programme, and this committee contained the names of 47 A.I.C.C. and/or B.P.C.C. members. To all intents and purposes this Association is the B.P.C.C. under another name. So long as the

B.P.C.C. is banned it is undesirable to consider the release of the remaining leaders, who will certainly give impetus to this new Association.

*Security Prisoners:* The number is approximately the same as on January 1st, 1944, i.e. 1300 in round numbers, the majority being members of terrorist parties and staunch followers of Subhas Bose. Considering the anxious times through which this province is passing, the number is incredibly small.

13-12-44  
D.I.G., I.B.  
D.M. Hardwick

1 Not printed.

## SECTION B – VINDICTIVE COUNTER MEASURES

### 1 Government of India to all Provincial Governments – Punishment specified for acts as sabotage etc.

File No. 3/9/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Case No. 1637-SM/42

Telegram. SECRET  
CYPHER

No. 5368.

*Date 13th November 1942*

From  
Governor General, Defence Department.

To  
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners (Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara by post).

Government of India considering proposal that following offences should be punished with death and no other penalty.

(a) Sabotage under Defence Rule 35 intended or likely to endanger life. (b) unlawful manufacture or possession of explosives with intent to endanger life. Please indicate views earliest possible date.

F. No. 3 (9)/43 – Poll (I) Home Dept.  
Summary of replies to D.D. Telegram No. 5368.

*Madras:* Madras Govt. have no objection to the proposal.

**Bombay:** Bombay Govt. consider that having regard to section 6 of D.I. Act and section 121 I.P.C. under which actively waging war against His Majesty or assisting H.M's enemy is punishable with death or transportation there is no justification for the proposal. They also consider that public reaction will be so severe as to outweigh any possible advantage.

**United Provinces:** U.P. Govt. agree that unlawful manufacture or possession of explosives with intent to endanger life should be punishable with death. On the following ground they do not however agree that death penalty should be provided for sabotage:

- (i) Difficulty in establishing intention. Judges faced with alternative of hanging or acquitting will choose the latter.
- (ii) In many cases there are varying degrees of guilt. Villagers and youths are led away or play small part under influence of others who alone deserve extreme penalty.
- (iii) Charge would involve committal of all cases to session. This would be a great drawback especially if mass movement was repeated against which immediate unappealable sentences of two years and whipping on spot proved most effective.

**Punjab:** The Punjab Govt. do not consider that death penalty should be made available throughout India but only in specially notified areas. There is no need for such a provision in the Punjab at present.

**Central Provinces.** C.P. Govt. support the proposal provided death penalty is confined to cases tried by special judges appointed under section 5 of the Special Criminal Courts Ordinances. Provincial Government should have discretion to determine which cases or class of cases should be tried by special Judges and thereby made liable to death penalty. This will provide a safeguard against special courts being compelled to impose death penalty in unsuitable cases. Less serious offences should be trial by special magistrates where for any reason death would be unsuitable.

**Bihar:** Bihar Government are opposed to the proposal on the ground that the risk of false cases will be high particularly in sabotage. There is acute congestion in criminal cases in the hand of the police and the checks on investigation are not effective enough to support such a measure. Many innocent persons may be condemned to death or else the proportion of acquittals will increase disproportionately.

**N.W.F.P.:** The Government of N.W.F.P. are not in favour of making death penalty obligatory in either case.

**Sind:** Sind Govt. agree with the proposal.

**Baluchistan:** The C.C. Baluchistan agree with the proposal but states that the question is not of local importance at present.

**Coorg:** The C.C., Coorg has no objection to the proposal.

**Orissa:** The Govt. of Orissa do not consider death penalty for sabotage and manufacture and possession of explosives necessary or desirable but if other Provinces take a different view they will not raise any objection.

**Panth Piploda:** The Chief Commissioner, Panth Piploda disagrees with the proposals of the intention to withdraw discretion from courts to make death sentence compulsory on conviction.

## 2. The Commissioner of Burdwan to the Asstt. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. 501/42 - (XI)  
[Bengal State Archives]

Office of the Commissioner, Burdwan Division

*No. 628 C - 31.12.42.*

From  
The Commissioner, Burdwan Division

To  
The Asst. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal,  
Home Department, Calcutta.

Ref: Your Memo No. 3920 P.S. dated the 28th December 1942.<sup>1</sup>

Sub: Realisation of collective fines.

In my opinion the orders of Government contained in Memo No. 3065 P.S. dated the 28th December 1942 should stand for the following reasons:

- i) Nearly 90 per cent of the population in Contai and Tamluk Subdivisions are poor agriculturists and are unable to pay any fine at present. They are being helped with loans for rebuilding their huts and for purchasing cattle. The money thus advanced will come back to Government if collective fines are imposed now.
- ii) It will be very difficult to assess the capacity to pay in view of the extensive loss caused by the cyclone to rich and poor alike. Many of the granaries which constitute the wealth of the well-to-do villagers have been blown or washed away.
- iii) The peasantry are tired of Congress oppression and are veering to the side of Government. The agitation is being carried on at present by bhadralog Congress workers. If collective fines are imposed, there is real risk that the peasantry will change over to the side of the Congress.

S.K. Haldar,  
Commissioner,  
Burdwan Division

<sup>1</sup> Not printed



### 3. District Magistrate, Midnapore to the Asstt. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. 501/42 – (XI)  
[Bengal State Archives]

Office of the District Magistrate, Midnapore  
No. 56 C

*Midnapore  
the 7th January, 1943.*

To  
The Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal  
HOME (Political) Dept.  
Writers Buildings, Calcutta.

Reference: My confidential Memo No. 3257C Dated 20.12.42

Subject: Realisation of collective fines.

The decision of Government on the point raised in my letter under reference may please be expedited.

District Magistrate,  
Midnapore  
7.1.43

*Enclosure*

*Confidential:*

Office of the District Magistrate Midnapore  
No. 3257 C.

*Midnapore  
The 20th December, 1942*

To  
The Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Home Dept., Calcutta

Reference: Your Memo No. 3065-P.S. dated the 17th Dec. 42

Subject: Realisation of collective fines.

The policy with regard to collective fines is again becoming vague. We recommended imposition of collective fines on account of disturbances in Midnapore district and our proposals were accepted though with some delay. Later the power to impose fines up to a certain limit was delegated to the District Magistrate. Throughout the first part of October the officers were all engaged in meeting the direct threat to various Government institutions from Congress rebels. They had no time to apportion the fines already imposed and no realisation was therefore possible anywhere. Then we were overtaken by the cyclone and the tidal wave. For a time there was lull in the operations of the rebels but fresh incidents were reported from different parts of the district subsequent to the natural calamity. I was given to understand



verbally that the Government policy was to carry on with the apportionment of the fines and to take steps to realise fines from such individuals as had not been incapacitated from payment of the same by the natural calamity. On 4th December last the Amarshi Branch Post Office was looted by the Congress rebels. There would be no point in imposing fresh fines when the fines previously imposed are not being realised. My view is that we must realise collective fines already imposed from such persons as are still capable of bearing the burden and that we should not hesitate to impose collective fines where fresh incidents take place. The view of Government in the matter are changing frequently and we find it difficult to stick to any one particular line of action. There is no point in our spending time in preparing apportionment lists if the fines are not to be collected. Clear instructions of Government in the matter may please be communicated early.

N.M. Khan.  
District Magistrate,  
Midnapore  
20.12.42

## 4: Chief Secretary, Government of Madras to the Secretary, Govt. of India – Reg. interviews to security prisoners

File No. 44/6/42 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Public (General) Department.  
MOST SECRET

*Chetput, Madras,  
11th January 1943.*

No. 62395-3

From  
S.V. Ramamurthy, C.I.E., I.C.S  
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

To  
The Secretary to the Government of India  
Home Department, New Delhi.

Sir,  
Political agitation – Civil disobedience Security-movement prisoners -- Interviews -- Reference your Express letter No. 44/6/42 – Poll (I) dated 11.12.1942.<sup>1</sup>

I am directed to say that the Government of Madras are as a rule not allowing any interviews to the Security prisoners detained in connection with the civil disobedience movement and suitable provision has accordingly been made in the Security Prisoners Rules of this province. This Government are of opinion that the civil disobedience movement in this Province is still

too active to justify any relaxation of the conditions of detention of these Prisoners, and that the principle of complete segregation of the prisoners from the outside world should continue to be adopted until the movement dies down more completely. They are accordingly opposed to any relaxation of the rules so as to enable the security prisoners to have interviews with others.

Yours obedient servant,

for Chief Secretary to Govt.

1 Not printed.

**5** Member, Board of Revenue to the Additional Secretary enclosing a letter from Madras on giving licences to Congress supporters (Economic warfare by means of licensing policy-henceforth 'Licensing Policy')

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Central Board of Revenue

*New Delhi, the 14th January, 1943*

Confidential

My dear Conran-Smith,

I attach a copy of a letter I have received from Wright, Collector of Salt Revenue, Madras. I do not feel happy about refusing to renew licenses in favour of known supporters of Congress. What are the Home Department's view in the matter?

Yours sincerely,

Sheehy\*  
C.S.I

The Hon Mr E. Conran-Smith, CIE, ICS,  
Secretary to the Govt. of India  
Home Department.

*Is he happy about cancelling existing licenses, presumably not.*

*I can't see why there can be any unhappiness about either. We might ask him what bad effects he apprehends.*

R. Tottenham

*Enclosure*

Copy of confidential D.O. R.Dis. No. 100-p.2/43, dated the 7th January 1943, from Mr A.E. Wright, Collector of Salt Revenue, Madras.

The Government of Madras have decided to adopt the following policy in regard to licenses issued by their subordinates:

- (1) Where licenses are held by persons who commit overt acts of sabotage etc. in furtherance of Congress interests, the licenses should be cancelled, wherever the issuing authority has discretion to cancel them ; and
- (2) When licenses fall due for renewal, they will not be renewed, in favour of known supporters of Congress.

They have asked me to co-operate with them by adopting a parallel line of policy.

2. I agree that this policy is justified and I consider that similar action should be taken in this Department in regard to all licenses in the 'Salt', 'Central Excise' and 'Customs' branches.
3. I have instructed my Assistant Collectors confidentially that no fresh licenses should be issued by them in favour of known supporters of Congress or persons committing overt acts of sabotage etc. but that in regard to leases already renewed or licenses issued, if, any lessee or licensee comes under the prohibited category, the cases should be reported to me for orders.

## 6. Government of India to Chief Secretaries of all Provinces (Punishment specified for acts as sabotage etc.)

File No. 3/9/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

No. 1637 - SM/42

Government of India  
Defence Department,

*New Delhi,  
the 15th January 1943*

To

All Chief Secretaries (except, Bombay and the Punjab)  
The Home Secretary to the Government of Bombay  
The Joint Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Home Department.  
All Chief Commissioners (except Andaman and Nicobar Islands)

Penalties (Enhancement) ordinance, 1942. Section 5 read with section 2 of the above ordinance enables provincial Government to make the death penalty available in specified areas for offences of sabotage as defined in rule 35 of the Defence of India Rules.

2. While this provides a deterrent penalty for actual wrecking activities, it does not suffice to penalise preparations for committing sabotage or otherwise endangering human life which are not demonstrably made with any particular object. Such preparations, e.g. the making of bombs, cannot be made innocently and are already visited with a heavy penalty by sections 4 and 5 of the Explosive Substance Act, 1908. Section of the Act penalises the causing of explosions which, while it might not technically amount to sabotage, is equally a crime deserving of the heaviest punishment.

3. The Government of India consider that in present circumstances the punishment of death and whipping should be made available for the offences created by sections 3 to 5 of the Explosive substances. The Ordinance of which a copy is enclosed will be issued in the Gazette of India Extraordinary dated the 16th January 1943.

4. It will be noted that occasion has been taken to include provision to the effect that attempts to commit, and abetment of an offence for which an enhanced penalty applicable under the Penalty (Enhancement) Ordinance shall be punishable with the same penalty as the substantive offence.

(C. Macl. G. Ogilvie)

Secretary to the Government of India

Copy to Home Department.

(L.J.D. Wakely)

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

*Enclosure*

#### Press Note

An ordinance published today amending the Penalties (Enhancement) Ordinance, 1942 enables Provincial Governments by notification to make the death penalty applicable to offences against section 3, 4 and 5 of the Explosive Substances Act, 1908. These sections penalise causing explosions, likely to endanger life or property, attempts to cause explosions, making or keeping explosives under suspicious circumstances.

2. The crime of sabotage can already be punished with death under the penalties (Enhancement) Ordinance. Preparations to commit this crime which is aimed at dislocating vital services and often involves destruction of innocent human life by the illicit making etc. of explosives deserve, in Government's view, the same deterrent penalty.

Defence Department

Delhi the 16th January 1943

Forwarded to the Principal Information Officer for favour of release to Press on the 16th January 1943

L.J.D. Wakely

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India. Copy to Home Department.

Information Sent to the Secretary of State, London

TELEGRAM XX.

SECRET

W.D.Dy. No. 567-W.S.

*Dated 16.1.43*

Telegram No. 274 Dated 16.1.43 (18.30)

From Governor General (War Department), New Delhi

To Secretary of State for India, London

Ordinance promulgated 16th January amending penalties (Enhancement) ordinance 1942. First providing penalties of death or whipping for offences against sections 3, 4 and 5 of explosive Substance Act 1908, attempts to commit and abetment of same. Second, providing that abetment of and attempts to commit an offence for which enhanced penalty is made available shall be punishable with same punishment as substantive offence.

2. Offences named likely to be committed in course of preparation for sabotage or otherwise endangering human life and considered to merit deterrent penalties. You are aware indications of spread of bomb making. Inclusion of whipping specially considered and apart from fact that many such offences may be suitably dealt with whipping it was thought that to omit whipping in case of offences against Explosive Substances Act while retaining it as enhanced penalty for other offences would be inconsistent and might imply admission by Government of undesirability of this form of punishment.

Copies to (Record copy to Defence Department)

1. D.D.

2. Home Dept. - (2)

## 7. Govt. of India to all Provincial Governments – • Regarding reciting of the Independence Day pledge

Govt. of India Home Dept. File No. 12(1)-P (S)/44

[NAI]

Secret

### **Express Letter**

From

Home, New Delhi

To

All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners (except Panth-Piploda)

Subject: Independence Day

No. 3/3/43 - Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 16th January, 1943*

Reference our express letter No. 3/1/42 - Poll (I) dated 17th January 1942.<sup>1</sup> Independence Day Policy, this must, of course, be different since Congress Committees are now unlawful

associations. Attempts to recite the time honoured pledge may not be made, but if made, would be punishable under the Criminal Law Amendment act since the pledge is definitely a Congress product. On the other hand, the enclosed documents issued from Delhi<sup>2</sup> show that other plans are on foot for the celebration of the Day and the taking of a new and highly objectionable pledge; and is possible that different instructions on somewhat similar lines have been issued, or may be issued, in other provinces. These documents are obviously prejudicial and action could and should be taken against any newspaper that reproduces them. Preparation by any other means would also be an offence under the Criminal law Amendment Act since the matter purports to issue from the All India Congress Committee; but it would be inadvisable to give any new pledge publicity by formally banning it in advance under the Press Act.

We have no doubt that provincial Governments will take all necessary steps to prevent these and other plans for the celebration of the Day from being put into effect.

Additional Secretary to the Government of India

Au. 20 (16-1-43) D.

1. Not printed.

2 See enclosure to Doc. No. 11.

## 8 Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar to all heads of districts

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 5/1943

[Bihar State Archives]

No. 157 C  
GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR  
Political Department  
(Special Section)

Confidential

From

Y.A. Godbole, Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S.,

Chief Secretary to Government, to

All district Officers including the A.D.C., Dhanbad.

All Commissioners of Division All Deputy Inspectors General of Police

The Inspector General of Police, Bihar

All Superintendents of Police including the Additional

Superintendents of Police Dhanbad and Jamshedpur.

*Dated PATNA, the 16th January 1943.*

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 132 C dated the 13th January 1943<sup>1</sup> I am directed to forward an extract from Instructions No. 13 issued by the 'Shadow' All India Congress committee

regarding the observance of Independence Day on the 26th January 1943. Instructions on this subject issued last year in Mr Houlton's Letter No. 248 C dated the 22nd January 1942. But circumstances obtaining now are quite different from those of last year and the Provincial Government therefore consider that fresh instructions are necessary for dealing with the situation that may arise on this occasion.

2. This Government do not consider it either practicable or advisable simply to ban the Independence Day as a whole as that in any case would be an all India matter. They however desire that processions and meetings, reading of the Independence pledges and Speeches to be delivered on the occasion which are items 6-8 of the present year's programme should be banned by District Magistrates under the appropriate Defence of India Rule.

3. As regards hartals (item 1) I am to point out that this is not likely to be extensive or successful and one day's closure of shops etc. will not matter much. If the 'hartals' are voluntary, Government consider that they should not be stopped, but picketing should be treated as illegal and should be dealt with under Defence of India Rules 81 D or section 7 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act as may be appropriate.

4. With regard to hoisting of the national flag or wearing of badges or emblems such as Gandhi Cap (item 2 and 4) I am to say that this by itself is not illegal, should not be interfered with as it would only lead to incidents which it is advisable to avoid. The officers in charge of Government buildings, buildings of local bodies and aided institutions should, however, be reminded that hoisting of the 'national' flags on such buildings is illegal and shall not be allowed.

5. As regards strikes in schools and colleges (item 3) students must be made to understand that Government will not allow strikes, processions or meetings or other such demonstrations or picketing, further instructions on these subjects are being issued by Government in the Education, Development and Employment Department.

6. As regards strikes in mills and factories (item 5) all that need be done for the present is to obtain information of any such intention. Arrangements are being made in consultation with the Inspector General of Police for the necessary distribution of the police force to meet such an emergency.

7. In addition to all these the local officers should be prepared for a renewal of sabotage which may be more than sporadic.

I have the honour to be  
Sir,  
Chief Secretary to Government.

Memo No. 157 C. Patna, the 16th January, 1943.

Copy forwarded to

The Secretary

Education, Development and Employment Departments for information and necessary action.

By order of the Governor of Bihar  
Chief Secretary to Government

## 9. Member Central Board of Revenue to Additional Secretary to Govt. of India

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

### **Central Board of Revenue**

*New Delhi  
the 19th January, 1943.*

Confidential

My dear Tottenham,

Your confidential D.C. No. 428/43–D/Political (I), dated the 18th January 1943.<sup>1</sup>

I am not objecting to cancellation of existing licenses on grounds of sabotage, etc. I am only objecting to refusing renewal of licenses in favour of known supporters of Congress. It seems to me that this would be the same thing as if in England a Tory Government refused any concession to a supporter of the Labour Socialist or Communist Parties. But this is exactly what you would expect a Nazi or a Fascist Government to do and I am sure we have not come to that. It seems to me a mistake to drag politics into this economic question. These licensees are persons who have embarked capital on long-term undertakings. Put them in Jail if you can but do not deprive them of their means of livelihood. Congress may now be an illegal organisation but only the other day it was on friendly terms with Government and may be so again. If and when that happens, how are we to deal with these licensees who have been supplanted by non-supporters of Congress? So far as I know, the Supply Department have no qualms about putting large profits into the pockets of known supporters of Congress.

Yours sincerely,

Sheehy

Sir Richard Tottenham,  
CSI, CIE, ICS,

Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department

*Enclosure*

Home Poll (I)  
3/17/43  
Home Department

*Dated: 18.1.1943*

To  
J.F. Sheehy, Esq, CSI, ICS,  
Member, Central Board of Revenue

My dear Sheehy

Would you refer to your confidential D.O. Letter – without number dated the 14th January,



1943,<sup>4</sup> to Conran-Smith about the action taken by Wright, Collector of Salt Revenue, Madras in ordering that no fresh licences should be issued in favour of known supporter of Congress. You seem to be doubtful about the propriety of this order. We are not clear what your objections are either to the Cancellation of existing licences or to the refusal of new licences in favour of such persons and what bad effects you apprehend from such a course, could you please develop this point a little further.

R. Tottenham  
Addl. Secretary

1. Enclosed with this letter
2. See Document No. 5 above.

## 10: Official Notings on Licensing Policy (dt 21.1.1943-22.1.1943) (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

... Will H.M. please see the correspondence below with Central Board of Revenue.<sup>1</sup> It seems to me to illustrate a somewhat regrettable attitude of mind which is all too common. We have already accepted in principle the policy of economic warfare against Congress; and to compare the action taken by the Madras Government on refusing to renew licences in favour of known Congress supporters with refusal of concessions by a Tory Government to the Labour Party in England seems to be fantastic. Congress is (practically) an unlawful party responsible for organised rebellion and I think we are fully entitled to take any action we can to hit the pockets of its supporters. If highly placed officers of the Government of India take the line that Congress must be appeased as they are likely to come into favour again, it is not surprising that this feeling should dominate that position in the lower ranks. It is true that the Supply Department give their contracts irrespective of politics and it is a regrettable result of this policy that Congress supporters received more from Government which is freely used to finance the movement to paralyse it. I gather, however, that this is a matter of necessity, rather than of choice. I do not know much about the conditions of the salt licences referred in the correspondence, but if these licences are for temporary periods and require renewal at intervals, they would appear to be inconsistent with the statement that they are given to persons who have embarked capital on long term undertakings. If, on the other hand, the periodical renewal of licences is in itself justified and there is an ample supply of persons who do not support Congress and who are ready to take them on, I cannot see that we would, have any hesitation in pursuing the Madras policy.

May C.B.R.<sup>2</sup> be informed accordingly?

R. Tottenham  
21.1.43

I quite agree with Addl. Secretary but this is a matter which the I.A.C.<sup>3</sup> might appropriately consider.

R.H. Maxwell  
22.1.43

The papers may now go to General Hutton. I gather that H.M. does not want this big questions of supply Dept. contracts to be placed before the Committees, although some reference may have to be made to the Policy of that Department, and the reasons for it.

R. Tottenham  
22.1.43

Gen Hutton  
H. Dept. No. D-428/43 – Poll dated 22/1/43.

1. See Document 9.
2. Central Board of Revenue.
3. IAC – Internal Affairs Committee.

## 11 Chief Secretary, Govt. of Punjab to all Deputy Commissioners in Punjab – Reg. observance of 'Independence Day'

Govt. of Punjab H-(Political) File No. 33  
[Punjab State Archives]

Confidential

From  
F C. Bourne, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.  
Chief Secretary to Government of Punjab

To  
All Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab  
No. 964-992 – BDSB Lahore

*dated the 22nd January, 1943*

Sir,

I am directed to address you on the subject of the measures that should be taken to prevent Congress from observing 'Independence Day' on the 26th of January. Since Congress Committee are now unlawful associations, policy will be different from that adopted in previous years, and any attempt that may be made to recite the time-honoured pledge will be punishable under the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act. On the other hand, the enclosed documents issued from Delhi show that other plans are on foot for the celebration of the day and the taking of a new and highly objectionable pledge; and it is possible that instructions on these or somewhat similar lines may be issued in this province. A sharp watch should therefore be kept for any attempt either to propagate or implement such instructions, or for attempts to hold Congress meetings or demonstrations of any kind on the 26th of January. Wherever possible early

preventive action should be taken, and persons organising any kind of Congress activity on these lines should be arrested without delay under rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

I have the honour to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

No. 993-997-BDSB Lahore, dated the 22nd January, 1943

Copy forwarded to all Commissioners of Divisions in the Punjab for information.

Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

No. 998-1002-BDSB Lahore, dated the 22nd January, 1943

Copy forwarded to all Range D.I.Gs of Police in the Punjab for information.

for Deputy Inspector-General of Police  
C.I.D., Punjab

No 1003-1031-BDSB Lahore, dated the 22nd January 1943

Copy forwarded to all Superintendents of Police in the Punjab for information and necessary action. District Censorship Staffs should be instructed to keep a sharp watch for attempts to circulate the enclosure to this letter through the post, and should withhold all letters containing instructions for the observance of 'Independence Day'. Reports of the detection of such matter in the post, together with reports of any attempts made in your district to observe Independence Day, with particular reference to the enclosed instructions, should be included in your weekly confidential diary for the week ending the 30th of January.

for Deputy Inspector-General of Police  
C.I.D. Punjab

*Enclosure: 1*

### **Independence Day Instructions**

*Instructions No. 14*

To all Congress Organisations

Independence Day, 26th January, 1943 should be celebrated the following lines:

1. Subscription to the 'Swaraj Karaz' begins on this day. Throughout the day, agents specifically appointed for this work should approach as many people as possible and persuade them to buy the loan. The appeal for loan should be widely circulated from now on so that subscriptions on the opening day and after may be handsome. The Centre will grant fifty per cent of the subscriptions to the province from where they are made. Detailed instructions regarding the loan shall follow.
2. The National Flag should be publicly hoisted. Efforts should be made to fly the flag from every house and window.

3. The enclosed 'Independence Day' appeal to the Indian people should be widely circulated on the Day. Efforts should be made to reach a copy of this appeal, in the language of the province, to all sections of the population.
4. Complete hartal of all business, law courts, schools and colleges, shops, railways and transport services, offices and factories should be observed. Picketing wherever possible of such centres as do not strike should be organised.
5. Paint roads and walls with the slogans of 'Karengé ya Marengé' 'Angrezon ko nikalo'.
6. The new rural offensive of 'no-tax and no sale of crops and cattle' and the establishment of 'Swaraj Panchayats' should be propagated in the villages.
7. Procession and meetings should be organised. At the meeting the enclosed pledge must at all events be read.

In order to make this 7 item celebration a success and to achieve enduring results from it also on subsequent days, immediate preparations and organisations should be undertaken.

Central Directorate  
All India Congress Committee.

(A copy of these instructions should be reached as early as possible to all Congress Organisations in your zone and others likely to be helpful.)

*Note for Sabotage.* Effort should be made to select any one item of sabotage and carry it out uniformly throughout the province on this day.

### **Pledge**

On this Independence Day 26th January, 1943 which falls in the midst of Great Revolution that began on the 9th August, 1942, we pledge ourselves to the early and final overthrow of the usurper authority whose insecure continuance is based on bribe and murder. Until we had rid our country of this shame and horror and until we have created out of our Declaration of Freedom made at the beginning of this Revolution the Republic of India, we shall not rest but suffer and strive and struggle. Through all our travail and suffering we shall bear in mind the parting message of Gandhiji:

'Cause complete deadlock by strikes and all other non violent means. Go the fullest length under Ahimsa. Do or Die'.

All India Congress Committee

*Enclosure: 2*

### **An Appeal to the People**

*Independence Day,  
26th January, 1943.*

To-day is the 26th January. Twelve years ago on this day we took the vow of freedom, and since then every year we have renewed that solemn pledge. These twelve years have been years of travail and suffering, and every Independence Day has brought us nearer our goal. This day, however, on which we are privileged to live — January 26th 1943 is different from all such dates that have gone before. The battle of freedom which began twelve years ago had now reached its climax and shall, soon reach its end. Beginning with Satyagraha and

disobedience of specific laws we are now in the midst of total revolution. It is not this or that law of the foreign power that we defy but that power as a whole. It is not this or that constitution that we demand, but total withdrawal of the Imperialist aggressor.

Therefore, the pledge that we take today must be different from the pledges we have taken before. Our only pledge today can be to make 1943 the last year of our national slavery. On August 8, last year we declared ourselves as free people, but the enemy is still in our midst and is trying by fascist terror to crush our will to freedom. We must, therefore, vow to-day that before January 26 comes round again we shall be a free people, and on the Government House in Delhi and all Government Houses and all our houses in the country shall fly not the arrogant British flag, but the proud flag of the republic of India. Every section of the people must therefore pledge today to discharge its duty to the Nation and pay its appropriate part in the National Revolution.

Therefore, in the name of the Indian National Congress and the Republic of India, which is being born to day, we appeal

*To the Peasants*

To pay no taxes or revenues  
 To the British usurpers  
 To pay no rents  
 To the Landlords who pay revenues to the British Government  
 To establish swaraj panchayats in their villages.  
 To boycott law courts and to settle their disputes in panchayats.  
 To sell no crop or cattle.  
 To keep no paper money and to deal through barter.  
 To the workers in factories, railways, in mines and elsewhere.  
 To strike work  
 To slacken production  
 To sabotage  
 To organise and fight for wages and cheap food cloth and the right to strike.  
 To form guerilla bands.

*To Students*

To leave schools and colleges.  
 To enrol as soldiers of revolution  
 To form guerilla bands  
 To form vacation brigades.

*To Businessmen*

To cease business with Englishmen.  
 To withdraw deposits from Imperial and other British Banks.  
 To subscribe to 'Swaraj Karaz'.

*To the Armed Forces*

To take prescribed oath or allegiance to the Republic.  
 To refuse to be used against their own countrymen.  
 To vow to rise against the British usurpers on the command of the Congress.

*To the Police and other Government Servants*

To refuse to be used against the National Revolution.

*To Everybody*

To help in every big and small way to destroy the usurper authority and to establish the Republic of India.

To raise the slogans of 'angrezon ko nikalo' 'inqilab zindabad', 'karenge ya mareng' at 8 a.m. and 9 p.m. everyday.

Central Directorate  
All India Congress Committee.

## 12. Dated 22.1.43 from Chief Secretary, Government of Orissa to all District Magistrates and the Defence Commissioner and I.G. of Police – Release of prisoners

File No. 3/30/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Sir

I am directed to say that a large number of petitioners are now reaching Government from persons who have either been detained under rule 28 of the Defence of India Rules or had been convicted in connection with the recent disturbances. The petitions, as a rule, express regret for past activities and pray for release from jail or remission of sentence. Those in the former category are different from the latter in that the latter class of persons have all been tried by a competent court and convicted of participation in the disturbances, whereas the former have admittedly been detained largely on suspicion, since, had evidence been available, they would have been brought to trial in the ordinary way. The problem of a overcrowding in jails has presented considerable difficulties, and, apart from this, Government do not wish to detain any persons unnecessarily. There must, moreover, be a number of persons who were members of mobs but played a very minor part in the disturbances, in whose cases expressions of regret may really be genuine. On the other hand, a large number of releases might easily cause a revival of the recent disturbances, and persons wishing to effect this might easily express regret in writing merely with a view to re-organising the movement on release. Government are not prepared to release persons, whether detained or convicted, who are known to have organised the movement or to have taken a leading part in it, particularly if their actions resulted in acts of violence or destruction of property.

2. When submitting cases for the orders of Government, I am to request that you will examine each case carefully on its merits in consultation with the Superintendent of Police, and recommend release only when you are satisfied beyond any doubt

- (a) that the persons concerned played only a minor part in the disturbances and did not take part in or instigate others to acts of violence and

- (b) that the expression of regret is genuine and that the person will not take part in subversive activities, in future.

In cases where release is sanctioned by Government, as a result of an expression of regret as much publicity as possible should be given.

J. Bowstead  
Chief Secretary to Government

*Enclosure*

3/30/43 – Poll (I)

Memo No. 198(2)C

*Date 22-1-43*

Copy forwarded to the Revenue Commissioner, Orissa, and the Inspector-General of Police, Orissa for information.

2. The special Branch will be given every opportunity of stating any objection to release, before it is ordered. In the case of persons detained under rule 26 of the defence of India Rules, the order will be cancelled and a fresh order of detention will be passed at any time if the circumstances of the case demand it. In the case of persons convicted, the provisions of Sec. 501 of the Cr.P.C. will be applied according to the circumstances. This section provides for cancellation of the suspension or remission in certain circumstances.

J. Bowstead  
Chief Secretary to Government of Orissa

## 13: Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to all District Officers and Commissioners of Police, Calcutta – Observance of 'Independence Day'

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 6/43  
[Bengal State Archives]

### **Express Letter**

From A.E. Porter, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of Benga

To All District Officers.  
The Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

No. 178-P.S., dated, Calcutta, the 23rd January, 1943.

Sub: Celebration of 'Independence Day' 26th January, 1943.

Ref: (a) Memorandum No. 273 – P.S., dated the 16th January, 1940.  
(b) Memorandum No. 316 – P.S., dated the 23rd January, 1941.  
(c) Memorandum No. 217 – P.S., dated the 22nd January, 1942.

The attached 'Independence Day Instruction' purport to have issued by the All-India Congress

Committee. Government are not aware of the extent to which, if at all, these instructions have been disseminated or will be followed in Bengal. Other programmes for the celebration of Independence Day known to be current in the province, include attempts to bring about strikes in mills and propagation of the 'freedom struggle programme' of withholding taxes and revenue, creating a deadlock in mills and factories, closing schools and college, boycotting the paper currency and attempting to seduce Indian soldiers from their allegiance.

2. Conformably with the policy recently adopted in connection with the celebration Government do not desire that any obstacle should be placed in the way of meeting and procession held in celebration of the 'Day' along lines which have previously led to no disturbances and have now become stereotyped. They consider that the policy of disregard is generally more likely to discourage demonstrations than any active measure to prevent them and that the extent to which celebrations are attempted and the reception which they receive will furnish an indication of some value as to the public attitude to the present Congress 'rebellion'.

3. These directions are subject to the under-mentioned qualifications:

- (a) In Midnapore, Government recognise that unobstructed holding of meeting and processions might very easily impede the restoration of respect for law and order and the liquidation of the Congress 'rebellion' in the district; they therefore leave it to the district authorities full discretion to deal with the celebration as they think fit.
- (b) If prejudicial speeches are made or prejudicial acts are done during the celebration Government desire that those responsible for them should be prosecuted.
- (c) The form of pledge and the appeal forming part of the annexure appear to Government to be clearly prejudicial documents and their dissemination in any way would not only be an offence under section 17 of the Indian Criminal Amendment Act of 1908, as assisting in the operations of the All India Congress Committees, which is an unlawful association under that Act, but would also be prejudicial acts. Persons endeavouring to recite the pledge or to circulate the appeal should consequently be prosecuted and measures should be taken to prevent these activities.
- (d) Information in the possession of Government indicates that it would be unwise to allow meetings to be held near, or processions to be taken past, jails and they desire district officers to take measures to prevent this.

(Copies have been sent direct to the subdivisional officers).

Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal  
No. 178/I-P.S

Copy forwarded to the

- (1) All Commissioners of Divisions.
- (2) Inspector — General of Police, Bengal (Deputy Inspector — General of Police and Superintendents of Police have been informed direct).
- (3) All deputy Inspector-General of Police.
- (4) All Superintendents of Police.
- (5) All Subdivisional Officers.

For Information and guidance.

Calcutta,

The 23rd January, 1943.

Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal



# 14: Internal Affairs Committee on Licensing Policy (extracts from agenda)

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

Immediate

26.1.1943

The following additional item is circulated for discussion at the next meeting:

Issue of licences to supporters of Congress.

1. The Government of Madras have decided to adopt the following policy in regard to licence issued by their subordinates:
  - (a) Where licences are held by persons who commit overt acts of sabotage, etc., in furtherance of Congress interests, licences should be cancelled, wherever the issuing authority has discretion to cancel them, and
  - (b) When licence fall due for renewal, they will not be renewed in favour of known supporters of Congress.

The Madras Government have asked the Collector of Salt Revenue, Madras to co-operate with them by adopting a parallel line of policy.

2. The question has now been raised by C.B.R., whether similar action should be taken by that Department in regard to all licences in the 'salt'. 'Central Excise', and 'Customs' branches.
3. The proposal made is in accordance with the principle adopted by the Government of undertaking economic warfare against Congress, but, if action on the above lines is to be undertaken, it should obviously be uniform and not confined to one Province.
4. It would appear to be reasonable to draw a distinction between the grant of licences which may be regarded as giving the holder a privileged position or special facilities under Government and those which may be necessary to enable ordinary business to be carried on e.g., import licences.
5. A decision is required as to whether the policy proposed by the Madras Government should be adopted as regards the grant of licences by the Central Government and whether other provinces would be asked to fall into line as regards those under their control.

dt 26/1/1943

H. Hutton  
Lt. General  
Secretary, I.A.C.



## 15: Extract from the proceedings of the 9th meeting of the I.A.C.C. held on 29.1.43 – Licensing Policy of the Govt. of Madras

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### 4. Issue of Licences to supporters of Congress.

Subject to any views that might be expressed by the Finance Member, it was agreed that the general policy proposed by the Madras Government should be adopted by the Central Government and that other Provinces should be asked to fall into line.

The exact nature of the licences to which restrictions should apply should be settled between Departments concerned, but it might be desirable to confine the policy mainly to licences which gave the holder a privileged position (e.g., for the possession of arms or explosives or special facilities under Government and not to extend it to those which were normally available as a matter of course to the general public (e.g., for revenue purposes) but there might be special cases such as wireless licences.

In the first instance it would be desirable to get more details of the policy proposed by the Madras Government.

(Home and Finance Departments – action)

## 16: Official Notings dated 29.1.43

File No. 44/6/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Sub: Treatment of persons detained without trial in connection with the Congress movement—

In our letter of August 2nd laying down the plan of campaign against the Congress, we asked Provincial Governments to arrest under D.R. 26 all individuals whom they considered competent and likely to attempt to organise and launch a mass movement. We informed the Bombay Government that Gandhi and the Members of the Working Committee should be allowed no newspapers, letters or interviews, or any other form of communication with outside world, for at least the first month of their detention; and we recommended that all other Provincial Governments should adopt a similar procedure with regard to all important leaders and organisers who might be arrested within their jurisdiction. The action was to be regarded as preventive in character.

2. On August 20th we relaxed these orders, so far as Gandhi and the Working Committee were concerned, by allowing them to see certain newspapers and to correspond with the

members of their families on domestic matters. This relaxation was communicated to Provincial Governments and we believe that they have all followed suit to this extent.

3. It subsequently came to our notice that certain Provincial Governments were making further relaxations in the rules regulating interviews, and the question, therefore, arose whether we should lay down a uniform policy and, if so, what it should be. On December 11th we asked for the considered views of all Provincial Governments in the matter.

4. While no provincial Government has challenged the desirability of uniformity, and the C.P. Government has specifically asked for it, the replies to our letter of December 11th show that variations of practice have arisen. Four Provincial Governments, including three Ministerial Governments, namely Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Assam, have relaxed the orders to a greater or less extent in the matter of interview. Sind, which was perhaps the least affected Province, originally proposed to do so, but has agreed to fall into line with the majority. The remaining six Provinces — Madras, Bombay, U.P., Punjab, Central Provinces and N.W.F.P. — are all strongly in favour of maintaining the present orders forbidding interviews and allowing no correspondence except with members of the family on domestic matters. Security prisoners (i.e. persons detained without trial under D.I.R. 26) are ordinarily allowed to have one interview per fortnight and to write four and receive eight letters per week if in Class I, while those in Class II are allowed to have one interview per month and to write two and receive four letters per week. All interviews and correspondence are censored but there is no particular restriction on the classes of person whom they may see or write to or from whom they may receive letters. An ordinary convicted prisoner placed in the lowest class is allowed one interview per 2 months and may also write and receive one letter per 2 months. Convicted prisoners in higher classes have increased privileges in these respects. The Government of India have in the past exercised a certain degree of control over the Provincial treatment of security prisoners in matters of principle, but have allowed considerable discretion to the Provinces in matters of detail.

5. The Home Department consider that there can be no question of allowing any further relaxation at present in the case of Gandhi and the Members of the Working Committee. They also consider it difficult to discriminate between security prisoners and prescribe one treatment for the more important and a different, and a more generous, treatment for the less important. It follows, therefore, that there can be no question of recommending any relaxation in the rules to these Provinces which desire to keep the existing restrictions in force. The main difficulty is with regard to those provinces which have already permitted some relaxation. Their reasons for doing so, at any rate so far as the three Ministerial Provinces are concerned, are probably based on the fear of popular criticism, while the Bihar Government contends that denial of interviews constitute a 'grievance', the removal of which makes jail administration easier. This Government also points out the real difficulty of denying to persons detained without trial the privileges which are allowed even to convicted criminals. (It appears that the Punjab Government does not allow interviews to persons convicted in connection with the Congress movement, as well as to those detained without trial; but there is no evidence that any other Provincial Government has gone so far as this).

6. Considering the grounds on which denial of interviews was originally recommended and the present state of the movement, which can no longer be called a mass movement, the Home Department are inclined to think that a certain degree of discretion must be allowed to Provinces, especially Ministerial Provinces, provided that the results of their action cannot be shown to be dangerous. We must recognise the fact that the withdrawal of privileges already

enjoyed may lead to difficulties such as hunger-strikes, and also that it is not easy to deprive some security prisoners of privileges which are allowed to others. We may express the view, therefore, that, since letter to relatives are already allowed, interviews with such relatives would do no more harm except on the assumption that the jail administration is slack and the interviews would not be properly supervised. While we should have no objection to this degree of relaxation in any Province which wished to adopt it, we should suggest to all the four provinces which now permit interviews the importance of regulating such interviews on the same lines as letters, i.e. restricting them to members of the prisoner's family. So far as Bihar and Bengal are concerned, we might go further and suggest that the latitude already allowed had, in fact, been misused; that escapes of prisoners have taken place; and that the behaviour of their security prisoners points to the need for tightening up jail discipline and would, therefore provide strong grounds for withdrawing some or all of the concessions already allowed.

7. A further aspect of this matter is the question of the numbers and classes of persons who have been detained without trial in connection with the movement. The Provincial returns gave the figure at over 11,000 on December 1st; and there are some grounds for thinking that too free a use may have been made of D.R. 26 for the detention of persons who would hardly come within the category of important leaders and organisers referred to in our letter of August 2nd. This, however, is a different and a wider problem; and it is proposed to take it up separately.

8. The case is submitted to H.E. for orders whether the line of action proposed in para 6 may be approved.<sup>1</sup>

R. Tottenham  
29.1.43

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<sup>1</sup> See Doc. 13 dt 4-2-43 in Chapter III for the Viceroy's comment on the above note — Ed.

## 17 M.S. Aney to Sir Homi Mody

M.S. Aney Papers — File No. 33  
[NMML]

*5 Man Singh Road,  
New Delhi, February 5, 1943.*

My dear Sir Homi Mody,

I desire to invite your attention to para 3 of the communique<sup>1</sup> which the Government of India had issued in justification of their refusal to permit Mr C. Rajagopalachari to interview Mahatma Gandhi. This communique refers to the following points which may be construed as charges against the Congress by the Government of India:

1. No change in the attitude of Congress leaders. No expression of regret for a policy that had over the last three months provoked so much violence, crime and bloodshed, and no sign of any change of heart.
2. The leaders were fully aware of the evil consequences of the policy which they had

adopted and advocated last August when Mr Gandhi and members of the Working Committee were arrested.

3. They are persons under restraint for revolutionary activities whose expressed and published aims are wholly inconsistent with the maintenance of peace and order in India and the prosecution of the war.

In preparing your statement you will have to support those charges which Government has publicly made against the Congress leaders and the Congress organisation. You have to show in the first place.

The Congress policy provoked violence, crime and bloodshed and

That the Congress leaders were fully aware of the evil consequence of their policy.

This will require to go into the writing of Mahatma Gandhi and speeches of Mr Vallabhai Patel and other Congress men made before the meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay. Therein you have ample material to support the charges. Mahatma Gandhi said with great emphasis that he would prefer anarchy and chaos to the present position of meek submission by the people to the Government which does not represent the nation. In his 'Quit India' campaign he was prepared to relax the condition of non-violence considerably. He even suggested in some articles that those who do not believe in non-violence may take up to violence rather than submit to the present position.

The information Department and Home Department must furnish you with necessary cuttings from *Harijan*. I am writing from memory.

You can also refer to articles in by Kaka Kalelkar and Mushruwala in which they have explained the significance of the present revolutionary movement and how it is distinguishable from the previous Civil Disobedience movement. These articles were published by them soon after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and members of the Working Committee. They are very important in interpreting the AICC resolution.

I think that M. Gandhi has this communique in his mind when he refers to the charges. As the Government of India refused Mr Rajagopalachari permission to see him, he had those charges the main grounds of his protest and also pretext for the fast which he proposes to start on the 9th.

Yours sincerely,

The Hon'able Sir Homi Mody, KPI,  
Member, Governor General's Executive Council.

### **Communique**

The Governor General saw Mr C. Rajagopalachari today at his request. Mr Rajagopaachari explained the endeavour he had been making to find a political solution, and asked to be allowed to interview Mr Gandhi regarding them.

Mr Rajagopalachari made it clear that he did not represent any party or organisation and could speak only for himself. He was unable to produce any evidence of concrete support for his proposals.

The Governor General is most anxious at all times to further all reasonable efforts to achieve a settlement. And he made his attitude clear to Mr Rajagopalachari. But he added that the attitude of the Congress leaders appeared to remain entirely unchanged. There had been no expression of regret for a policy that had over the last three months provoked so much violence, crime and bloodshed, and no sign of any change of heart. The attitude of the

Congress leaders appeared to be the same as when it necessitated the arrest of Mr Gandhi and the Working Committee last August, though those leaders were fully aware of the evil consequences of the policy which they had adopted and advocated. With the best will in the world it was clear that in the absence of a change of attitude on the part of the congress leaders there could be no question of special facilities for discussion with persons under restraint for revolutionary activities whose expressed and published aims are wholly inconsistent with the maintenance of peace and order in India and the prosecution of the war. It was not possible in these circumstances to give Mr Rajagopalachari the permission for which he had asked.

P.S.V.

New Delhi, Nov. 12, 1942.

1 The Communique is enclosed with the document.

## 18: Letter of the Government of Madras on granting of licenses

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of Madras  
Home Department  
G.O. No. 387

*17th February 1943*

Explosives-Substances capable of use in the manufacture of bombs-Control tightened-Revised and consolidated orders issued.

*Order - No. 387, Home dated 17th February 1943*

Orders have been issued from time to time tightening control over the possession, etc. of potassium chlorate, sulphur, sulphides of arsenic, red phosphorus and yellow phosphorus, substances which are capable of being used in the manufacture of bombs. The Government have decided that similar restrictions should be imposed on the possession of sodium and barium chlorates, antimony sulphide, carbon-bi-sulphide and mercury. With the object of facilitating the work of District Magistrates and the Commissioner of Police, this comprehensive order consolidates all previous instructions together with the new instructions now issued.

The policy dictating these restrictions is broadly as follows. Chlorates and sulphur are military stores within the meaning of the Indian Arms Act and Rules and their possession, etc. is controlled under the Arms Act and Rules with certain exemptions. Red and yellow phosphorus, red and yellow sulphides of arsenic and antimony sulphide fall under the Poisons Act and possession for sale by dealers requires a licence under that Act. Carbon - bi-sulphide and mercury do not fall under any law. All these substances can be used to manufacture bombs, potassium chlorate, yellow phosphorus and sulphur being particularly dangerous. In the first place, the restrictions formerly or now imposed require possession of all these substances with the exception of sulphur to be licensed under Defence of India Rule 54 to 81, as the case may

be, in addition too any licence required under the Arms Act and Rule or the Poison Act. (The reason for the exception in the case of sulphur is that control was tightened at an early stage by withdrawing exemptions under the Arms Rules.) Secondly, the Government have limited the grant of licences, whether under the Arms Act, the Poisons Act or the Defence of India Rules, to certain specified classes of persons. These specified classes are considered to have a genuine and legitimate need for the various substances. Potassium Chlorate and yellow phosphorus have been denied to all educational institutions, and the remaining substances have been allowed only to colleges. Thirdly, Government have provided for the maintenance of stock registers by all licencees, for the keeping of all licensed substances under lock and key, and for inspection by police officers. Fourthly, Government have removed the existing exemptions under the Arms Rules in favour of the transit of chlorates for industrial and agricultural purposes by imposing a permit under Defence of India Rule 81 for such transport.

The following exemptions from these restrictions have been granted or allowed to continue:

- (a) Agriculturists are allowed to possess small packets of sulphur dust without a licence.
- (b) Patients under treatment are allowed to possess sulphur without a licence.
- (c) A permit is not required for the transport of chlorates to medical practioners or dispensing chemists.

[*Omitted: Paragraphs 2 to 4 Specifying the items and restrictions and exception regarding the possession, manufacture, sale, use import and export of such items — Ed.*]

##### *5. Licences not to be allowed in favour of undesirable persons*

No licence under the Arms Act, Poison Act and Defence of India Rules 54(11) and 81(2) for the possession of the substances mentioned in paragraph 1 above should be granted or renewed in favour of known supporters of the Congress. Any such licences in the possession of such persons should be cancelled or revoked forthwith. The cancellation of licences under the Poison Act and under Defence of India Rules 54(1) and 81(2) is in the absolute discretion of the licensing authority and no appeal has been provided for and no reason need be given for the order of cancellations. In the case of licences under the Arms Act, for sulphur and chlorates, the order of cancellation or refusal is appealable. The reason for the order in such cases should be that 'the applicant or licence cannot be trusted with the possession of the substances because of his active sympathy with political agitators responsible for sabotage'.

[*Omitted: Paragraphs 6-7, and also omitted Annexure with performs for obtaining licences — Ed.*]

(By order of His Excellency the Governor)

C.F.W. Williams  
Secretary to Government.

To all District Magistrates and Commissioner of Police, Madras.

To the Superintendent, Government Press, for publication of notifications in Annexure.

Copy to the Inspector-general of Police.

Copy to the Board of Revenue

Copy to the Public (War) Department.

Copy to the Education and Public Health Department.

# 19: Govt. of India to all Provincial Govts – Treatment of persons detained without trial

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

SECRET

Government of India  
Home Department

## **Express Letter**

From Home, New Delhi

To All Provincial Governments.

No. 44/6/42 – Poll (I)

*New Delhi,  
the 20th February, 1943.*

Sub: Treatment of persons detained without trial in connection with the Congress Movement.<sup>1</sup>

Replies to our letter No. 44/6/42 – Poll (I), dated 11th December 1942,<sup>2</sup> show that there are variations of practice among Provinces in the treatment of persons detained without trial in connection with the Congress movement. The Governments of four Provinces (Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Assam) have relaxed their original orders to a greater or less extent in the matter of interviews. The Government of Sind consider that interviews with near relatives might be allowed, but are prepared to fall into line with the Provinces in which the movement assumed serious proportions. The remaining six Provincial Governments are all strongly in favour of maintaining their present orders forbidding interviews and allowing no correspondence except with members of the family on domestic matters.

2. It has been contended in favour of relaxing the existing restrictions that denial of interviews constitutes a 'grievance' the removal of which might make jail administrations easier; and the difficulty of denying to persons detained without trial privileges which are allowed even to convicted criminals has also been pointed out. Considering the grounds on which the denial of interviews and correspondence was originally recommended, and the present state of the Congress movement, we are of opinion that, though the advantages of uniformity are obvious, a certain degree of discretion must be allowed to Provincial Governments, provided that the results of their action cannot be shown to be dangerous. There can be no question of recommending any relaxation to those provincial governments which desire to continue the existing restrictions; nor will they be relaxed in the case of leading personages who were detained at our instance. But in other provinces, we recognise the fact that the withdrawal of privileges already enjoyed may lead to difficulties such as hunger-strikes, and also that it is not easy to deprive some security prisoners of privileges which are allowed to others. We are therefore inclined to the view that, since letters to near relatives are already allowed, interviews with such relatives on personal and domestic matters would do little harm provided that jail administration is strict and the interviews are properly supervised. Indeed, we should have no objection to this degree of relaxation in any Provinces which considers it advantageous on balance.



3. We would at the same time stress the importance of regulating interviews on the same lines as letters, i.e. restricting them to members of the prisoners family on personal and domestic matters. There is no doubt that visitors offer a ready opportunity for the conveyance of clandestine communications into and out of jails and strict supervision is essential. In some of the Provinces which have relaxed restrictions, the latitude allowed appears, in fact, to have had harmful results; escapes have taken place, the behaviour of the security prisoners has been unsatisfactory; and everything points to the needs for tightening up jail discipline. These facts would, indeed, provide strong grounds in our opinion for withdrawing some or all of the concessions already allowed, and we recommend that they should be withdrawn where this can be done without undue likelihood of trouble. We should be glad to be informed at an early date of the practice which in the list of the above observations, those Provincial Governments which do not favour the complete forbidding of interviews proposed to follow.

4. Since the conclusions embodied in this letter were reached, Mr Gandhi's fast has taken place and for entirely exceptional reasons he has been allowed to receive visits from friends with the permission of Government. This does not, however, alter the view expressed in their application to other security prisoners; except to the extent that all Provincial Governments will no doubt agree that, so long as the tension caused by the fact exists, any relaxation whatever of existing restrictions would be most undesirable.

5. It is possible that we shall be addressing you separately on the larger and even more difficult question of reducing the number of security prisoners detained in connection with the Congress movement; but here again it will be agreed that the present is essentially not the moment at which to embark on any new line of policy.

R. Tottenham,

Addl. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

1 See Document No 16 above for the background.

2 Not printed.

## 20: Govt. of Madras to the Govt. of India – Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Petroleum, Explosives and poisons Acts-Licences-Not to be granted to undesirable persons  
– Instruction issued.

Government of Madras – Home Department

G.O.MS. No. 436

*Dated 22nd February, 1943.*

### Order

In G.O. No. 387 Home dated the 17th February 1943,<sup>1</sup> the Government have directed that no person as a known supporter of the Congress should be granted or permitted to renew a

licence to possess chlorates, sulphur, red and yellow phosphorus, red and yellow sulphides of arsenic, antimony sulphide, carbon-bi-sulphide and mercury, substance which can be used in the manufactures of bombs. The Government have decided also that known supporters of the Congress should not be licensed under the Petroleum Act, 1937, the Indian Explosives Act, 1884 and the poisons Act, 1919 in respect of petroleum, carbide or calcium, explosives and poisons other than those specified above.

## *2. Grant of Renewal of Licences under the Petroleum and Explosives Acts*

The following categories of licences are issued by the District Magistrates and the Commissioner of Police

Petroleum Act, 1884: Licences in forms I and J in Schedule II to the petroleum Rules, 1937 and licences in B in Schedule II to carbide of Calcium Rules 1937.

Indian Explosives Act, 1884: Licences under the Indian Explosives Rules, 1940, which under Schedule IV to the Rules. District Authorities may grant.

Other licences may be granted or renewed by the Chief Inspectors of Explosives of the Inspector of Explosives, South Circle, or the Central Government.

It is in the discretion of the licensing authority to grant or renew licences under the Petroleum Rules, 1937, the carbide of Calcium Rules, 1937 and the Explosives Rules, 1940: but these rules provide that any licensing authority refusing to grant or renew a licence should record his reasons for such refusal in writing and that a copy of the order containing these reasons should be given to the applicant on payment of a fee so that he may appeal to higher authority. When refusing to grant or renew licences in favour of known supporters of the Congress, District Magistrates and the Commission may assign the following reason for the order: that 'the applicant or licensee cannot be trusted with the possession of (the substance) because of his sympathy with political agitators responsible for sabotage'.

District Magistrates and Commissioner of Police are also requested to furnish Government with a list of such persons holding licences issued by the Chief Inspector of Explosives, the Inspector of Explosives, South Circle or the Central Government, so that Government may ask these authorities to refuse renewal. As regards applications to such authorities for new licences 'no objection certificates' referred to in Rules 114 and 115 of the Petroleum Rules and Rules 85 and 86 of Explosives Rules should not be granted to persons known to be supporters of the Congress.

## *3. Cancellation of Existing Licences under Indian Explosives Act*

The Petroleum Rules, 1937 and the Carbide of Calcium Rules, 1937 provide for the cancellation of licences on the ground of contravention of the rules but not for any other reason, Rule 93(1) of the Explosives Rules, 1940 empowers the Central Government to cancel any licence if its continuance is deemed objectionable. The government desire to take advantage of this provision as it is dangerous to allow explosives to be possessed by this class of persons. District Magistrates and Commissioner of police are therefore requested to examine all at once and to report to Government any case in which they recommend that the licence should be cancelled or rendered inoperative on the ground that the licensee is a known supporter of the Congress. It is particularly necessary at the present time that the possession of explosives should be strictly controlled. On receipt of recommendation from District Magistrates and the Commissioner which should be submitted without delay, Government will consider the question of preventive action under the Defence of India Rules.

4. *Licences under the Poisons Act 1991*

The grant renewal, cancellation or revocation of licences under the poison Act is in the discretion of the Licensing authority whose decision is final. District Magistrates and Commissioner of Police are therefore requested to cancel, or revoke licences to possess poisons for sale and to sell poisons held by known supporters of the Congress and to refrain from granting fresh licences to such persons. Reasons need not be assigned for cancellation orders in this case.

(By order of His Excellency the Governor)  
C.F.W. Williams

Secretary to Government

To  
All District Magistrates,  
The Commissioner of Police,  
the Board of Revenue  
Copy to the Inspector-General of Police.

(True copy)  
Forwarded/By/Order/  
Superintendent.

Document 18

(True copy)

## 21: Governor of C.P. & Berar to the Viceroy (extracts) – Political situation in the State

File No. 4/3/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

No R.133 GCP

*Governor's Camp  
C.P. & Berar  
23rd Feb. 1943*

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

[Omitted: Paras 1-5 -- see document 28 in Chapter IV -- Ed.]

I heard on the wireless last night that the Government case against the Congress has now been published and I shall read it with great interest. My C.I.O. reports that the responsibility for two acts of railway sabotage committed near Wardha had been clearly established against Vinoba Bhave's Ashram at Paunar, the members of which have been arrested after recovery of hack-saw and other tools. So confident are the police about the case that they propose to move to have these ashrams declared unlawful after finding of a bundle of fresh cyclostyled Congress leaflets. These organisations are believed to be largely responsible for the conclusion of the critical trials. A good deal of evidence will probably be forthcoming which will go to substantiate the Home Department case and I suggest that Department should be prepared to issue a supplementary indictment when all the evidence has been collected.

That attempts are now being made to revive terrorist methods is plain from an important discovery of arms and ammunition made in Nagpur in January in the house of a municipal employee when five pistols, gun powder and explosive materials were recovered.

I doubt whether the Home Department has devoted sufficient attention to the secondary organisations of the Congress as represented by the all-India Spinners' Association, the village Industries Association and 'Khadi Bhandars' which exist in almost every district. These quasi-Congress organisations are centres of anti-Government activity and recently, in Jubulpore a man who had been absconding for months was arrested in a Khadi Bhandar with a bundle of freshly cyclostyled congress leaflets. These organisations are believed to be largely responsible for the propaganda in favour of hoarding of foodgrains and hoarding of small coins. I attach as an appendix<sup>1</sup> a note which my C.I.O. has recorded at my request on this subject.

While at Delhi, I spoke to Your Excellency regarding the agitation which is developing for clemency towards those condemned to death in the Chimuur and Ashti atrocities. It will interest you to know that in his previous order on the Ashti case Mr Justice Pollock has commented that the Special Judge had been scrupulous in refraining from passing the death sentence on any one unless he obviously played on leading part in the murders, and some of the accused should consider themselves fortunate in their sentences.

The agitation has temporarily dropped into the background in view of Gandhi's condition but it may be noted that the semi-communist local paper 'Bhavitavya' argues that Govt. is not entitled to condemn the Chimur and Ashti murderers unless it puts on trial Gandhi, Jawaharlal etc. for incitement, on the ground that these leaders and not the followers should suffer. This is curious commentary on the Congress plea that they were not responsible.

One of our recently appointed Judges, one Mudholkar, has given support to the Congress case by a judgement in which he states that he does not think that it can be assumed that the disturbances which have taken place are a part of the civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress. His argument, however, is distinctly legalistic because he states that he has not come across any resolution of the Congress authorising the launching of any civil disobedience movement but that the Bombay resolution of the 8th August only authorised Gandhi to start any movement, if and when he thought fit. I think that this point is of some importance in that it behoves us to make it plain that while the Congress Working Committee may derive what shelter it can from such legalistic debating points, it cannot absolve itself from moral responsibility for the rebellion which it sponsored in August last.

7. In conclusion, I may say that the warning which I administered on the occasion of the Police Parade on the 11th February last has already been taken to heart locally and I should be very surprised if the C.P. and Berar gives any serious trouble even in the event of Gandhi's death. On the other side of the picture, there are some extremely handsome purses waiting for me at Chhindwara, Jubulpore and Hoshangabad and it is really not too much to say, as I have said before publicly that 99% of the people can, if judiciously handled, be relied upon to support a firm Government.

Yours sincerely  
H.J. Twynan

To  
His Excellency  
The Viceroy & Governor General of India.

1. Not printed, but see Documents No. 39, 70, 80, 83, 90.

## 22: Government of India to the Govt. of Madras Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### HOME DEPARTMENT OFFICE

Secret

*Dated: 26.2.43*

1. Date of despatch
2. List of enclosures.

S.V. Ramamurthy Esqr., CIE, ICS,  
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

My dear Ramamurthy,

We are examining here the question of the policy to be pursued in renewing salt licences of, and issuing fresh salt licences to, known supporters of Congress. We understand that the Madras Government have adopted a policy of cancelling the licences of persons who committed overt acts of sabotage etc. in furtherance of the Congress movement and of refusing renewal of licences to known Congress supporters. We should be grateful if you could let us have rather fuller details of this policy, with copies of any instructions you may have issued on the subject and with your comments as to its success or otherwise so far.

Yours sincerely,

(D.S.(i))

## 23: Note by Jenkins – Regarding giving contracts for certain jobs (dt 1.3.43) (extracts)

File No. 4/4/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

It is correct that there are certain kinds of work which do not require elaborate plant and machinery. The fabrication of tents is the commonest and the best example. The dehydration of potatoes is another; the dehydration of fruit (as opposed to potatoes) is, I believe, rather more tricky, as the product tends to go bad if the processor are not very carefully controlled and constant efforts are being made to improve both the plant and the processing. It must be understood, however, that even in handling the simpler work there are considerable difference between the performances of different contractors. The organisation even of a tent-factory demands certain qualities which are not universally possessed, though, most people are convinced that they themselves possess them!

2. Fruit is now a matter for the Food Department, and I will therefore take tents as a fairly typical example of the handling of the simpler contracts.

In peace-time tents are made by a few specialist firms — the two best known are at Lahore and Cawnpore. When the war-time demand for tents began there was a crisis (in the first half of 1940) and the military authorities refused to believe that the required quantity of tents could be delivered. A considerable number of new contractors for tent fabrication were registered (registration is made on application and on verification of the applicant's financial stability and general competence) and for a long time contracts were placed on the results of tenders. There was then a second crisis (end 1940 and 1941) when the capacity created by the initial policy exceeded demands. The tender system continued, but no new registrations were submitted without the orders of the Supply Member. Contracts were awarded on the basis of tenders, and preference was given to the lowest tenderors, but allocation were so made as to keep all the capacity alive. We are now in what may be the final stage. New contractors are registered on a 'territorial' or 'transportation' basis, the main object being to get all tents fabricated with the minimum movement of materials, and contracts are being allotted at stabilized prices. The blind selection of contractors is not a feature of Supply Department policy, and although it is simple enough to fabricate a tent, the tent procurement business as a whole is by no means simple.

3. I take it that what the Internal Affairs Committee want is that for a limited range of items (including tents) no contractor should be registered unless he is actively loyal, or at least not associated with the Congress or any other subversive movement. I find it very difficult to understand how a decision of this kind could be implemented. There would have to be an enquiry about every applicant for registration, not only in respect of his financial stability and business competence as at present, but in respect of his political alignments also. What degree of political obnoxiousness will be held to disqualify? Mere opinion? Or more active association with a subversive movement such as known or suspected contributions to Congress funds? Who is to be the judge of eligibility or non-eligibility? Is there to be a black-list of persons who cannot be employed by Government? I do not see how opinion is to be ascertained fairly in all cases, and as far contributions to Congress or other funds (the commonest manifestation of sympathy), I have known cases in the past in which British controlled firms are alleged to have paid black-mail, and the facts are almost impossible to discover. The business activities of the Supply Department could not, I feel, be efficiently controlled by the Home Department or Provincial Governments, and I do not consider the Supply Department qualified to create a black-list of the kind contemplated. If it were created there would be a constant flood of allegations and counter-allegations, and I do not know how they would be dealt with.

4. As regards Messrs Pashabhai Patel, I believe the firm to be importers of American caterpillar machinery, and not particularly important. But I really don't see the relevance of this firm's withdrawal to the main argument. The bulk of Indian industry is in the hands of established European and Indian firms. It is not possible to hold an inquisition into the politics of these firms and they must be used as they stand. The field in which preference could be shown—even according to the Internal Affairs Committee — for persons holding satisfactory political opinions is very limited, and even within this limited field it would be difficult, if not impossible, to implement a policy of preference.

5. Explosives are not (I believe) used in Supply Department contracts except in mining operations. There is one contract running now for the supply of 60,000 tons of bauxite to H.M.G. This is in the hands of the Aluminium Production Co. of India Ltd. — a subsidiary of British and Canadian Aluminium. Ordinance Factories exist for the manufacture of cordite

and high explosives, and for the filling of ammunition and mines. These activities are not handed over to 'trade interests.

(E.M. Jenkins)  
1.3.43

## 24: Gandhi's denunciation of the recent violence

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), p. 291

### **Quit India Movement**

F. 24/Cong/42-VII

*March 3, 1943*

There is another report from the Central Intelligence Officer, Central Provinces and Berar dated, Nagpur March 3, 1943 quoting a comment by a competent observer on the present political situation.

'Although Gandhi has failed to secure his release, he has succeeded in again bringing the Indian question to the fore, in further embarrassing the British Government, strengthening his personal hold over the Indian people and in preparing the ground for a denunciation by himself of the Congress Movement of the last 7 months. Congressmen are not yet prepared to admit that he has disowned the violence of the rebellion but they are wavering on the point and if Gandhi disowns it explicitly, the surrender on his part will be taken by the people not as a defeat but as a victory in view of the wide sympathy he has attracted through his self torture already. By his half hearted denunciation of the recent violence, he has administered a rebuff to his old. . . .

## 25: Minutes of the meeting of the Security Conference held on 7/8.3.1943 (extracts)

File No. 111/43 -- Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Item 3

### **The Congress Socialist Party and Different Aspects of its Activities**

Discussion revealed that before the August 1942 arrests the party strength and influence of the C.S.P. varied considerably from Province to Province, but when the All India leaders of Congress were arrested the C.S.P. seized their opportunity and stepped into the breach, taking over control of the Congress organisation at the centre. In the Provinces, the part played by the C.S.P. in the disturbances naturally varied in proportion to its strength in any given area -- in some Provinces or areas orthodox Congress members alone were responsible for the

disorders but everywhere the C.S.P. influence, whether exerted directly through its own local organization or indirectly through the central Congress organisation, was decisive. The C.S.P. from being a left-wing revolutionary group within Congress subject to the limitations imposed by the right-wing leaders, became overnight the controlling group of the whole Congress organisation. The position was graphically and accurately described in the Conference as 'the tail began to wag the dog'. The C.S.P. policy was from the first one of violence, sabotage and disruption. At first the more orthodox Congress members, both at the centre and in the Province accepted and followed this policy. Gandhi himself had flirted with the C.S.P. group during the period preceding the arrests. So it was not surprising that his followers accepted the lead of this enterprising group. It also followed that the Congress as a whole must accept responsibility for the natural consequences of this policy. The dog could not disclaim responsibility on the ground that it was wagged by the tail. Of late, however, and more particularly since Gandhi's fast, there had been a growing revulsion of feeling among orthodox Congressmen against the C.S.P. policy; so much so, that the C.S.P. leaders had been forced to suspend temporarily their active sabotage programme.

But, although the influence of the right-wing supporters was undoubtedly growing, the C.S.P. group was still in control of the Congress organisation, such as it is, and might be expected to remain in control until its under ground leaders were arrested or the right-wing leaders were released. The programme of re-organisation, sabotage, subversion and disruption cited in the agenda was,<sup>1</sup> in the opinion of the Conference, a clearcut C.S.P. programme, which would receive the fullest possible support from the C.S.P. section of Congress. This programme could expect little or no support from the orthodox Gandhian section of Congress, but this group had at present no alternative programme other than a desire to end the deadlock and secure the release of the right-wing leaders by some means or the other.

It had not been possible for Provinces to obtain accurate information about the strength of the C.S.P. as distinct from the strength it derives from control of the Congress organisation. In some Provinces it is believed to have no members, or at the most a few scattered individuals. In other Provinces, such as Bihar and the United Provinces, it has more adherents; but in no Province, except perhaps Bihar, is their number thought to be very large. The position in respect of arms was similar. Accurate information is not available and, although the general belief is that many of the arms captured or otherwise obtained by the C.S.P. during the disturbances have been recovered and that they have not a large number of weapons at their disposal now; but the possibility that they have greater resources in arms than is generally supposed cannot be ruled out, particularly in view of the continual disappearance underground of large numbers of revolvers lost by, or stolen from, the services. It is known that during the disturbances the C.S.P. collected substantial sums of money both on its own behalf and in the name of Congress; but these have been expended and with the failure of the rebellion the subscriptions have ceased, with the result that the C.S.P. is now handicapped by a serious shortage of funds. Symptomatic of this are the attempt in some part of the country to obtain funds by means of dacoities. Thus from the limited information available it did not appear to the Conference that the C.S.P. would be in a position, if the support of the Gandhian section was withdrawn, to carry out its ambitious programme unaided. Nor could the C.S.P. count on any material outside aid, other than from a section of students and the type of criminals and ruffians who joined in the last disturbances for personal profit. There was no information to suggest that the C.S.P. had come to an understanding, or arrived at any working agreement with either the Forward Bloc or the C.P.I. In the case of the former organisation a letter from



Mukundalal Sarkar' recovered among Jai Prakash Narain's papers in Nepal tends to confirm that there has been no contact with the C.S.P. for many months. In Bengal, C.S.P. attempts to co-ordinate the activities of all terrorist group in pursuit of a joint programme have after some initial success proved abortive, owing to the arrests of contacts and leaders. It was considered, therefore, that once the C.S.P. lost the support of the orthodox section of Congress, and with it control of the Congress organisation, it would sink to the level of an ordinary revolutionary party, which requires special vigilance and attention in view of its special relationship with the Congress organisation and the opportunities and advantages it derived from this.

Finally, the Conference considered the immediate programme of the C.S.P. This envisages a revival of disturbances from 9th August 1943, and includes the throwing of Bombs on police stations and Government buildings, attacks on Government officials and the burning of post-offices and other buildings. Violent acts involving loss of life are contemplated in the U.P., Bihar and Orissa. In the opinion of the Conference strong executive action was the only answer to such a programme; but it was not felt that there was any cause for anxiety except possibly in Bihar, where special vigilance would be necessary. The Conference viewed with some uneasiness, however, the large numbers of release of political prisoners in some Provinces and of enlargements on bail of prisoners convicted under the Special Courts Ordinance. With respect to long term action against the C.S.P., it was agreed that this should be the same as against any revolutionary party or organisation and that the most effective way of rendering it harmless would be the arrest of the underground leaders.

In considering the C.S.P. and its activities it is necessary to bear in mind the relationship between the C.S.P. and Congress. When the C.S.P. was founded in 1934 it was laid down in the constitution of the party that all its members must be members of the Indian National Congress. The objects of the party were declared to be 'the achievement of Complete Independence, in the sense of separation from the British Empire, and the establishment of a socialist society'. The first item in the party's 'Plan of Action' was 'Work within the Indian National Congress with a view to securing its acceptance of the objects and programme of the party'. Questions for consideration are the extent of its influence on Congress; whether it controls, or is controlled by, Congress, the part it has so far played in the Congress rebellion; and the part it will play in future.

From the item of the August 1942 arrests Congress socialists, such as Dr Ram Manohar Lohia and Achyut Patwardhan, have been members of the underground 'central directorate' of the A.I.C.C., and C.S.P. Influence in this Body has greatly increased since the escape of Jai Prakash Narayan from jail in November 1942. The present programme of the underground 'central directorate' of the A.I.C.C. includes (1) the organisation of bands of volunteers (or guerillas), (2) dislocation of the machinery of Government by acts of sabotage requiring no expert knowledge, (3) expert sabotage, (4) economic sabotage, including dislocation of the supply of food and other essential commodities, (5) subversion of the Police and the Army, (6) the fomenting of a mass rising all over India, and (7) preparations for the seizure of power and the setting up of a rebel administration after the mass rising. This is clearly a C.S.P. inspired programme. Questions for consideration are the extent of support for this programme by (a) the C.S.P. section and (b) the Gandhian section of Congress and what alternative programme, if any, either section has in mind.

Another important question for consideration is the strength of the C.S.P. organisation in the various Provinces in men, arms and funds. It is well known that the C.S.P. have made full use of the existing Congress organisation during the present movement and that the

Gandhian and C.S.P. section have worked in close co-operation; but it is necessary to consider to what extent the C.S.P. has built up an organization of its own and to what extent it will be capable of carrying out the present programme, if the Gandhian section withdraws its support. At the same time, the relations of the C.S.P. with the Forward Bloc, the C.P.I., and other political parties and terrorist organisation must be considered, as having an important bearing on this point.

Of immediate interest are the questions of whether the C.S.P. has any plans of its own in connection with the proposed revival of the Congress rebellion in August 1943, what preparations have so far been made and with what degree of success and what response is expected when the plans are put into operation.

Finally, it is necessary to consider:

- (a) What immediate action, if any, other than that already taken by Provinces, is required in connection with the proposed August revival; and
- (b) What long term action is necessary in respect of the C.S.P. and its activities.

#### **Item 4. Army Security**

The conference recorded disagreement with the statement in the agenda that the security record of the Indian Army since 1939 had furnished no reason for dismay. It was thought that it would be more in keeping with fact to say that the record justified no entertainment of complacency.

Consideration of the problem of the fighting services should be to help themselves and what the police should do to help the Services.

The General staff representative dealt with various suggestions which were made and explained how the Army were acting to ensure that Security receives the constant attention it requires. The tightening up of Security arrangements within all units was a matter which had received close attention and was catered for in 'Unit Security Instructions', copies of which had been made available for C.I.Ds. 'Unit Security Instructions' and other orders, had also made it clear to all concerned that they must take immediate notice of all Security incidents, no matter how trivial they might appear to be, follow them up and report them. In all such matters the policy of the General Staff was to decentralize as much as possible to Army formations and this was an important reason why liaison between the civil and military authorities in provinces would be as close as possible.

The army had acted in a manner which in effect afforded recognition to what had hitherto been the unofficial internal system of intelligence – a system concentrated in the hands of the officer commanding and his Subedar Major or other Senior V.C.O. It could now be hoped that the net for collecting intimate unit intelligence would be much more wide-spread than before. In addition, plans were now in operation which had as their object the establishment of permanent Unit Security Sections. The completions of such arrangements would take time but Unit Security Sections as they come into being would benefit greatly from the help and advice of the civil authorities, which, General Staff hoped, would be freely give. Places such as hospitals, which intelligence had shown should be viewed with more than ordinary suspicion, were being catered for by the utilization of 'Registrars' (officers appointed from combatant units of the army as Security Officers) and all the time every effort was being made to provide more Field Security Sections.

The army were doing all they could about censorship; their Civil Liaison Officers were, amongst their other duties in recruiting districts, active in endeavoring to promote a greater sense of responsibility vis a vis the army in the minds of village officials; their Field Security

Sections, where they are, were already intimately co-operating the police in general, and with the Government Railway Police in the provision of travelling observers on trains; and so far as was possible military uniformed police were furnishing staff at important railway stations for duties which included the apprehension of deserters. It was unfortunate that such staff were not available for all the stations which required them but orders had already issued to formations to provide regimental personnel where possible to act in similar capacity in collaboration with the civil authorities. The General Staff hoped that the police authorities would not hesitate to initiate action where they considered such precautionary arrangements were desirable and likely to be profitable.

The Army had already urged that death should be awarded when the offences had been established of tampering with troops, or abetment, or conspiracy towards that end. So far as serving men were concerned a policy of deterrent sentences was in force. The Army's propaganda policy was one of complete frankness down to the men in the ranks and the British Army was being included in the propaganda campaign on different but nevertheless suitable lines. The 'spill over' if this propaganda would undoubtedly embrace important recruiting areas which were the most important areas in the Army's estimation. Other action been considered and this included the stoppage of family allowance in cases in which treachery was established. In this connection the joint family system imposed an obstacle which was not easily surmountable. Questions of pay and family allowances were under review and the General Staff held the same view as the police that in future recruitment the stress should be on quality rather than quantity.

The Conference was impressed with the Army's ability to look after its problems. The police representatives agreed that, while the greatest services they could render to the Services was the exercise of constant vigilance over subversive organisations, they would do their best to promote liaison (in this connection the importance of the station — house officer was stressed and the hope expressed that Service officers would be helped to a realization of the important factor he constitutes in the Civil Security framework); help with the education of Service personnel by delivering lectures when asked; follow up all Security incidents reported to them; so far as is possible keep cantonments and other places of troop concentrations free of suspects; promote a wider use of village officials and loyalists to bring to notice subversive approaches made to men on leave; and help whenever possible with stationary and travelling pickets on the railways or in schemes connected therewith.

The police representatives accepted the desirability of strengthening interception staff wherever possible in order to secure increased vigilance in recruiting areas and in places where serving men are stationed. It was agreed that material furnished by interception should be made available to the services for use, in cases in which action was necessary, but the need to protect interception was emphasized and a particular request was made that when interceptions were sent as proof their procreation should be accredited to open military censorship or some other suitable evasion should be adopted.

Verification was discussed at length. Provinces where this work is heavy have special staff which do nothing else. It was thought that in the interest of accelerating the work of verification such staff should be strengthened where necessary and introduced where they do not exist, in any increases of staffs, the problem of deserters and the need for better rural intelligence should also be kept in mind.

## 26 Extracts from draft reply to para 3 of Secretary of State's telegram dated 12.3.43 – Releasing of unimportant prisoners

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Latest available figures for persons in jail both convicts and security prisoners were sent with our telegrams No. 1971. dated 12th March.<sup>1</sup> These show no signs of falling at present but we may anticipate that expiration of sentences will soon begin to make itself felt. We recently considered addressing Provinces regarding means of reducing numbers of Congress Security Prisoners by releasing unimportant persons, either unconditionally or subject to suitable restrictions, or by prosecuting those who might be convicted. We deferred action owing to Gandhi's fast, but will now re-examine. Meanwhile we believe some Provinces, notably C.P., have started action on above lines. We cannot indicate scale on which this has taken place, but do not believe it to be extensive.

Not printed.

## 27. Jagdish Prasad to M.S. Aney – Discussing the political solution

M.S. Aney Papers – File No. 19  
[NMML]

*Chandausi*  
*E.J.R.I.*  
*19.3.43*

My dear Mr Aney,

Thank you very much for your letter dated March 13.<sup>1</sup> I do hope you will attend the Standing Committee on April 3 and 4. Your presence is essential. There are very vital matters to be discussed and your advice will be invaluable. Jayakar and Sapru will be there. Sir N.N. Sircar is again ill and will not be able to come. I see that Dr Shyama P. Mookherjee is presiding at a Hindu Sabha meeting on April 3 and 4 at Lyallpur. So he too will be absent. Your presence is therefore all the more necessary. I and Jayakar will reach on April 2 and will be putting up with Sirdar Bahadur Sohan Singh. Now as regards the political situation here is my estimate of the position. I intend putting it down in a memorandum to be placed before the members of the Standing Committee.

- (1) I do not see any early prospect of an agreement between the Govt. and the Congress and between Congress and the League. The reasons are:

- (i) The Govt. and the British people generally regard the Congress leaders as pro-Japanese and anti-British.

They think that the events of August — called officially the Congress rebellion were timed to synchronise with an expected Japanese invasion and was meant to help the Japanese invaders and to thwart the defence of India. That rebellion has been quelled. It would be dangerous to release the Congress leaders or to treat the organisation other than as anti-British and anti-war effort. Therefore both Gandhiji and the Congress leaders must be kept in detention till the end of the war. If Gandhiji chooses to fast again even if this time it be a fast unto death — it will not make any difference to British policy. He will be allowed to die. Any disturbance occurring as a result of his death will be ruthlessly suppressed. The British Govt. have enough military and police forces to meet any such contingency.

2. Even if Gandhiji were to call off the threat of civil disobedience which he is most unlikely to do from inside the prison — the British Govt. will not allow Congressmen to take part in the Govt. of the country. It would be regarded as taking too great a chance as a situation may arise when this pro-Japanese attitude would be most harmful to the war efforts of the allied nations. India must be the base for dealing the Japanese a crushing blow and no prudent Govt. should now take the risk of having Congressmen as ministers or councillors, even if the programme of civil disobedience is abandoned.

If my estimate of the attitude of the British Govt. is approximately correct, there can be no question of any agreement between Congress and Govt.

3. As regards an agreement between League and Congress there can in the first place be no negotiations until and unless Gandhiji and the Congress leaders are released. For the reasons stated above this is not likely. Even if the Congress leaders were to meet the League it is very doubtful if there would be an agreement over the question of Pakistan.

4. If there is a solution of the deadlock in the popular sense namely, an agreement between Congress, league and the British Govt., which is unlikely in the near future, what should be the attitude of the Standing Committee of the Non Party Conferences?

Two courses are open:

- 1) To follow popular opinion and to say that every effort should be made to bring the Congress and League together, as all the Congress and the British Govt. so as to get a representative body of Indians in the Central Govt. and responsible ministers in the provinces.
- 2) To pursue the line we took in Bombay in 1941 namely that for the period during which Congress and League and the British Govt. can not agree, constitutional advance should not be held up because of absence of agreement. Nearly 2 million Indian volunteers have joined the army, labour has remained steady and has been very helpful in maintaining industrial production. Why should be the millions who have helped and are helping in the war be penalized because of the intransigence of the Muslim League. At the centre vital portfolios of finance and defence could be kept back from Indians. In the provinces, nearly 100 million people who have now been governed despotically for 3 1/2 years, should not be kept under autocratic rule for another 4 or 5 years. This would be a strange preparation for conferring freedom on India at the end of the war.

I personally am opposed to adopting the 1st alternative. It will lead us nowhere. I do not

agree with Rajagopalachari that if the Congress and the League were to put up an agreed demand, the British Govt. would be forced to accept it. They will not if it implies that British control over the war effort is to be removed. The British Govt. retain as much a control as is necessary to see that there is no slackening in the war effort and that Indian does not have a policy in regard to the war at any stage different from that of the British Govt. It is therefore fruitless to devote all our energies to an agreement between the League and Congress or between Congress and the British Govt., when the chances of success are so meagre.

As regards the 2nd alternative, we have a good case and our advocacy of it may yield something though I recognise that the attitude of the Govt. has considerably stiffened after the Cripps Mission and after the events of August last. They are now indifferent to what the people think and feel. They are confident that they can rule by force and they feel that a policy of stern repression has succeeded and is the best in present circumstances. In spite of these handicaps we are more favourably placed to press these claims than to try – for the moment impossible task of reconciling Congress, League and Govt.

There will be two critics of the second alternative

Shiva Rao\* and possibly Kunzru\* – their line will be that the Indianisation of the Viceroy's council after the Bombay resolution of 1941 was a misfortune, that the councillors were impotent to influence higher policy, that they were merely departmental heads who could go only as far in their departments as the Viceroy decided, that their lack of cohesion and assertiveness enabled the Viceroy carry out a policy of repression more easily as League and the British Govt. could proclaim to the world that there was 2 to 1 Indian majority in the council, it is therefore useless to ask for the transfer of the Home and Finance portfolio unless there is some assurance that 'yes' men will not be selected for these portfolio. The only safeguard against such calamity is that the selection should be made from the representative of the political parties which have a large following in the country, in other words, the Congress and the League. Here your presence would be invaluable. You will be able to crush this hereby. Nothing has caused me more disappointment than the persistent attack which some members of the Standing Committee have made on the work done by the Indian members of the Council as a whole. I have fought against this calumny and I intend continuing to do so. The Non-Party conference will become an useless body if it only repeats the slogan that unless Congress and League agree nothings useful can be done. Now as regards our recent Bombay Conference, I went because Jayakar pressed me to, I do not suspect that anything will come out of it. The Government of India will ask for an assurance that Gandhiji will express regret for the past and give a guarantee of good conduct for the future. This will not be forthcoming. I do not expect that any deputation will be allowed to meet Gandhi. According to Maxwell he is a rebel and unless he withdraws the rebellious resolution of August he cannot be admitted to the rights of citizenship. He must be treated as beyond the pale of society and no interviews, whatever their purpose, can be allowed. I hope I may be wrong in my analysis of the working of the mind of the Government of India.

I have certain suggestions to put forward in regard to this matter when we meet. For the present all that the past has yielded is the disappearance of Indians from the Viceroy's Council and the retention of the Home Member for a further period. I have a feeling I cannot explain why that Gandhiji will fast again if nothing happens, in about six months time and this time it will be fast unto death. It is very likely that he will die as a prisoner.

Hoping to meet you in April. I need not assure you of my profound respect for your character as a public man, patriotic, bold, selfless and self-sacrificing I cannot say how deeply

I regret that you are no longer a member of Govt. though I realise fully the circumstances which led you to lay down your office.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Jagdish Prasad

1. Not printed.

## 28. Resolution re-treatment of political prisoners and detenus — dt 25 March 1943

CLA Debates, Vol. II, 1943

[NMML]

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari* (Tanjore cum Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move:

That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that their policy in regard to the treatment of political prisoners and detenus in general and those convicted for political offences since August 1942, in particular, needs drastic revision, and it further recommends that in that process the Governor General in Council do instruct the Provincial Governments to allow Members of the Central Legislature to visit prisons and interview political prisoners so that the attention of the Central and the respective Provincial Governments may be drawn to such restrictions and other inconvenience imposed on these prisoners with a view to the elimination of such restrictions.

Sir, the purpose of this Resolution that I have moved is self-evident. The Resolution does not ask for the release of political prisoners.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Perhaps the Honourable Member may make his speech after the amendments are moved. Resolution moved:

That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that their policy in regard to the treatment of political prisoners and detenus in general and those convicted for political offences since August, 1942, in particular, needs drastic revision, and it further recommends that in that process the Governor General in Council do instruct the Provincial Governments to allow Members of the Central Legislature to visit prison and interview political prisoners so that the attention of the Central and the respective Provincial Governments may be drawn to such restrictions and other inconveniences imposed on these prisoners with a view to the elimination of such restrictions.

*Mr N.M. Joshi* (Nominated: Non-Official): Sir, may I move my amendment?

(At this stage, Pandit Nilakantha Das<sup>\*</sup> stood up to say that his amendment comes first and he should be allowed to move his amendment).

*Mr N.M. Joshi*: Sir, I move:

That for all the words occurring after the words 'in particular' the following be substituted: be revised in such a way, in cooperation with the Provincial Governments and in consultation with a committee of the legislature specially appointed for the purpose so as to provide to them better living conditions in the jails and prisons and better means of communications with the outside world and

adequate provision for the maintenance of the families of those who may need it and to provide for an impartial review of their cases at an early date.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Amendment moved:

'That for all the words occurring after the words 'in particular' the following be substituted:

[The above paragraph repeated — Ed.]

*Pandit Nilakantha Das*\* (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I move:

That for all the words occurring after the words 'in particular' the following be substituted:

should be such as to facilitate the release of those who are in favour of cooperating in the war efforts.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I should like to know whether this amendment does to seek to raise a different issue. The object of the Honourable Member is that interviews are to be followed for the purpose of facilitating the release of political prisoners.

*Pandit Nilakantha Das*: I think that is the best treatment that can be meted out to them.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Does the Government have any objection to this amendment?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell* (Home Member): I do not object.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can proceed with his amendment.

*Pandit Nilakantha Das*: Sir, I move:

That for all the words occurring after the words 'in particular' the following be substituted:

should be such as to facilitate the release of those who are in favour of cooperating in the war efforts and with this object in view to allow interviews with the political prisoners and detenus to Members of the Central Legislature and other public men in the country.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Amendment moved:

That for all the words occurring after the words 'in particular' the following be substituted.

[The above paragraph repeated — Ed.]

*Mr K.C. Neogy*\* (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move:

That after the words instruct the Provincial Governments the following be inserted to allow at least two interviews with relations and friends and the receipt and despatch by the detenus and political prisoners of at least two letters every month and

Can I now move the second amendment also, because it really forms part of this?

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): No, that cannot be done simultaneously. Amendment moved:

'That after the words 'Instruct the Provincial Governments' the following be inserted ' to allow at least two interviews with relations and friends and the receipt and despatch by the detenus and political prisoners of at least two letters every month and.

*Mr K.C. Neogy*: Sir, I move:

'That at the end of the Resolution the following be added:

and to urge and ensure the cooperation of all the Provincial Governments in providing the detenus and political prisoners better living conditions in jails and prisons, better means of communication with outside world and reasonable provisions for the maintenance of the families of those detenus and persons that are in need of protection.



*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Amendment moved:

[The above paragraph repeated — Ed.]

The House will now discuss the Resolution as well as all the amendments.

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari*: Mr President the main object of my Resolution is not to ask for the release of the people concerned. It is not to discuss the policy of the Government which has resulted in these people being incarcerated unless it be that policy impinges on the treatment of such people while they are in prison. Sir, I am very happy today to see that my Honourable friend, the Home Member, will be with us for some time more and that this request of the Assembly conveyed through this Resolution will have his attention. We have been told apparently through the efforts of my Honourable friend, Mr Griffiths, by the National War Front advertisements that we must learn to evaluate evils and certainly knowing as we do the Honourable the Home Member and his views, knowing him to be an honest die-hard, we are happy that we would be here to deal with this question though hardly honestly at any rate and in a negative sense prevent the coming of what will perhaps be a greater disaster for us.

Before proceeding with my case, I should like to make one point to the House. This House has been constantly told in regard to the treatment of prisoners, in regard to arrest and detention of persons and so forth that they are matters within the purview of the Provincial Governments and the Central Government cannot really interfere. Apart from the fact that the arrests and convictions of the prisoners whom this Resolution seeks to comprise having been carried out under the Defence of India Act and the Rules framed there under emanating from the Government of India, the further fact remains that the Government of India have certain amount of responsibility in regard to the proper carrying out of all the provisions of that Act and the rules framed thereunder. There is another factor which I should like to mention to this House and it is this. The fiction has often been put forward when it suits the Government of India that the Provincial Governments are entities whose discretion the Government of India cannot seek to interfere with. But when the Defence of India Act was passed in this House in 1939, by reason of those powers conferred on this House by the Declaration of an emergency under section 102 (1) of the Government of India Act automatically the result was that the Provincial List, namely, List II in Schedule VII ceased to exist and it became part of the Concurrent List and also the difference between Part I and Part II of the Concurrent List was obliterated. I feel that in such circumstances the powers vested in the Government of India is fully seized, fully empowered to deal with these matters which are of provincial concern, because of the powers they have taken under section 102 (1) they are entitled to interfere in matters which are ordinarily left to the discretion of the provincial authorities should such interference be needed, an appreciation of that position is fundamental for this discussion as otherwise the whole question can be dismissed as being not within the purview of the Government of India and as not covered by their powers. The House would certainly like to know from the Government their attitude with regard to the people who have been detained in police lock-ups under section 129 of the Defence of India Rules, those who have been detained under section 26 of the Defence of India Act indefinitely in prisons and those who have been convicted by courts under the Defence of India Act and the rules and special ordinance that have been enacted. These three classes of people more or less complete the list which are comprised by my Resolution. Sir, it would help the debate in this House and clarify the issues if the Government will intervene at an early stage of the Debate and make their position clear in regard to the various categories of detenus and prisoners that I have mentioned.

I would like to come to the details. It is a fact, Sir, that Members of this House are not in a position to say definitely what has happened in each individual case. The fact that interviews are not permitted with those people who have been detained since August 1942, at any rate, the fact that these people are completely isolated from the rest of the world, makes it impossible for us to know exactly except by hearsay, except from people who have come out of the prisons since then, as to what all has happened and how they are being treated. But information as gleaned from various sources and the picture that is presented to us in its composite form is sufficiently grim, sufficiently distressing as to justify a Resolution before this House on the subject.

Sir, I would like to take my stand on what has happened since August last because the question of treatment of political prisoners prior to August, 1942, has been a matter of discussion in this House. And I would like to say here and now that people of this category who were in prison before August 1942 were certainly treated with far greater consideration than those who have been arrested after August 1942, and those who have had the misfortune to be in prison for political offences since that time. This question of complete isolation of the prisoners from the public does make it difficult for us to describe very clearly what has been happening, and possibly some of the instances that I may mention and other Members of this House may mention would evoke a response from the Honourable the Home Member as being fantastic because they cannot be corroborated. But it nevertheless remains true that certain facts which have come to our notice are shocking indeed. I would, Sir, before proceeding further draw the attention of the House to the Security Prisoners Order of the Government of India dated some day in April 1942 seeking to regulate the treatment of prisoners in areas directly administered by the Central Government. That document I take it, Sir, contained the main principles on which the Government of India was guided by the treatment of security prisoners prior to August 1942. There Sir, any body who peruses will find that provision has been made for interviews, provision has been made for newspapers to be given, provision has been made for books to be given, provision has been made for writing materials to be given. All these have been provided for not perhaps on a very generous scale not certainly outside the discretion of the Superintendent of the Jail, but still there was a basis to go upon. But, I dare say, Sir, that subsequent to August 1942 there must have been issued a new set of instructions obviously from the Central Government to the various Provincial Governments and thereafter to the jail authorities which has completely changed the principles underlying the order of April 1942 and even the limited privileges visualized in the Government Security Prisoners Order of April, 1942, have been eliminated. I can Sir, illustrate the need for a revision of this policy of the Government from instances that I know of in my own province. I have one instance in which the House, I dare say, is interested. Some prominent Congressmen were arrested in August 1942 — Congressmen of Madras — many of whom were and some of whom are still Members of this House — as they came from Bombay. They were taken to Vellore, detained under section 26 of the Defence of India Rules. Subsequently, for some reason or another, apparently under the powers vested in the Government of Madras under the Defence of India Rule No. 129 (5) there has been an interchange of prisoners between Madras and the Central Provinces. Thirty prisoners were sent over to the Central Provinces from Vellore and 30 prisoners were received from the Central Provinces in the Vellore Jail. These 30 people happened to be really important men. I believe that among these 30 men who went to Amraoti from Vellore were prominent Congressmen and former members of this House and some of them who are still members of this House. I will cite one instance. That is the instance of the

Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in this House Mr Satyamurti.\* Mr Satyamurti, when he came down from Bombay was arrested at Arkonam and taken to Vellore. He was so ill that he could not even walk from the Railway carriage to the prison conveyance. He was carried in a chair. That was the condition in which he was taken to the Vellore prison, and subsequently he and 29 others were transferred to Amraoti. In Amraoti he got worse; he was put in a hospital – a District hospital as the House will know which is not fully equipped to provide adequate treatment for the ailment of which Mr Satyamurti was suffering – and he was in the hospital for a time until he was transferred to the General hospital in Madras and he has been released 2 months back, but the fact remains that he is still in the hospital. May I tell the House that the disease has been diagnosed as acute inflammation of the heart and he is semi-paralyzed in the region below the chest, he cannot lift his limbs and the organs below the chest cannot function. Sir, here is a case where a person has been carried to prison, a person who could not walk when he was arrested, a person who did not receive proper medical attendance in the hospital, who was tossed about hundreds of miles in train by being transferred to Amraoti and again sent back to Madras. What is left of him now only God knows. The House will know where and how the need has been established for his being kept completely isolated from the world. Members here know Mr Satyamurti and could visualize what all mischief he could have done if he had been permitted to talk to the outside world, what he could have done if he had not been so completely cut off. I dare say, the Honourable Members can easily visualize that. This is one instance, but one instance is quite enough to condemn the policy of the Government of India if that is the policy which was dictated in regard to the manner of treatment of these prisoners in the provinces. I will deal further with those 29 unfortunate people. There is a person today in the Amraoti Jail – Mr Muthuranga Mudaliar,\* a former Member of this House a man who is over 60 years old, incapable of moving about freely. He is, I am told, in a very serious condition and nothing definite is known about him. I have been told, Sir, that of those 29 people who are in Amraoti Jail, except one, all have been ill. Some are suffering from Sciatica. Some of them have been suffering from Dysentery, many have been suffering from malaria some of them have been suffering from sore eyes, and what do they want? They do not want to be released, they do not want the mercy of the Honourable the Home Member. They want to be shifted back to a jail in a climate to which they are accustomed, a place where they can get food they are accustomed to, not a mixture of maize and rice and maize and wheat, not food cooked by people who do not know how to cook in the way these people are accustomed to, and I hope the House will believe me when I say that not one of these 29 persons knows to cook. Most of them have been Honourable Members of this House – Mr Ananthasayanam Ayyangar,\* Mr Giri,\* Mr Thirumal Rao\* – and some of them are still members of this House. What do they want? They don't want mercy of this Government. They want to be sent back to jails in their own province.

Sir, I will go further with regard to the treatment afforded to prisoners in another jail in my province. There is a place called Aliporam. It is in Bellary District. Most of the prisoners, whether they are detained or whether they are convicted, have been sent down to Aliporam from the four corners of the Mares Province. I know of a friend, who was a Member of the Legislative Assembly in Madras but who has resigned because of differences with the Congress Party, who was convicted and was sent from Tanjore to Aliporam. He has been subsequently released because the conviction was quashed on appeal. I received a letter from him the other day which says:

People in my prison, which include Mr Gopal Reddi,\* a former Minister of Madras and several other important public men of Madras, do not get any newspapers. They are not allowed any books. Even the Gita, or other religious books are only given a week after their entry into the Jail. The food conditions are bad. Water is impossible to drink. Dysentery is rampant. People who died of dysentery are reported to have died of heart failure.

Surely heart failure will certainly result when they are subjected to such inhuman treatment and when they have constantly to hear cries of people who are whipped outside the jail.

I do not want to paint the picture more red, though I think it would not be colouring the truth if I were to paint it in luminary colours since the truth is glaring enough because I do not want any Honourable friend, the Home Member, to tell me that all that I have said is fantastic. I do not want to present any case to this House which can be described as fantastic. The bare truth will justify my rising in this House and pleading the case of these political prisoners who only want human ordinary treatment.

I will give yet another instance of how prisoners are being treated. The House knows fully well that there is one family in India which evokes country — wide interest and emotion and which has a place enshrined in the hearts of the people of this country, outside the family of Mahatma Gandhi, and that is the Nehru family. We do not know where Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is, but it appears and it has been borne out by even prominent Government officials that he wrote to his daughter who is a prisoner in the Naini Jail sometime about the middle of October last. The Bombay Government very kindly forwarded that letter to Mrs Indira Gandhi,\* the daughter of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru about early December. It was forwarded to the United Provinces Government; the district magistrate of Allahabad after a time returned that letter with the endorsement 'Not deliverable. Meantime Mrs Indira Gandhi develops a temperature, she is medically examined and a copy of the medical report is sent to the father. We do not know where he is . . .

*Sardar Sant Singh*\* (West Punjab: Sikh): He is in Ahmednagar.

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari*: I am not prepared to guess.

*Sardar Sant Singh*: I am telling you the fact.

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari*: That report is sent to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in December and that report reads that although the general condition of Mrs Indira Gandhi is indifferent, there has been no marked deterioration in her condition since detention. Naturally, the father is very worried; and subsequently I think sometime in January — there has been a press statement issued, I have no doubt with the seal of approval of some Government department or other that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has been permitted to communicate with his daughter, and I believe there was also a statement in Parliament by Colonel Amery to this effect. But, Sir, no communication seem to have passed between them. Sometime early in March, Mrs Huthee Singh,\* a sister of Pandit Jawahar Lal hears from the Government of Bombay that the United Provinces Government has been persuaded to relax restrictions and communications may be sent to Mrs Indira Gandhi in Naini jail; but I am told that the daughter has been told by the United Provinces Government that she cannot write *suo moto* — she cannot write of her own accord, but if she gets a letter from her father or any other relative, she can then reply. I am open to correction if this is fantastic or if I am drawing upon my imagination; but if there is even an iota of truth in this, I think the Government will stand condemned for this rather inhuman treatment of a person who is the idol of the nation.

I do not want — though I can develop these cases — to take the time of the House, particularly as I believe many Members of the House are anxious to hear now the Honourable

the Home Member's view on the subject of this Resolution. But one or two more matter would bear mention here. There will be an opportunity for other friends here to speak on this aspect of prison life but I would like to draw the attention of the Honourable the Home Member to the question of the detention of people in police lock-up.<sup>1</sup> The rules do permit, provided the Provincial Government approves perhaps for purposes of investigation, the detention of a person who has been arrested by the police, for fifteen days in the first instance and that fifteen days can be extended to two months. The House knows what it is to keep people in detention in police lock-up. At any rate the jails have got some system of treatment prescribed — the police lock-up has nothing. Coming from Madras, I should like to tell this House that putting people in the police lock-up, by sentencing people for one month's imprisonment was supposed to be, by two Madras Indian Civilian officials at one time, a proper method of dealing with the non-co-operation movement of 1940. It stands to the credit of two Indian Civilians, and when I say Indian Civilians, I mean of Indian domicile, who sat in a collectors' conference at Madras to suggest to the Government that the best way of dealing with these non-co-operators was to put them in a police lock-up for one month and make them use the pots and pans discarded by regular convicts which in their opinion will bring non co-operators to their senses; I do not know if the Government of India has since absorbed the wisdom of these two officers at Madras. I cannot see the reason for this type of detention in police lock-up being made a regular habit. The House knows that rather intriguing place, the Red Fort in Delhi. I do not know if it is a regular prison. I do not know if it is only a police lock-up; the Honourable the Home Member mentioned the other day that the stories of tortures of these people who were imprisoned in that Red Fort were fantastic; but can he enlighten us why these people should at all be sent to the Red Fort, why they should be incarcerated in a Baoli which has it is said as many as seventy steps leading down to it.

*Sardar Sant Singh:* The most ancient prison.

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari:* . . . and what is the sanitary condition of these cells. That I think these are relevant points that can be raised because the police are making it a habit to detain people subject to this limitation that they are kept in a lock-up for a period of less than two months and then they are transferred to some prison.

So far as the treatment of people in Northern India is concerned, it seems to be a shade worse than in South India. I find that as a rule there are more instances of inhumanity than in Madras, even in a notorious place like Alipuram. Such inhuman treatment in general is a thing dictated by Government since as a rule I think the Superintendents of prisons are considerate: they merely want to carry out the Government orders, be that as it may, the stories that one hears about Northern India prisons take one's breath away. I heard a story that women prisoners in Lahore — a number of women were put in solitary confinement because of an isolated instance of disobedience of the jail rules. I would like the Honourable the Home Member to contradict me if it is not a fact. But as far as the treatment of prisoners, whether in the United Provinces or in Punjab is concerned, I think one can be proud that he is a Madras because if I go back to Madras and am interned there, it would not be such a bad thing, when compared to conditions in Delhi and in the United Provinces and the Punjab — it certainly is a matter of satisfaction for a person like myself coming from Madras who always stands the risk of becoming His majesty's guest any time.

There is one other point that I would like to mention and it is this: apart from the question of treatment, apart from this question of absence of interviews, apart from the question of the lack of provision of elementary amenities like newspapers and books — what is to happen to

the families of those people. Here I have a case of a letter written in the vernacular by Mrs Masilamoney,\* a Member of the Madras Legislative Assembly, who writes that her husband who is a contractor, a respectable man in Tuticorin has been arrested; his insurance premia fall due; she has not got the wherewithal to pay; she has to pay taxes, and because Tuticorin is now evacuated she cannot get her house rents and when she applies to Government for maintenance they allow her Rs 15 a month, and what is to happen to her house? The municipality will evict her and what is to happen to the insurance premium that she has to pay? How is she to live? A woman who is a member of the Legislative Assembly in Madras, a woman whose status is certainly above Rs 15 a month, do the Government think that this maintenance at least should be sanctioned on the basis of what the civil judiciary determine in maintenance cases or will they permit some judicial tribunal to determine what maintenance these people who are dependent on detenus should get? Maintenance of the families of persons detained is a very important factor.

Sir, I would like to cut short my speech because I hope that the Honourable the Home Member will follow me and enlighten us on these points if time permits. But I would mention before I sit down this one fact, that so far as we are concerned, let not the Government be under any impression that this is a sort of thin end of the wedge for getting the release of these people. Neither the people who are imprisoned nor I on their behalf want that, but I do want the Government to tell us categorically that the policy which has resulted in these people being imprisoned; that the policy which has resulted in their being characterized as people outside the pale of ordinary society is not being projected into their prison life, but that they will be treated as ordinary decent human beings. In the name of that civilization for which you say you are fighting, in the name of that civilization which you say you want to preserve, if that civilization is worth preserving at all, the Government of India must come out and tell the House that they will at least hereafter look after and treat these people as human beings. That is all I have to say in support of this Resolution.

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* I rise in response to a request that I should say something now, although I am aware that to do so puts me at some disadvantage because I have not heard all the speeches that are going to be made about this Resolution.

*An Honourable Member:* You can make another speech.

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* I will do what I can in the short time at my disposal. So far as I have gathered from the Honourable the Mover's speech, there is no particular complaint about persons who have been convicted, although the original Resolution particularly specified those who had been convicted in connection with the present movement. Though he said 'convicted', I think he must have meant 'detained'. He has said no word about convicted prisoners and I shall, therefore, not waste the time of the House by talking about them now. They are, of course, all subject to the ordinary jail rules of their provinces.

I turn then, to security prisoners, that is, persons detained under rule 30. Here I should dismiss cases of persons detained under the other rule, 129, which enables temporary detention, because persons who are detained under that rule are more or less in the position of under-trial prisoners. That is to say, under the rule they cannot be detained for more than 15 days in the first instance or more than two months as a maximum. Therefore, these persons within that time must either be released or detained under rule 26, and all that we need concern ourselves with is the conditions of detention of persons detained under rule 26.

As regards persons detained under rule 26 the Resolution deals with two classes of people, that is, security prisoners in general, and also those detained in connection with the Congress

movement to whom certain special restrictions apply. These form the bulk of prisoners now detained under rule 26, because the number on the 1st August before this movement arose was only 875 in all India, and those were persons detained for all reasons, including reasons of a non-political character. The number of persons detained in connection with the Congress movement on the 1st February, 1943, was 8,120 in the whole of India, and I think the House will agree that, considering the extremely large number of centers in which this movement had its manifestations and the very wide spread nature of the disturbance, the smallness of that number shows that persons were selected for detention with due discrimination and there was no policy of indiscriminate arrests. Otherwise the number would have been very much larger.

Now, as regards the treatment of security prisoners in general, the House will recollect the discussions of 1941 about the time when the Deoli Detention Camp was closed down. At that time the Government of India received certain recommendations from my Honourable friend, Mr Joshi, and at the time when these prisoners were being returned to their provinces, where, of course, they would come under the care of their own Provincial Governments, the Government of India addressed the provinces on a number of matters to which Mr Joshi had drawn attention. These matters included classification, association between security prisoners, diet allowances, receipts of funds from external sources, family and personal allowances, censorship of letters and newspapers, books, correspondence between security prisoners in different jails, the number of letters allowed, jail punishments, and release on parole. The House will see what a large number of matters were taken up at that time, and the views which we expressed to the provinces represented a very large degree of acceptance of Mr Joshi's recommendations. The provinces generally accepted our views on this matter with local variations of detail. And here I must explain to the Honourable the Mover that it is not possible constitutionally for the Central Government to take all these matters out of the hands of the provinces or be held responsible for the details of administration of a provincial subject. The House will readily see how impossible it would be for the Central Government to take matters out of the hands of Provincial Governments where they have ministers responsible to popular legislatures. Those legislatures are the proper place from which questions should be addressed to Provincial Governments as regards their local treatment of prisoners.

*Sardar Sant Singh:* If they refuse to answer questions?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* I am not concerned with that. Those Governments were put in power by the people of those provinces.

*Sardar Sant Singh:* When they refuse to answer question about the detenus?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* So, the position is that the Central Government is directly responsible only for treatment in Chief Commissioner's provinces, although what it does and says to some extent influences the policy in these matters in the Governor's provinces.

*Dr P.N. Banerjee* (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): What about those Provinces where Legislatures are not functioning, for instance, Bihar?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* It is not my fault that there are no Legislatures functioning in those Provinces. Those Legislatures were withdrawn by the very people who have supplied this class of security prisoner.

*Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan* (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): And thank God for that!

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* A copy of the Central Government Security Prisoners Order, 1942 has, I think, been placed in the Library of the House. The revised order was



issued after the closure of the Deoli Detention Camp, and in that order the Government of India put into practice the recommendations of Mr Joshi which they had accepted. Any one who refers to that orders will see that on the whole the treatment allowed to security prisoners is humane and reasonably liberal in the matter of privileges; but, of course, the latitude allowed, or privileges allowed, must be consistent, first, with the reasons and objects of the detention of those prisoners, and secondly, with the practical possibilities of jail administration. Of these practical possibilities, the Provinces within their own sphere must naturally be the judges. It is impossible for us to make demands on the Provinces which would place intolerable burdens on their jail staffs. We must recognize that there are limitations in the amount of freedom which can be given to persons detained; for instance, an increase in the number of letters would mean a very large increase in the staff. Similarly, an increase in the number of interviews would place a burden on the supervising staff.

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari:* May I ask the Honourable Member . . .

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* I think I had better get along, if the Honourable member would allow me. I wish now to say a word about security prisoners detained in connection with the present movement. These security prisoners are governed by the same rules that apply to all security prisoners in general which I have just explained. But here are certain modifications which have been based on the reasons and objects of their detention and these modifications must be regarded not as penal but as precautionary. The modifications in the Chief Commissioners' Provinces are, first, that they are put in a single class called Q class with separate accommodation from other prisoners, including other security prisoners; secondly, their scales of diet are intermediate between class 1 and class 2 of ordinary security prisoners; thirdly, that no interviews are allowed and, fourthly, that they may write and receive letters on the same scale as class 2 security prisoners, that is to say, they may write two and receive four letters a week; but the correspondence allowed must be with members of their family only and must be limited to personal matters, that is, they may not discuss politics in these letters. So far as I know, most Provinces have adopted similar precautions but there have been some relaxations, I believe, as regards interviews in four of the Provinces.

Now, I want to say a word about the need of these special restrictions. As I have said, they were not penal but precautionary. The persons concerned were detained to prevent them from leading, organizing or instigating this Congress movement, the character of which the House by this time fully appreciates; and the action taken was largely successful in arresting its development as planned. In fact, the movement, such as it is, continues now only because certain other leaders, organisers, and instigators remain at large. We must remember that as active organisers most of the persons detained are probably even more dangerous than many of those who have been convicted, who were in many cases merely the tool of these other people — criminals, no doubt, but still tools. I must emphasize that from the first the Government did take and they still take a very serious view of the danger to which India was and is exposed by such a movement and they cannot take any risks in dealing with it. For this reason, the policy from the first has been to segregate these persons to the extent necessary to prevent them from establishing any contact with other prisoners or with the outside world, including, of course, especially contact with the underground organisers who are still at large. They are allowed communication by letter with members of their families. They are not cut off from their families in this sense and these letters may extend to all personal and domestic matters; and, so far as I know, that restriction is liberally interpreted. But interviews even with the members of the prisoner's own family give too much opportunity for the conveyance of



messages into jail or out of jail. The House will have within its recollection the case of Jai Prakash Narain at Deoli, where he was found transmitting certain written instructions through his wife at the time of an interview.

Now, I do not think that any relaxation of these special restrictions, such as they are, can at present be contemplated, first, because the war is not yet won; the danger is still there and we have to guard against it. Secondly, the Congress movement is not yet dead. I could quote many instances to show that bomb outrages, acts of railway sabotage, arson and so forth are still occurring. Thirdly, the underground organisation of the Congress still exists and is bent on carrying on the movement and, fourthly, the more we relax these restrictions, the more cases occur of escapes from jails and other acts of indiscipline such as mutinies within the jails. It is notable that the instances I have been given of such occurrences — and they are a fairly long list — have all occurred in the provinces where restriction on interviews with these prisoners had been relaxed—every one of them.

Now, I cannot deal with all the various amendments that have been brought forward . . .

*Mr President* (the Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can go on for some time after five o'clock, if he wishes to.

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell*: If the House will agree to sit for a few minutes after 5 . . . (Voices: 'Yes') I will touch on some of the amendments. I am at some disadvantage in referring to the amendments without having heard the arguments of the Honourable Members who intend to move them. But I should like to refer to some of the specific suggestions that have been put forward in the light of what I have already explained. The first is as regards the maintenance of families. The principles on which allowances for the maintenance of families were granted were liberalized to a considerable extent on the basis of Mr Joshi's recommendations but in the case of security prisoners of the Q class, in Chief Commissioner's Provinces at any rate, we propose to apply a somewhat stricter standard, namely, the standard of proved necessity which formerly applied to all security prisoners. It must be remembered that persons who are in open rebellion with the object of overthrowing the existing Government have little personal claim on that Government and also that many of these persons who are detained, being as I say rather prominent persons in the Congress organisation, are in a different position from the poorer class of detenus. I am not aware of what principles the Provinces are following in this respect but I have not heard of cases, either coming to the Centre or to the Provinces, in which complaint has been made that families have been thrown into destitution by the action taken against security prisoners.

Another point raised by these amendments is that of visits from Members of the Central Legislature and other public men (this is Pandit Nilakantha Das' amendment), to interview prisoners for certain purposes, which differ in the main Resolution and in his amendment. Now, on this point, I should like to remind the House that Members of the Central Legislature have no particular status in advising their Provinces on matters of provincial administration, although they would have some status in Chief Commissioner's Provinces which have not been specially alluded to by the Honourable the Mover. Secondly, I would remind the House that the Jail manuals of all provinces contain provisions for the appointment of non-official visitors in their jails. These non-official visitors are appointed to look after the welfare of prisoners in all respects, including the sanitation of the jails and all other matters affecting their well being, and complaints may be made to them and must be attended to. But the Report of the Indian Jails Committee suggests that visitors should be selected for their own qualifications and their own knowledge of jail matters and not solely, as it says, on the ground

of social position, wealth or political influence. In other words, these visitors are to be appointed for the purpose for which the system of non-official visitors was conceived. So far as I know, the non official visitors are allowed to visit security prisoners in the provinces but I have not got exact information.

*Dr P.N. Banerjee:* What would happen when non official Visitors are themselves put in jail?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* Then, they are there all the time. Thirdly, in at least two provinces the rules in the Jail Manual relating to non-official visitors provide that members of the Provincial, not the Central, Legislature shall be appointed as visitors or shall be ex-officio visitors in the provincial jails and I would suggest that if there is any question of using members of the Legislature, that is the proper system which should be followed and not that Member of this House should attempt to intervene in provincial matter. Another suggestion which was made by Mr Joshi was that a Consultative Committee of the Legislature should be appointed to go into these matters and advise. Here he reverts to his Resolution of the 15th November, 1940, on which I have already commented in my speech delivered in this House on the 12th February, 1941. And I only need remind the House once more that the Governments concerned, meaning mostly the Provincial Governments who have the care of these prisoners, have themselves to take the full responsibility for their treatment with the knowledge which they have of the reasons and objects of detention and of the practical possibilities of their jail administration. It is very easy for those who are not themselves responsible for these matters to advise sweeping concession, but is not equally easy for those who have the responsibility to accept such suggestions. But as I have reminded the House, Government have already paid much regard to the advice given by Mr Joshi as an individual. But I do not think that it would be appropriate for the Government formally to associate with themselves a Committee of the Legislature to deal with matter which, on the face of them, require executive decision and action. And still less will that be appropriate when the matters to be dealt with are within the exclusive executive authority of the Provincial Governments. Many of these Provincial Governments, as I said, have responsibility in these matters to their own legislatures.

Now, I come to the point raised by Mr Joshi about the review of cases. The House will remember the previous review of case, which took place at the instance of the Central and Provincial Governments, of persons who were then detained, and I have no doubt that Mr Joshi in moving his amendment had that precedent in mind. But I would ask the House carefully to note the difference between that case and this. The persons whose cases then came under review were not detained in connection with a specific movement. They were detained because of their own general activities and because of what was known about their antecedents and programmes. In those circumstances, there was, without such a review, a real danger of indefinite detention and we had to be satisfied that those persons were not kept under detention for longer than was really necessary. But in the present case — and I am referring to security prisoners detained in connection with the present movement — the persons detained are detained in order to prevent them from participation in a movement which is still alive and still dangerous. I have already explained the position in speaking of the need for retaining special restrictions upon them and I do not think I need repeat all that again. But the point is that their detention is related to a particular situation now existing, a situation which in the nature of things must be temporary, at least I hope it will be, but I cannot say how long it will last. Therefore, there is every difference between the case of these persons and those who were detained not in connection with any particular situation which might be expected to come to an end at a particular time.

I have only one word more to say about the amendment moved by Mr Nilakantha Das' in which, he says . . . .

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the Honourable Member wishes to have more time, I do not think the House would be in hurry to rise.

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell*: His amendment is that the policy should be such as to facilitate the release of those who are in favour of co-operating in the war efforts and with this object in view to allow interviews with the political prisoners by Members of the Central Legislature. I would remind the House of the results of releasing the Satyagrahi prisoners in December 1941. Eight months afterwards we found ourselves involved in the Congress rebellion and I should like to know, although I have not yet got the particulars, now many of the persons whom we had to convict or detain in connection with the present movement were persons to whom the benefit of that general releases was extended? But I should like to ask in relation of Pandit Nilakantha Das' amendment how could Members of the Central Legislature, as a result of the proposed interviews, guarantee the co-operation of those persons in the war effort? What trust could be placed in second-hand accounts of the attitude of *mind* of people who at one moment were attempting to sabotage the war effort and at another moment professing to support it? Who is to know which attitude is sincere? We must have something more tangible than that. We must know that India's defence and our own obligations towards the Allied Nations stand in no further danger from these people while the war lasts. So long as the Congress resolution stands and so long as an underground organisation exists bent upon carrying it out, we can, in the nature of things, have no such confidence. We can take no more risks for the future. We must know exactly where we stand.

I am afraid that my remarks have meant pouring cold water on most of the proposals which have been made in this Resolution and the amendments but I would remind the House once more that these restrictions are governed by the nature and the continued existence of the situation with which we have to deal. But, at the same time, as I have tried to explain, the conditions under which these people are kept have in the past received careful consideration and the restrictions which are placed on security prisoners detained in connection with the present movement are not so widespread as, I think, Members were inclined to assume. I do not say that all these persons will be detained indefinitely. Some of the provinces are already, I think, releasing persons whom they deem to be comparatively unimportant considering the present state of the movement and they may be relied upon to take advantage of any opportunity which presents itself because they are no less anxious than I to relieve the pressure on all the jails which exists at the present moment. The House will realise that this state of things gives no pleasure to the Provincial Governments. I have no doubt whatever that, with due caution, considering as I said the continued existence of the emergency, they will do their best to allow these people to go. But in the meanwhile as I have tried to show to the House, there is really no room for any special investigation into the conditions of detention of these people. Some inconveniences may no doubt arise from the fact that accommodation is congested. That is a regrettable fact which the present situation has imposed upon us. But as I have already told the House the number of such prisoners under detention at present is not much more than eight thousand in the whole of India.

As regards the particular cases quoted by my Honourable friend the Mover. He will naturally understand that I cannot enter into the details of all those cases as I had no previous notice of them and, secondly, they are matters of provincial arrangement.

*An Honourable Member:* Will you enquire into them?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* If I have any specific cases which I think require elucidation I shall be prepared to go into them. But I naturally cannot undertake to go into hundreds of individual cases in each province.

*An Honourable Member:* What about Mr Satyamurti?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* I understand that Mr Satyamurti has been released. while he was under detention in the Central Provinces, the Government of that Province took all care of him that was possible and I do not think any complaint is made of the care that he received up to the time when he was transferred back to Madras. Very special care was taken of him while he was sick. Generally speaking, a security prisoner whose health is such that he can no longer take any active part in the movement is released by the Provincial Government and I have heard of a considerable number of such cases. I hope the House will realise that a reasonable attitude is adopted towards these prisoners.

Sir, that is all I can explain to the House now. But, I hope, if necessary, I shall have an opportunity of speaking later in this debate if it continues during the next Session.

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<sup>1</sup> In this connection the following documents are also relevant. 54, 93, and 97 below, and Docs No. 31, 38 and 64 in Ch. III.

## 29: Letter to the Government of Madras – Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Copy of D.O. No. 404 H/43-1, Development, dated 1st April 1943, to Joint Secretary, Board of Revenue, Madras:

Mines – Mining concessions – Grant of – to supporters of Congress etc.

I am directed to say that the Government desire that the following instructions should be followed while dealing with applications for the grant and renewal of mining concessions to persons who are 'known supporters' of Congress or who are known to have committed overt acts of sabotage etc., in furtherance of congress interests:

- (a) Certificates of approval should not be granted;
- (b) Applications for prospecting licences should be refused;
- (c) Where a known supporter of the Congress who does not hold a certificate of approval applies for a mining lease, the application should be rejected; (under rule 32) the holder of a prospecting licence has a right to mining lease and an application from such a person, whether he be a known supporter of Congress or not, cannot be rejected;
- (d) In the event of any breach on the part of the licencees of any of the conditions enumerated in clause (XXI) of rule (50) the lease should be determined without giving the lessee the option of paying a penalty; and

(e) Prospecting licences and mining leases should not be renewed.

2. These instructions will not, however, apply to leases and licences relating to mica in view of the importance of the production of mica for war purposes.

## 30: Government of India to all Provincial Governments (treatment of security prisoners)

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

### **Express Letter**

From

Home, New Delhi

To

All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners

(Except Panth – Piploda)

No. 3/30/43 – Poll (I)

*New Delhi,  
the 3rd April 1943*

Subject: Congress Security Prisoners

Please refer to paragraph (5) of this Department's express letter No. 44/6/42 – Poll (I) dated 20th of February 1943.<sup>1</sup> In paragraph (3)(c) of Home Department express letter No. 4/3/42 – Poll (I) dated the 2nd August 1942 we recommended that, as soon as the arrest of Gandhi and the Members of the Working Committee had taken place, each Province should proceed to arrests under Defence Rule 25 all individuals (whether their names occurred in the Provincial 'A' or 'B' list) whom they considered competent and likely to attempt to organise and launch a mass movement. It was added that the use of the Defence Rules would relate the action specifically to war requirements and would avoid the publicity and excitement of trials; but that it was desirable to use Defence Rule 26 rather than Defence Rule 129 for these initial arrests, since they were to be made under the orders of Government and not of individual police officers. The object of these arrests, as stated in paragraph (12) of the letter quoted, was if possible to render the movement abortive, but it was added in paragraph (13) that, if this object was not achieved, every power would have to be used to suppress the movement. We are aware that full use has been made of both Defence Rules 26 and 129 and that powers under the former rule have, in many cases been delegated to District Magistrates. According to the latest statistics available 8130 persons detained under Defence Rule 26 were in custody on February 1st 1943, while another 4184 persons were reported as being in custody under Defence Rule 129.

2. We do not suggest that the powers of detention without trial have been used to excess and we fully agree that there can be no general policy of releasing persons whose activities

would be likely to be dangerous so long as the movements is alive. We should say, indeed, that leaders and organizers can probably not be released so long as there is any danger that war operations conducted from India might be affected by a recrudescence of the sabotage campaign. On the other hand, we are aware that in one Province at least persons detained under the Defence of India Rules have been classified under three heads:

- (a) likely organizers and persons of influence;
- (b) second rank Congressmen; and
- (c) ordinary rank Congressmen,

and that the Government of Province in question has been considering the release of those in categories (b) and (c) who are not dangerous and whose liberty from a security point of view would not be likely to have an adverse effect. It is possible that in other provinces also the powers to detain without trial have been used against a wider circle than that indicated in paragraph (3)(c) of our letter of August 2nd 1942; and it is of course, always more difficult to meet criticism of the section of Government when it can be alleged that the preventive powers provided by Defence Rules 26 and 129 have, in fact, been exercised for punitive rather than preventive purposes. It seems to us possible from this point of view and also, perhaps, to some extent, from the point of view of reducing pressure on jail accommodation, that there may be minor security prisoners who could, with advantage, be dealt with under one or other of the clauses of Defence Rule 26, other than other than clause (b) of the sub-rule (1), or who might even be released unconditionally by decrees.

3. From these points of view, we should be glad if you could give us some ideas of the classes of persons who have ben detained in your Province and also to know whether you have considered the whole question and, if so, what you have done or propose to do in the way of reducing numbers where the prisoners themselves are unimportant and not likely to be dangerous in the present state of the movements.

R. Tottenham  
Addl. Secretary to  
Government of India

No. 3/3043 – Poll (I)

New Delhi

Copy forwarded for information to the S.G.G. (Pub.)

By order,  
(D.S.) (I)

Doc. 19.



# 31: Government of Bengal to Government of India (security prisoners)

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government Of Bengal  
Home (Jails) Department  
Confidential

## Express Letter

From  
A.E. Porter, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of Bengal,  
Government of India

To  
The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department

No. 4682 –H.J.

*dated the 15th April 1943.*

Subject: Congress Security Prisoners

Reference: The Government of India, Home Department letter No. 3/30/43 – Poll (I) dated the 3rd April, 1943.<sup>1</sup>

The position as regards persons detained in connection with the Congress 'rebellion', apart from those detained in pursuance of the Bengal Government's policy of attacking and paralyzing known and dangerous terrorist, subversive and revolutionary organisations, is as follows:

2. The first arrests, made during August, were directed to rendering abortive any movement which might be initiated. They were few in number and were confined to certain members of the All Indian Congress Committee and to some other few Congressmen, who either from their ascertained views or because they were influential members of the Khadi Group of the All-India Spinners Association, were known to be in favour of any mass movement, to which the countenance of the Congress might be given. When it was clear that this action had not in fact prevented disturbances, further arrests and detentions were effected of persons regarding whom there was reliable information indicating that they had been engaged in instituting or taking part in activities intended or likely to dislocate the administration in various degrees.

3. At the beginning of February, however, the position was reviewed, and it was decided to release unimportant persons who had been implicated in the congress agitation. This policy was forthwith put into effect and a large number of releases were made during the early part of February. The policy is still continuing and by far the great majority of those persons, not connected with other known subversive organisations than the Congress, and detained merely

for the part they had taken in activities connected with the 'rebellion' have already been released. Further releases are also being made from day to day. The policy now adopted is to release from detention all such persons except those whose continued detention is expedient as persons (members) of the All-India Congress Committee, as prominent and important members of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee or district congress committees as important members of the Khadi group and the All-India Spinners' Association or as persons who, for special reasons in individual cases, are also known to be likely to create further trouble if at large.

A.E. Porter

Addl. Secretary to  
The Govt. of Bengal

1. Doc. No. 30.

## 32: The Chief Commissioner, Coorg to the Government of India

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### **Express Letter**

From  
The Chief Commissioner of Coorg  
To  
The Secretary to the Government of India  
Home Department, New Delhi

No. C-42/43

*Mercara,  
the 15th April 1943*

Subject: Congress Security Prisoners

Reference your secret express letter No. 3/30/43 – Poll (I) dated the 3rd April 1943.<sup>1</sup>

2. The persons selected for arrest and detention without trial under rule 26 were confined to those who were likely to promote or organise rebellion. They were 8 in number and all potential organizers. One was released on giving an undertaking not to participate in Congress activities or do anything to impede the war effort. The remaining 7 include (1) leader of the Congress party, in the Legislative Council and an important and influential organizer (3) President of the District Board, a member of the A.I.C.C. and an influential organizer and leader of the youths (4) a local doctor, formerly president of the Coorg Congress Committee and a man of influence – he openly proclaimed his conviction that the Congress had launched



its last fight and fomented students strikes and processions (5) a merchant of some importance and a secret underground worker — responsible for promoting students strikes (6) an organizer (deported from Mysore) with communist leanings and (7) an ex-member of the Legislative Council who addressed meetings in promotion of the Congress campaign.

3. The premature release of any of the above persons would be likely to lead to a recrudescence of Congress activities and is highly undesirable at the present time.

Chief Commissioner.

1. Doc No. 30.

## 33. Extracts from the Fortnightly Reports from C.P. & Berar and Bihar second half April 1943

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Orders have been issued for the release of 533 unimportant congress detenues, including 111 adolescents. A number of releases has already taken place and no adverse reactions have so far been reported from any district. Nineteen adolescents were released in Wardha and the District Magistrate reports that they show no sign of resuming their congress activities. The Commissioners, Chattisgarh Division, reports in regard to these releases that 'the more intelligent elements of the released prisoners have made no secret of their feeling that they have had a lesson and that they have found jail life so rigorous that they are not likely to return there for the present'.

### **Bihar 2nd Half April 1943**

Many of the persons who were convicted for offences committed during the insurrection are believed to have resumed to a greater or less extent their connection with the Congress movement after their release. This includes a considerable number of those recently released from the camp jail in Patna before the expiry of their sentences. These releases were made as mentioned in my last report in consequence of an outbreak of cerebral spinal meningitis. There is information that the members of Congress Socialist Party have succeeded in doing a good deal of propaganda within the camp jail itself. Another report goes so far as to say that in Muzaffarpur plans are being made of setting up a parallel administration when the next outbreak occurs.



## 34: Government of Punjab to the Government of India — (Release of prisoners)

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

From

F.C. Bourne, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

No. 6736–B.D.S.B.

*Lahore*  
*dated the 20th April 1943*

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your Express letter No. 3/30/43 – Poll (I) dated the 3rd April 1943<sup>1</sup> and to inform you that the question of releasing civil disobedience prisoners who were not important and unlikely to be dangerous in the existing state of the movement was examined by this Government last November, as a result of which District Offices were asked to review the cases of all persons arrested in their districts who had been detained under Defence of India Rule 26 for reasons connected with the Congress campaign and to recommend for release such of these persons as could be set at liberty without undue risk. Prior to this, 21 civil disobedience prisoners had already been released, and on the basis of the recommendations made by District Magistrates another 111 prisoners were released. There are now 377 civil disobedience prisoners still in jail, including 115 persons who are on our 'A' or 'B' list.

As regards detentions under Rule 129, the Punjab Government have delegated the powers conferred on them by that rule to District Magistrates, who are thus authorized to order detention for the full period of two months, though these delegated powers are only to be used against persons whose detention is considered advisable in connection with the civil disobedience campaign. District Magistrates are, however, required to report to Government brief details of all orders passed by them under rule 129. No delegation has been made to District Magistrates under rule 26, and instructions have been issued that applications for detention orders under that rule should only be made in cases where it is considered that the period of two months detention is insufficient, and that convincing reasons should be given in support of such applications.

As regards future policy, I am to explain that release of individual detenus for one reason or another (e.g. for reason of health or other compassionate grounds) are continuing. The Punjab Government are averse from attempting any regular classification of Congressmen still under detention, and do not at present propose to undertake any fresh general review of their cases. There can clearly be no general release until the Congress as a whole disowns its policy

of treachery and malice; but individual Congressmen can secure their releases at any time by disassociating themselves unmistakably from this policy and giving adequate undertakings for the future, provided Government consider that reliance can be placed on such undertakings.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

F.C. Bourne  
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

1. Doc 30

## 35. Asst. Secretary, the Govt. of Bengal to the District Magistrate, Midnapore

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. 501/42 (XI)  
[Bengal State Archives]

Confidential

Government of Bengal  
Home (Political) Department.

From  
Rai Sahib K.P. Bose,  
Asst. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal,

The District Magistrate, Midnapore.

No. 714 – P.S.

*Dated, Calcutta, the 26th April 1943*

Subject: Realization of collective fines.

Reference: Your Memorandum No. 3257-C, dated the 20th December 1942<sup>1</sup> and 56-C, dated the 7th January, 1943.<sup>2</sup>

With reference to the above correspondence, the undersigned is directed to say that it was decided by Government that further work on apportioning and realizing the fines imposed in the district of Midnapore should be post-poned until any criticism of vindictiveness or savagery on the ground of the prevalent economic distress could be successfully rebutted. You are requested to review the position and to intimate to Government through the commissioner, your opinion whether in accordance with this policy the Realization of fines should be proceeded with now.

2. Petitions<sup>1</sup> received from the inhabitants of Panskura and Gopinathpur asking for

exemption from payment of the fine are also enclosed for favour of a report. The return of the petitions with the report is requested.

K.P. Bose

No. 714/1 – P.S.

Asst. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Copy forwarded to the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division for information with reference to the correspondence resting with his memorandum No. 628-C, dated the 31st December, 1942.

Calcutta,  
The 26th April, 1943.

Asst. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal

1. See enclosure to Doc. 3.
2. Doc. 3.

## 36: Government of Madras to the Govt. of India Licencing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Public (General) Department  
Confidential

D.O. No. 10508-3

*Fort St. George,  
26th April 1943*

Political agitation – Civil disobedience movement: Refusal or Cancellation of Licences to supporters of Congress.

Ref: Your D.O. No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I), dated 26-2-43<sup>1</sup>

In reply to your D.O. quoted above I am directed to say that it was decided by this Government to refuse licences to persons who commit overt acts of sabotage in furtherance of Congress interests, and which existing licences fall due for renewal to refuse to renew them in case of known supporters of Congress. A tabular statement showing the action taken to implement this policy together with copies of relevant orders issued are enclosed. As these orders were issued only recently, it is too early to make any comment on the success or otherwise of the policy initiated.

Yours sincerely,

P. Govindan Nair  
(Under Secretary)

Vishnu Sahay Esq.,  
Deputy Secretary to the Govt. of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi.

Tabular statement showing the action taken to implement the policy of government to refuse or cancel licences to known Congress supporters.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) Licences under the India Arms Rules.                                       | New licences are not to be granted nor old licences renewed in favour of known supporters of Congress (G.O. No. 5184, Home, dated 30-1-42).   |
| (2) Licences under the cinematograph Act.                                      | (G.O. No. 5239-Home, dated 6-3-43) (conf.).   |
| (3) Permits under the Motor vehicles Act & Rules.                              | Nothing should be granted or allowed to known supporters & Rules of the Congress under the Motor Vehicles Act which they cannot claim as a statutory right. Where the Act or rule provide for an act of discretion, it should be exercised against a known supporter of Congress (D.O. No. 156-B3, Home, dated 9.3.43).   |
| (4) Licences for possession of potassium chlorate, sulphur & other substances. | No licences under the Arms Act, Poison Act and under the D.O.I. sulphur & other substances for the possession of these substances should be granted or renewed in favour of known supporters of Congress. Any such licence in the possession or such persons are to be cancelled or revoked forthwith (G.O. No. 387, Home, dated 17-2-43).  |
| (5) Petroleum & Explosives Act & Poison Act.                                   | Known supporters of Congress should not be licensed under these Acts. 'No objection certificates' for the grant of licences by C.E.I. or the Govt. of India should not be issued by D.Ms. Existing licences in the hands of such persons are to be examined with a view to cancellation. (G.O. No. 436, Home, dated 22.2.43).   |
| (6) Grant and renewal of mining concessions.                                   | <p>The Government directed that the following instructions should be followed while dealing with applications for the grant and renewal of mining concessions to persons who are 'known supporters' of Congress or who are known to have committed overt acts of sabotage, etc. in furtherance of congress interests:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Certificates of approval should not be granted.</li> <li>(b) Applications for prospective licences should be refused.</li> <li>(c) When a known supporter of the Congress who does not hold a certificate of approval applies for a lease mining, the application should be rejected except on application from the holder of a prospecting licence under the rule 32 of the Mining Rules.</li> <li>(d) In the event of any breach on the part of the licensee of any of the conditions enumerated in clause (xxi) of rule 50 of the mining rules, lease should be determined without giving the <i>lease</i> the option of paying the penalty.</li> <li>(e) Prospecting <i>licensee</i> and mining <i>licensees</i> should not be renewed. (D.O. No. 404 H/43-1, dated 11-4-43).</li> </ul> |

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (7) Licences for the occupation of canal terms lease of grass, usufruct of trees, on cancelled charge of the P.W.D. | It was decided to apply the instructions in these cases and that the existing leases and licences should be cancelled only when the terms of the leases or licences permit such cancellation by Govt. (D.O. No. 91-1, dated 25-1-43). |
| (8) Licences to stamp vendors.  | It was decided to apply the principles to these classes of licences.  |
| (9) Excise fixed fee licences.  | The selection of Congress and Congress supporters on whom the ban should be imposed was left entirely to the discretion of the D.Ms. (Mr Westlake's D.O. dated 6-1-43 and D.O. No. 72-M/43-3, dated 6-3-43).                          |
- 

1. Doc. 22.

## 37 District Magistrate, Midnapore to the Commissioner, Burdwan division – (Realization of collective fines)

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 501/42 (XI)  
[Bengal State Archives]

Office of the District Magistrate, Midnapore

D.O. No. 971 C

*Midnapore,  
the 30th April, 1943.*

Dear Mr Haldar,

Reference Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Home Department's Memo No. 714 P.S. dated 26.4.43.<sup>1</sup> In returning herewith the petitions<sup>2</sup> filed before the Government of Bengal, I have to report that relief operations on account of distress are going on in the whole of the Contai subdivision and in almost all the Tamluk subdivision and that there is considerable damage to houses, some loss of cattle and generally a poorish crop. Certainly the poor people are in any thing but a satisfactory condition. Some of the better off people might be able to pay fines without being ruined, but the general condition is unsatisfactory and Realization of fines might be difficult to defend. As Panskura and Gopinathpur are in areas where relief is being given, the above reasoning applies to those two particular villages.

Yours sincerely

S.K. Halder, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Commissioner, Burdwan Division,  
Chinsurah

F.O. Bell

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 35.    <sup>2</sup> Not printed, but see Doc. 35 – Ed.

## 38: Government of Bombay to the Government of India — Treatment of security prisoners

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

No. S.D.VI/3903

Home Department (Political)

Bombay Castle

*1st May 1943*

From

H.V.R. Ienger, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department

To

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department,  
New Delhi

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your express letter No. 3/30/43 – Poll (I), dated the 3rd April, 1943<sup>1</sup> regarding the release of Congress security prisoners who have been detained in connection with the civil disobedience movement and to state as follows:

2. In this Province, powers under rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules have been delegated to all District Magistrates and there is, therefore, no accurate information readily available as to the classes of persons who have been detained under that rule. However, judging from the fact that the number of persons included in the 'A' and 'B' lists was only 738, while the total number of persons under detention is about 3,200 it is clear that, in addition to leading Congressmen, a large number of persons of relatively little importance have been detained, presumably because they were either politically of some danger in their immediate neighbourhood or were suspected of complicity in political crimes, but could not be prosecuted for want of evidence.

3. This Government has from time to time considered the question of reducing the number of those under detention. Instructions were issued on the 10th November 1942 to release students who had not been implicated in disturbances involving violence or sabotage on their giving an undertaking not to take further part in the movement. As a number of students were not, as a matter of prestige, prepared to give such an undertaking although it was reasonably clear that they would not take further part in the movement, fresh instructions were issued that they should be released if their parents or guardians gave a suitable undertaking. These instructions were applied to all persons below the age of 18. On the 21st October, District Magistrates were asked to consider releasing unimportant detenus who were unlikely to take further part in the movement, but this order appears to have had little effect

on the numbers of the detenus as District Magistrates were naturally disinclined to take any risk in the conditions subsisting in this Province.

4. In view of the fact that the movement in this Province is now almost dead, and, in view of the unlikelihood of its revival in any serious form, District Magistrates have now been asked to review their orders of detention more freely and to release the more unimportant of the detenus about whom it can be reasonably assumed that they will take no further part in the movement. Persons, however who have been implicated in sabotage or terrorist activities to be precluded from this review.

Your obedient servant,

H.V.R. Iengar,  
Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of Bombay,  
Home Department.

1 Doc 30.

## 39. Note by Maxwell dated 4.5.43 – Secondary organisations

File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Bengal and the United Provinces and in a good many other Provinces there would not appear to have been much ground for declaring these organisations unlawful. There is no doubt, however, that the A.I.S.A. and the Khaddar Bhandars are and have always been an integral part of Gandhi's organisation and that they have been kept ostensibly clear from politics in order that they might continue to function and keep his influence alive when the major organisation was unable to function. It is, therefore, very necessary that the Provinces should keep a close eye on what is being done both at the Khaddar Bhandars and in the remnants of the A.I.S.A. itself, although the latter may be supposed to have been largely sterilized by the arrest of Congressmen who form its managers and trustees. I would agree with the course of action proposed in para 2 of Additional Secretary's note. But I think that the circulation of D.I.B.'s note should be mainly in order that Provinces might keep a watchful eye on these organisations rather than that we should stipulate them to take fresh action at the present stage unless they have definite reason for doing so. I also agree that those Provinces, if any, which may have continued to pay grants to A.I.S.A., should be advised to cease to do so.

Maxwell  
4-5-43  
Addl. Secy.



# 40: The Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal

Linlithgow Collections

[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

To

H.E. Sir John Herbert, G.C.I.E.,  
Governor of Bengal

*The Viceroy's House,  
New Delhi,  
May 6th, 1943.*

My dear Herbert,

In paragraph II of your fortnightly reports of the 19th of April<sup>1</sup> you mentioned the difficulties of your Government in accommodating political prisoners and your desire to send some of them to prisons outside Bengal. I sympathize with you in your difficulty, but on the best advice that I have been able to obtain here, it does not appear that the military case for removing prisoners out of Bengal is conclusive; and as in practically every other province accommodation is seriously overcrowded (in fact I am told that you have a considerably smaller number of Congress rebellion prisoners than some other Provinces, although you have of course to carry with you a large number of what may still be called terrorist prisoners) I fear that you are likely to have to hold on to your own people for the present. You may perhaps be able so to arrange the location of your more dangerous prisoners as to keep them as far as possible away from operational areas.

2. You are no doubt familiar with the official correspondence which is taking place on this subject and there would be no point in my going into detail here. But as far as I can judge everything possible, given the attitude of other Provinces and the pressure on their accommodation, has been done to help you, and I fear there is nothing for it but to ask Bengal to make the best of the situation, though I fully understand your difficulties and will not fail to let you know in the — I fear unlikely — event of our being able to make any helpful suggestion.

Yours sincerely

Linlithgow

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<sup>1</sup> Not printed.



# 41: Government of India to all Provincial Govts – (Licensing Policy)

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of India,  
Home Department

From  
Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India

To  
All Provisional Governments (except Madras) and  
Chief Commissioners (except Panth Piploda)  
New Delhi

*the 7th May, 1943*

Sir,

I enclose herewith copy of a demi-official letter No. 10508-3<sup>1</sup> from the Government of Madras on the subject of refusing licences to persons who commit overt acts of sabotage or who are known supporters of Congress, together with a tabular statement showing the action taken by the Government of Madras to implement this policy. The Government of India is in general agreement with the policy adopted by the Madras Government. The exact nature of the licences to which this policy should apply will naturally depend on the conditions of each Province, but in general, it is suggested that action should be confined mainly to licences which give the holders a privileged position or special facilities under Government and that it should not be extended to those which are normally available, as a matter of course, to the general public e.g. licences for private cars. We should be glad if you would let us have your comments upon these proposals and an indication whether a similar policy has been adopted in your Province, and, if so, what the measures are which have been taken in order to put the policy in to force.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. Tottenham

Additional Secretary to the Government of India

No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I)  
New Delhi, the 7th May, 1943

Copy to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

By order,

Under Secretary to the Government of India.

Copy to Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, S.G.C. (Public), Political Department,

External Affairs Department, Director, Intelligence Bureau, and Secretary I.A.C.C. for information.

By Order,  
Under Secretary to the Government of India

Copy to Commerce, P.&A., I.&P., Food industries and Civil Supplies, Labour, and E.H.&L. Departments who are requested to intimate whether the deal with any licences which would be covered by these instructions.

By order,  
Under Secretary to the Govt. of India

Copy of a demi-official letter No. 10508-3 dated the 26th April 1942, from Mr P. Govindan Nair, under Secretary to the Government of Madras, to Vishnu Sahay Esquire, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Dept., New Delhi.

Political agitation Civil disobedience movement Refusal or cancellation of licences supporters of Congress.

1. Document 36.

## 42 Addl. Secretary, Govt. of India to Member, Central Board of Revenue — Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Home Department  
D.O. Letter

No. 3/17/43 - Poll (I)

*Dated: 8th May 1943*

My dear Sheehy,

I must apologise for not replying earlier to your D.O. letter of the 19th January<sup>1</sup> on the question of refusing salt licences to known supporters of Congress. The question was put to the Internal Affairs Committee of council who have approved in general of the policy adopted by the Government of Madras.

With regard to the remarks you made on the merits of this policy, I do not think the action of Government in this matter can be properly compared with what might be considered to be a reasonable course for a Tory Government in England to take towards its political opponents. The persons against whom it is intended to use this policy are known to be active sympathizers with an unlawful body which is on open rebellion against the Government. In the present circumstance and while the rebellion persists we could ourselves be fully entitled to take any action we can against such opponents. Nor do we agree with your reference to the fact that the Supply Department has placed large orders with industrialists who are known

to be supporters of Congress. This in the industrial conditions prevailing in this country, is more a matter of necessity than of choice and does not affect the general principle of taking economic action wherever possible against the supporters of the Congress Party.

Yours sincerely,

R. Tottenham  
Addl. Secretary

Sir John Sheehy, C.S.I., I.C.S.,  
Member, Central Board of Revenue,  
Simla.

1. Document 9.

## 43: Copy of a Letter No. F 2/1/43-S.B. dated the 13th May 1943 from the Chief Commissioner, Delhi – Release of detenus

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

In reply to Sir Richard Tottenham's express letter No. 3/30/43 – Poll (I) dated the 3rd April 1943,<sup>1</sup> I have the honour to enclose herewith a list of the persons at present detained by my orders under Defence Rule 26 in connection with the Congress mass movement. The other persons are detained under the Rule, by orders made in this office prior to the start of the Congress mass movement. (The power to make orders of detention under this Rule has not been delegated to any other authority in the Delhi Province.) The total number is 75. Considering how determined the efforts of the Congress have been to keep the movement alive in Delhi, I think it will be conceded that the figure is a very moderate one.

2. I do not contemplate and should not favour any general jail delivery in the near future, but having at all times a strong dislike to keeping any person in prison without trial, shall release at once any or all of these detenus, as soon as I am satisfied that this can be done without danger to the state. A few releases have indeed already been ordered, and arrangements are in force under which any doubtful cases are at once referred (if necessary referred again and again) for my consideration.

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 30.



## 44: Industries and Civil Supplies Department's reply to the letter of GOI dated 7.5.43

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Reference: Home Department's endorsement No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I) dated the 7th May, 1943.<sup>1</sup>

The only licences with which this Department deals are the following :

- (a) Sulphate of Alumina,
- (b) Iron & Steel,
- (c) Newsprint,
- (d) Starch.

In each of these four cases licences are issuable under orders from this Department.

This Department does not consider that these licences can be said to give the holders 'a privileged position or special facilities under Government'.

Under Secretary.

Home Department (Mr A.W. Lowatt) u.o.

1. and C.S. Dept. u.o. No. 0-6064-1.C/43 dated 14.5.43.

1. Document 41

## 45: Government of United Province to the Govt. of India – (Release of detenus)

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

### **Express Letter**

From

D.S. Barron, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to Government,  
United Provinces

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department,  
New Delhi.

*Dated Lucknow May 15, 1943*

Reference Sir Richard Tottenham's Secret letter No. 33/30/43 – Poll (I) dated April 3, 1943,<sup>1</sup> and subsequent reminder. The delay in replying is regretted. Certain general questions

connected therewith were under consideration when the letter was received, and when these had been decided I overlooked the fact that the Government of India had asked for information.

2. No attempt has been made to classify security prisoners detained in the U.P. All the important persons known to Government were included in lists A and B, and orders were issued by Government for the detention of persons named in these lists. Power to order detention under rule 26(1)(b) was delegated to Commissioners of Divisions to deal with persons other than those included in Lists A and B and we have issued and repeated, instructions to Commissioners that they must from time to time re-examine the cases of all prisoners detained under their order releasing all those whom they consider unlikely to take any active part in subversive activity in the conditions prevailing at the time of examinations. One of the principal reasons for delegation of powers to Commissioner was that the number of cases was too large for Government to deal with.

3. In compliance with the orders issued Commissioners have constantly had their lists under revision, and they were recently requested to make a still more thorough examination. The number of persons under detention under Rule 26 has not decreased to a considerable extent since February, though, there is a steady decrease more marked in the latest return, and the Government hopes these instructions recently issued will result in a much marked decrease by the end of the month. The actual number at present under detention including those detained before August last is 4,417.

4. Government have also recently withdrawn to themselves the power of ordering further detention under rule 26, so that all future cases will be referred to Government. If at the end of this month the number of those undergoing detention has not been sensibly reduced, the Government proposes to re-consider the matter I am to make it clear, however, that the sole criterion for detention is whether there is good reason to believe that the persons detained, if at large, would actively support the Congress movement.

D S. Barron

Secretary

I Doc 30

**46** Commissioner, Burdwan division to the Addl.  
Secretary, Govt. of Bengal

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 501/43 (XI)  
[Bengal State Archives]

Home Department  
Office of the Commissioner, Burdwan Division

No. 231 ARP

*Dated Chinsurah the 17th May 1943*

From The Commissioner,  
Burdwan Division

Copy with enclosures in original, forwarded to the Additional Secretary to the Government

of Bengal, Home (Political) Deptt. With reference to his Assistant Secretary's letter No. 714 P.S. dated 26.4.43.<sup>1</sup>

The undersigned agrees with the Distt. magistrate.

For Commissioner  
17.5.43

No. 971 C dated 30.4.43 from the Distt. Magistrate, Midnapore

1 To be read with Documents 35 & 37 – Ed.

## 47: Reply to the letter of the Government of India – dated 7.5.43 from E.H.L. on Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

No. D 445/43-23

Secret

Government of India  
Department of Education,  
Health and Lands

*New Delhi*  
*18th May, 1943*

### **Memorandum**

With reference to the Home Department's endorsement No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I) of the 7th May 1943,<sup>1</sup> forwarding a copy of Sir Richard Tottenham's Secret letter of the same number and date to Provincial Governments, the Education, Health and Lands Department does not control the issue of any licences which would be covered by the instructions conveyed in the Home Department letter quoted.

Under Secretary to the  
Government of India

The Home Department.



## 48: Extracts from the minutes of the meeting of the Viceroy's Council — Subject: Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Wednesday  
the 19th May, 1943*

### **Present**

His Excellency the Viceroy.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, KCSI, CIE.

The Hon'ble Sir Jeremy Raisman, KCSI, CEI.

The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman, KCIE.

The Hon'ble Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, KPE.

The Hon'ble Dr N.P. Khare, M.D.

General Sir Alan Hartley, KUSI, CB, DSC, ADC (Dy. C-in-C).

Sir George Spence, CSI, CIE, ICS (Secretary to the Executive Council).

### **Weekly Summary of the Defence Department**

5. The Hon'ble Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava inquired what kinds of licences were in view. The Honourable the Home Member said that the Internal Affairs Committee had confined itself to the question of principle and the question of the kinds of licence to which the policy should be applied was, he believed, under investigation.

No. 372/E.C.C/43, dt 19.5.43

Copy forwarded to the Additional Secretary, Home Department.

## 49 Extract from the express letter of Government of the C.P. and Berar, dated the 19th May 1943 — Reviewing cases of persons detained — (Political Dept.'s Letter No. C/329-357/conf.)

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

**Review of Cases:** The Provincial Government agrees that a review of all cases of detention is desirable. A preliminary review of all cases in this province has already been carried out and the results will be shortly reported to the Government of India. The Provincial Government proposes to issue fresh orders continuing the detention in appropriate cases as soon as further detailed review of the cases of those still under detention is completed.



# 50: Govt. of North West Frontier Province to GOI – Reviewing cases of persons detained

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

## Express Letter

No. 990-SHI

*dated Nothiagali, the 20th May 1943*

From  
Norwef,  
Nathiagali

To  
Home,  
New Delhi

Sub : Congress Security Prisoners.

Message : Reference Home Express Letter No. 3/30/43 – Poll (I) dated 3rd April 1943.

2 There are only 283 Congress ('Q') Security prisoners detained under Defence Rule 26 in Jails in this Province. These prisoners are divided into two main categories:

- (i) Important leaders whose release is not at present considered desirable;
- (ii) Ordinary prisoners

The number in each category are:

- (i) 141
- (ii) 142 Total . . . 283

3. The Provincial Government have for some time been following a policy of releasing prisoners arrested in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement, and the figure in category (ii) above is the figure, as it stood on the 26th April, 1943. Subject to any different policy which the future Ministry may adopt the Provincial Government expect to release the 142 prisoners in category (II) in the course of the next month.

The issue of the above has been authorized.

Chief Secretary  
to Government, N.W.E.F.



# 51: Government of the Central Provinces and Berar to the Govt. of India (Political and Military Department)

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

## Express Letter

From  
Central Provinces, Pachmarhi

To  
Home, New Delhi

No. C/395–317(Con.)

Pachmarhi, 21st May 1943

Please refer to paragraph 3 of your Express Letter No. 3/30/43 – Poll (I), dated the 3rd April 1943,<sup>1</sup> regarding Congress Security prisoners. A statement is attached giving the total number of prisoners still under detention under the three categories mentioned in paragraph 2 of your letter. The number of detenus released after the first review of all cases is 471. Prior to that 322 detenus were released, mostly students and others who were detained during the height of the disturbances.

2. In view of further communications received from the Government of India on the subject of detention under Defence Rule 26(1)(b), a further detailed scrutiny is now in progress.

(T.C.S. Jayaratnam)  
Chief Secretary to the Government

List showing categories of security prisoners who will be under detention in the Central Provinces and Berar after the releases recently sanctioned are completed.

<i>District</i>	<i>Cat. A</i>	<i>Cat. B</i>	<i>Cat. C</i>	<i>Total</i>
Nagpur	51	18	5	74
Wardha	43	50	-	93
Chanda	9	12	2	23
Chhindwara	15	18	10	43
Betul	17	14	2	33
Jubbulpore	71	55	-	126
Sauugor	22	-	-	17
Hoshangabad	12	17	5	34

<i>District</i>	<i>Cat. A</i>	<i>Cat. B</i>	<i>Cat. C</i>	<i>Total</i>
Nimar	6	7	2	15
Raipur	29	18	1	48
Bilaspur	14	3	1	18
Drug	19	6	—	25
Bhandara	29	20	6	55
Balaghat	16	23	12	51
Amraoti	30	31	7	68
Akola	40	21	1	62
Buldana	23	3	1	27
Yeotmal	4	—	2	6
Total	465	318	57	840

*Note:* The Special Branch has taken objection to releases in 12 cases. The local authorities have not recommended immediate release in 6 cases and have recommended continued detention in 25 cases; and in regard to the remaining 14, Government is in correspondence with the local authorities.

1 Doc. 30

## 52. Extract from the Government of Madras Public Department Letter No. S-856/3/43 dated 22nd May 1943

File No. 3/30/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

2. As regards paragraph 3 of the letter,<sup>1</sup> I am to state that reports are being called for from district Magistrates etc., and that necessary orders will be issued on receipt of their replies. As regards paragraph 2,<sup>2</sup> this Government accept the Government of India's advice.

3. With reference to letter No. 3/30/43 - Political (I) dated 3rd April 1943<sup>3</sup> and the reminder dated 5th May 1943,<sup>4</sup> I am to say that the C.I.D. have been asked to classify all the detenus in this Province into categories indicated in paragraph 2 of the Home Deptt.'s letter dated 3rd April 1943 and that a reply will be sent as soon as classified list is received.

2 & 3. Doc. 30

4. Not printed



# 53 Government of United Provinces to the Govt. of India — Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

No. 4118–C.X.

Secret

From  
D.S. Barron, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Home Secretary to Government,  
United Provinces

Dated Lucknow, May 24, 1943

To  
The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi

Sir,

With reference to Sir Richard Tottenham's secret letter No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I), dated May 7, 1943,<sup>1</sup> about the Madras policy of refusing licences to persons of the Congress persuasion, I am directed to say that, while Licensing authorities have in most cases power to refuse licences, their discretion is generally limited either specifically or by implication. The Madras Government's policy appears to be to refuse licences to two classes of persons

- (i) those who have committed overt acts of sabotage, and
- (ii) those who are known supporters of Congress.

So far as the first class is concerned, the Governor has no reason to believe that, to the extent to which any applicant's activities are known to have been definitely mischievous, licensing authorities in the United Provinces are not properly exercising their discretion. So far as the second class is concerned, I am to point out that Congress is not an unlawful association – the Government of India have themselves consistently refused to declare it as such – and in the absence of such declaration it is difficult to penalize, *ipso facto*, even enrolled members of that body. The phrase 'supporters of Congress' is vague and might be interpreted to include even those who sympathize with the aims of Congress without in any way approving the methods adopted by or giving active assistance to, the programme of that organisation. The Governor considers that it would be manifestly unfair to penalize persons of this description purely on the ground of their political views, particularly as such action is likely to encourage retaliation against the present supporters of Government on the part of any Ministry composed mainly of persons who are opposed to the present regime. For these reasons he does not consider that any action on the lines taken by the Government of Madras is either necessary or desirable.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
Home Secretary.

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 41.

## 54: Government of India to all Provincial Govts except Punjab — (Interrogation methods<sup>1</sup>)

Political Department File No. 12(15) – P(S)/43 of 1943

[NAI]

Government of India  
Home Department

Secret

### **Express Letter**

From  
Home, New Delhi.

To  
All Provincial Governments  
except the Punjab.

No. 44/2/43 – Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 25th May, 1943*

Subject: Interrogation of persons detained under Defence of Rule 129.

Sir,

In our letter No. 44/2/43 – Poll (I) dated February the 13th<sup>2</sup> we left it to Provincial Governments to decide the question whether persons detained under Defence of India Rule -- 129 should be kept in police custody for purposes of interrogation and, if so, for what period. The importance of obtaining all possible information bearing on the responsibility for, and the plans of, the Congress rebellion needs no emphasis, but we desire to draw special attention to the valuable results which can be secured by police interrogations conducted by a qualified and expert staff. We do not, of course, wish to encourage the extortion of information from persons detained under Defence of India Rule 129 by dubious means, or the prolongation of interrogations beyond a reasonable period in such case but we suggest that the interrogation by a properly qualified staff of selected persons detained on suspicion should be the normal procedure if only to confirm the grounds for that suspicion. Apart from this, judicious examination of important persons may often result in the acquisition of valuable information provided that it is conducted by trained officers on reasonable lines. Their personnel chosen for such duties need very careful selection, and considerable training and experience is no doubt, required not only in the methods of interrogation but also in the selection of persons to be interrogated before satisfactory results can be expected. Also experience has shown that satisfactory interrogation cannot be carried on when the suspect is kept in a jail, with its opportunities for outside contacts. It seems desirable that special interrogation centers should be set up, where specially selected and trained interrogating staff can be posted (it would be obviously impossible to find the staff necessary for interrogating suspects kept in a number of jails) and where unauthorized contacts can be prevented with greater certainty than in a jail. We should like to know as soon as possible what the practice in your province is, whether

you have special staff and special interrogation centers for the purpose and if not, whether you propose to bring such staff and centers into existence.

Addl. Secy. to the Government of India.

1. Also relevant is the speech of Sardar Sant Singh in the C.L.A. – in Doc. No 17, ch. I (c).
2. Not printed.

## 55. R.M. Maxwell to J.P. Srivatsava

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*New Delhi.  
the 26th May, 1943*

My dear Srivastava,

Will you please refer to para No. 5 of the notes of proceedings of the Meeting of the Committee of council<sup>1</sup> held on Wednesday the 19th May. In this you had enquired what kinds of licences were in view. I enclose a copy of our letter<sup>2</sup> to Provincial Governments containing a tabular statement showing the action taken in Madras with regard to various kinds of licences. You will see that we have expressed general agreement with their policy but have asked the Provinces to let us know what action of a similar kind they have taken.

Yours sincerely,  
R.M. Maxwell

The Hon'ble Dr Sir Jwala  
Prasad Srivastava, K.C.I.E.,  
Civil Defence Member

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 41

## 56. Extracts from the Bombay Home Department (Political), Letter No. S.D.VI/4670 dated the 26th May 1943 – Regarding detentions

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

2. It has been decided that as a general rule, persons who were included in the 'A' and 'B' lists, which were prepared before the civil disobedience movement commenced should

continue to be kept under detention since they were leaders of organisers of the movement and are likely if released, to continue their activities in furtherance of the movement. As regards the remainder, District Magistrates have been asked to expedite the review previously ordered by Government (vide my letter No. S.D.VI/-3903, dated the 1st May 1943),<sup>1</sup> and to issue orders of release in appropriate cases. The remaining cases will then be examined by Government itself. This Government has also decided to review all orders of detention which it has itself issued.

1 Doc 38

## 57: Official Notings on Licensing Policy (dt 26.5.1943-30.5.1943) (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

1. A copy of Sl. No. 9<sup>1</sup> should go to commerce Department, who should let us have their views on the possibility of extending the policy under reference to the licences mentioned Sl. No. 9.

2. A reminder should issue to the departments who have not yet replied.

As far as I can see the point made in Sl. No. 7<sup>2</sup> from the Industries and Civil Supplies Departments will have to be further pursued-prima facie, it is not clear why a licence in respect of e.g. news print should be considered anybody's 'huq'.

3. Sl. No. 10 submitted.<sup>3</sup>

V. Sahay  
26/5

Addl. Secretary

We shall have to consider this matter further when replies are more complete. Meanwhile true spare copy of our letter of May 7th is placed below in case H.M. may wish to send it to Sir J.P. Srivastava with reply to Sl. No. 10.

R. Tottenham  
30.5

1 Document 41

2 Document 44.

3 Not printed.



## 58 Government of Madras to the Govt. of India — Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Public (General) Department

No. 21295 – 1

From  
G.W. Priestly Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras

To  
The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department,  
New Delhi

*Dated Fort St George the 26th May 1943*

Sir,  
POLITICAL AGITATION – Civil Disobedience Movement – Refusal or cancellation of  
licences to supporter of Congress.

I am directed to invite a reference to the Government of India, Home Department, Letter No. 3/17/43 - Poll (I), dated 7th May 1943<sup>1</sup> (of which a copy was sent to this Government with their endorsement of the same number and date) and to say that the Madras Government have since issued instruction to the District Magistrates that the orders they issued on the subject should apply only to known supporters of the Congress civil disobedience movement which started in August 1942. Instructions have also been subsequently given to the District Magistrates and others not to interfere with the licences of persons, even though they are known supporters of Congress, if the District Magistrates consider that such interference would jeopardize war production or war work.

Your obedient servant,  
For Chief Secretary to Govt.

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 41.





## 59: Official Notings on Licensing Policy (dt 1.6.43-2.6.43) (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)

... Submitted with reference to US's note above.<sup>1</sup> We may perhaps endorse the modification made by the Madras Govt. in their policy and send 7 copies of their letter to all whom we sent copies of their instructions.

A.W. Lowatt  
1.6.43

We might put up the gist of Sl. No. 17<sup>2</sup> as an 'explanation' of the previous letter. It would serve to meet the U.P. point in Sl. No. 13.<sup>3</sup>

A.W. Lowatt  
2.6.43

I think so but before we send another circular letter to Provinces, we might wait for a few more replies so that in case other points also arise, they would be covered by our letter.

V. Sahay  
2/6

<sup>1</sup> Doc 44

<sup>2</sup> & <sup>3</sup>. References to notings in the file - Not printed Ed

## 60: Chief Secretary, Government of Assam to the Deputy Commissioner, K & J Hills, Shillong - (Congress security prisoners)

File No. 3/30/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of Assam

No. C 104/43/7

Secret

To

The Deputy Commissioner of all plains districts and the Deputy Commissioner,  
K & J Hills, Shillong

*The 8th June 1943*

Subject: Congress Security Prisoners.

The question whether the time has come, with the collapse of the Civil Disobedience Movement, to release all or any of the Security Prisoners detained under Defence of India

Rule 26 has been under consideration, after correspondence with the Central Government. One notable feature of the present position is that of 284 such prisoners only 48 have been detained under the orders of Government and as many as 256 under orders of Deputy Commissioners. There were at one time as many as 208 from Sibsagar district alone. Latterly there have been many releases under the orders of the Deputy Commissioner, particularly — again — in Sibsagar. Government therefore have very imperfect information as to the numbers remaining in jail on the ground of detention.

2. Government's conclusions are that there should be a progressive releases of the less important prisoners and that a substantial step in this direction should be taken at once. Certain provisions must however be laid down. First, that no prisoner who is capable of securing a substantial following, and who is likely to establish himself as a leader for any future movement undertaken with subversive intentions, should be released under this policy, and it is in fact doubtful if such potential leaders can be released until the war threat has withdrawn altogether from Assam's borders. It may be parenthetically remarked that Government have been driven by facts which have come to their notice to place comparatively little reliance on undertakings in any form. The more honest prisoners occasionally make it plain that they cannot give undertakings because they would have no intention of observing them.

3. Secondly, Government must rely on the recommendations of the Deputy Commissioner as to the persons who should be released.

4. Thirdly, there may a limited class of Congressmen whom it would be reasonably safe to release on terms of restriction to a particular area and/or prohibition of public speaking. Deputy Commissioners will have discretion to make releases on such terms (or to propose release where the orders were passed by Government). It may be borne in mind that the enforcement of such orders casts a considerable strain on the Police force.

5. Fourthly, the releases should be progressive, in order to avoid any impression that Government do not regard the challenge to their authority as serious, or have been moved by political pressure.

6. You are therefore requested to furnish through the Commissioner lists of prisoners whom you would propose to release, with or without restrictions on future movements or conduct, at stated and suitable intervals, with a list of those to be detained sine die. In each case a very brief statement of particulars should be given. Doubtful cases should be submitted for the orders of Government, but otherwise, save where the original orders of detention were passed by Government Deputy Commissioners will have discretion to carry out the programme in anticipation to whether an undertaking should be demanded or accepted may be examined. but Government (for reasons already stated) do not by any means regard this as a *sine qua non* of release. If taken should be in the form that the prisoner undertakes in future to have no connection whatever with the Congress Movement of 1942 in which the recent disturbances originated, or with any future movement which aims at the weakening of established authority or of the war effort.

7. Applications for release on parole have recently been numerous. Government have adopted the attitude that 'parole' must be accepted in the case of serious illness of the prisoner or of a very near relation, or for the performance of a *shraddh* for which the prisoner is responsible. There is an obvious risk, on the other hand, if release for short periods on parole being used to bring about liaison between those in the jail and plotters outside. It may in suitable cases be worth considering whether release for a larger period, say one year, can be given on submission of an undertaking in the form stated above.

8. Government have considered whether in view of the remarks made by the Federal Court as to the need for careful consideration when using the exceptional powers to detain without trial, in order to preserve the principle of civil liberty, the powers of District Magistrates to pass detention orders should be withdrawn, now that the emergency has for the moment receded or restricted. This Government however consider that the District Magistrate in his responsibility for the peace of the district must have these powers. It is desired that District Magistrates will give the Federal Court's observation full weight when using the powers, and will address government through the Commissioners, in any case of doubt.

9 Finally, it is to be noted that the policy outlined has nothing to do with convicted prisoners. Government have no intention of embarking of any policy of jail delivery in respect of convicts. District Magistrates will retain their usual discretion to submit for orders in case where action under section 401 Cr. P.C. appears justified. The form of undertaking for security for release on suspension of sentence (which would be preferable to remission).

H.G. Dennehy

Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam

Copy to:

1. The Commissioner of Divisions.
2. The Deputy Inspector General of Police, Assam.
3. The Inspector General of Police, Assam.
4. The Secretary to the Government of Assam.

## 61: Govt. of Punjab to the Govt. of India – Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

From

F.C. Bourne, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

To

The Additional Secretary to the Government  
of India, Home Department,  
New Delhi

*Dated Simla-E, the 8th June, 1943.*

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your secret letter No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I), dated the 7th May, 1943,<sup>1</sup> and to inform you that the Punjab Government had not hitherto taken action too refuse

licences to Congress supporters, but instructions have now been issued for the implementations of a policy generally similar to that accepted by the Government of Madras.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
F.C. Bourne

Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

Document 41.

## 62 Govt. of C.P. & Berar to the Govt. of India Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of the Central Provinces and Berar,  
General Administration Department

### **Express Letter**

From: C.P. Pachmarhi

To: Home, New Delhi

C/592-1135-11

*Pachmarhi, the 16th June, 1943*

Please refer to your letter No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I), dated the 7th May 1943<sup>1</sup> on the subject of refusing licences to certain categories of persons connected with the Congress. The Provincial Government has carefully examined the policy adopted by the Madras Government in this respect and finds itself unable to adopt a similar policy in this province for several reasons which are summarised below.

2. In the first place, the Provincial Government is entirely opposed to discrimination against 'known supporters of Congress' as such, since it is impolitic and impossible to discriminate at large against the entire body of congress supporters in the manner proposed. The expression 'known supporters of Congress' is far too vague and wide for practical uses and includes a large number of persons who had nothing to do with the August disturbances. It includes, for instance, in this province persons who are or have been until recently performing duties as public prosecutors and have shown no disposition to misbehave. Apart, however, from the political aspect of the matter it would be difficult to know where the discrimination is to end. In addition to the licences referred to in the tabular statement attached to the letter from the Government of Madras, there are many other licences concerning which doubt may arise in the minds of the officers charged with their administration if a policy of the kind sponsored by the Madras Government is brought into operation. There are, for instance, ferry leases, bridge toll contracts, nazul leases and licences, the licensee under which may be regarded as holding a privileged position or special facilities.

3. To embark on a general policy of discrimination would, in the opinion of this Government, be an irritant of a widespread and exasperating character which could not possibly produce advantage to Government commensurate with the irritation caused. Such a policy would appear to have no justifiable basis so long as Congress is not declared an unlawful association under the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act. There is the further difficulty that it is not easy to define what is a 'privileged position' or 'special facilities under government'. In general, the refusal of licences, e.g., under the Cinematograph and Motor Vehicle Acts, amount to an indirect fine, affecting indeed, in some cases, the individual's capacity to earn a livelihood, imposed on persons who may be inoffensive members of what is still a perfectly lawful association.

4. On the other hand, the Provincial Government recognizes that it is possible and justifiable to withhold licences which give the holders a privileged position or special facilities from persons who have broken the law, if the breach is of a subversive character. This is particularly the case where the lease or licence gives a handle to the holder to obstruct or cause harm to the administration. It is a general principle applicable to most licences and leases that the recipient must be of good character. Sentences of fine or imprisonment or orders of detention under the Defence Rules should be taken into consideration before granting leases or licences, but the mere fact of conviction or detention should not necessarily in all cases operate as a bar. It would, for instance, be indefensible to refuse a licence under the Poisons Act to a medical practitioner who had been detained in August last for purely precautionary reasons under Defence of India Rule 129 as 2 'known supporter of Congress', or to one who had been convicted and sentenced to a few weeks imprisonment for slogan-shouting. In short, the Provincial Government if of opinion that action calculated to deprive a man of his livelihood would be rightly regarded as vindictive and oppressive if applied to the general body of 'known supporters of congress', or to those whose activities in support of congress were of quite a minor character. In the conditions prevailing in this province, at any rate, the Provincial Government would be reluctant to embark on a policy of discrimination against 'known supporters of congress, as distinct from those who have been convicted for crimes of sabotage or crimes involving violence in support of congress or who can properly be refused concessions because they are regarded as 'suspects' and cannot consequently be described as of the 'good character' which is usually a condition of a licence and which can always be treated as a necessary qualification by the administrative authority.

5. Licences under the Arms Act are on different footing and the policy of the provincial Government is set forth in the enclosed copy of a D.O. letter, dated the 8th May 1943, which was issued to all District Magistrates.

6. Finally, the provincial Government considers that the general adoption of a policy of the kind suggested will involve Provincial Governments and the Government of India in much more difficulty in the long run than a policy which is based solely on an administrative criterion, i.e., whether the grant of a lease of licence gives a handle to the lessee or licensee to obstruct or hinder the administration. It is on these lines that the Provincial Government would desire to control the grant of licences which will give the holders a privileged position or special facilities under Government.

(T.C.S. Jayaratnam)

Chief Secretary to Government.

*Enclosure*

D.O. No. 781-509-IV

Government of the Central Provinces and Berar,  
Police Department

*Nagpur,  
the 8th May, 1943.*

My dear,

Please refer to Trivedi's Demi-official letter No. 184/67-IV dated the 24th January 1941, regarding arms licences held by persons convicted during the 1941 (congress) civil disobedience movement. The question has been raised again in connection with the present Congress movement and has been further examined by Government. Government is of opinion that although there is little in common between the two movements, it is not desirable to initiate any policy in connection with gun licences which is likely to create a stir of which smacks of vindictiveness. Government considers that each case should be dealt with by discretion vested in them under the relevant provisions of the Arms act and Rules. These provisions are contained in section 18 and 25 of the Arms Act and in rule 5 of the local Rules and Orders under the Act. the general policy which should be adopted is that where there is justification for the possession of a gun the licence should not be cancelled because the licensee has been made a security prisoner or has been convicted in connection with the congress rebellion for offences which have not involved violence or sabotage or which have not amounted to abetment of the same. It is very difficult to define exactly what is intended, but one or two illustrations will make Government's intention clear, if, for instance, a person has been convicted merely of slogan shouting, Government does not consider that his licence should be cancelled, unless he is a dangerous character. On the contrary, if a licensee has been made a security prisoner or was convicted in connection with outrages such as those which occurred at Ramtek, Chimur, Ashti or at Morsi, and generally, in connection with incidents which took a violent form, the licence may quite appropriately be cancelled. Licences of the more important leaders who were detained on their return from the all India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay need not be cancelled. Generally speaking, therefore, the cancellation of a licence should be based more on preventive considerations than as a measure of retribution of punishment.

2. Where an appeal lies to the Commissioner, the licensee should be free to lodge an appeal against the District Magistrate's order. In doubtful cases the District Magistrate should refer the matter to the Commissioner, so that a uniform policy might be followed, so far as possible.

3. A report may be sent to Government when any licence is cancelled or renewal refused.

Yours sincerely,

R.V. Fenton  
for Chief Secretary.

To  
All Deputy Commissioners,  
Central Provinces and Berar

No. 782-509-IV, dated Nagpur, the 8th May 1943

Copy forwarded to the

Commissioner of Divisions and Inspector-General of Police, Central Provinces and Berar, for information.

R.V. Fenton.  
For Secretary to Government  
Central Provinces and Berar  
Police Department.

1. Document 41

## 63: Govt. of Bombay to the Govt. of India — Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

No. 1079 – Poll  
Home Department (Political)  
Bombay Castle, the 16th June, 1943.

From  
D. Symington. Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To  
The Additional Secretary to the  
Government of India,  
Home Department.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I), dated the 7th May 1943,<sup>1</sup> forwarding a copy of a demi-official letter from the Government of Madras on the subject of refusing licences to persons who commit overt acts of sabotage or who are known supporters of Congress, and requesting the Government of Bombay to offer its remarks on the proposals.

2. In reply, I am to say that the Government of Bombay considers that the inclusion of persons who commit overt acts of sabotage in furtherance of Congress interests' and 'known supporter of the Congress' in a single category is not appropriate. It is agreed that a saboteur (in whosoever interests he works) is a dangerous criminal, and the licensing authorities should not give him a licence which might in any way increase his potential dangerousness. On the other hand, a 'known Congress supporter' may merely be a person holding particular political views. Whether these views are acceptable or not to the authorities it would be wrong to

withhold the grant of a licence to him, which might involve him in financial ruin, unless there is reason to believe that he will play his business in furtherance of unlawful activities. Moreover the adoption of the measures suggested would not only cause much resentment now, but might also, by setting an unfortunate example of future administrations, jeopardize the position of the present Government supporters who might come in for reprisals in the future.

3. Another relevant consideration that, for the purposes of the present proposal, there is little difference in essence between the grant of licence and of a contract. If Government is not in a position to know who are 'known Congress supporter' it would be unjustifiable and ineffectual to refuse licences to small business proprietors under the various acts.

4. In the circumstances the Government of Bombay is of the opinion that it would not be right to penalize a person merely because he is an adherent of the Congress Party. Licences of various kinds should however be refused to persons who are believed likely to misuse them for some unlawful purpose, the reasons being kept on records.

5. This Government's policy regarding Arms Licences has been laid down in Government Resolution No. 2061 – Poll of 12th November 1942, which is considered adequate in the present circumstances.

A copy of this is enclosed.

Your obedient servant,  
Secretary to the Government  
of Bombay.  
Home Department

*Enclosure 1.*

Home Poll (I)  
3/17/43

#### Arms

Policy to be adopted in regard to the possession of arms and ammunition by persons connected with the present civil disobedience movement.

Government of Bombay  
Home Department (Political)  
Circular No. 2061 – Poll.

Bombay Castle,

*12th November, 1942*

#### Circular

In view of the character of the present civil disobedience movement and the consequential disturbances Government has reviewed its policy in regard to the possession of arms and ammunition by civil disobedience convicts and detenus and other persons guilty of or suspected of unlawful anti-Government activities and is pleased to issue the following instruction to the licensing authorities under the Arms Act.

2. Government Circulars Nos 12 – Poll and 790 – Poll dated respectively the 6th January and 2nd May 1941 and No. 286 – Poll, dated the 24th February 1942, are hereby cancelled.



3. In exercise of their powers under section 181 of the Indian Arms act the licensing authorities are instructed to cancel forthwith the arms licenses of persons convicted of offences in connection with the present civil disobedience movement and of those detained as a preventive measure in the same connection.

The licensing authorities are further instructed to take similar action against other person who, though not yet convicted or detained, are known to be directly connected with the present civil disobedience movement. Mere membership of the Indian National Congress should not be held to constitute such direct connection.

4. Furthermore in the present situation Government considers it imperative to take effective steps to ensure that arms and ammunition are not surreptitiously allowed to pass out of the possession of licences. District Magistrates are accordingly requested to get the police to check up on the actual possessions of arms by persons believed to be sympathetic to the present unlawful activities, though not known to be directly connected with them.

These checks should be carried out periodically, at short intervals, and by surprise inspections, under the supervision of responsible officers.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,  
For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department

To  
The Commissioner, Northern Division,  
The Commissioner, Central Division,  
The Commissioner, Southern Division,  
All District Magistrates,  
The Commissioner of Police, Bombay,  
The Inspector General of Police, Province of Bombay,  
All Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

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1 Document 41

## 64: Govt. of Assam to the Govt. of India – Regarding detentions

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Copy of the letters from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department letter No. C 104/43/16 dated Shillong, the 17th June 1943.

Subject: Congress Security Prisoners

Reference: Home Department Express Letter No. 3/30/43 – Poll (I) of 5th May 1943,<sup>1</sup> and 15/6/43 – Poll (I) of 5th June 1943.<sup>2</sup>

I am directed to say that the majority of those detained in this Province are either second or

ordinary rank Congressmen. This Government have decided on a progressive release of the less important prisoners and District Officers have been asked to furnish lists of prisoners whom they would propose to release, with or without restrictions on future movements or conduct, with a list of those to be detained sine die. A copy of these orders is appended.<sup>3</sup> It is not proposed to release any prisoner who is capable of securing a substantial following and who is likely to establish himself as a leader for any future movement undertaken with subversive intentions.

2. Powers to detain individuals have been delegated to District Magistrates only, and this Government consider that the District Magistrate in this responsibility for the peace of the district must have these powers. These officers have, however, been asked to give the Federal Court's observations full weight when using the powers.<sup>4</sup>

1, 2 & 3. Not printed.

4 See Chapter III – Doc. 30 and Doc. 27.

## 65: Govt. of Assam to the Govt. of India Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of Assam

Home Department-Confidential Branch

No. C 125/43/5,

*dated Shillong, the 17th June 1943.*

From

H.G. Dennehy, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.B., I.C.S.,

Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,

Home Department.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to Sir Richard Tottenham's letter No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I) of the 7th May 1943<sup>1</sup> and to say that the policy adumbrated is not a new one but is commonly followed in practice in this province. It is observed that nothing has been said regarding the grant of contracts for military works or other emergent works resulting from the war. It appears to the Government peculiarly inappropriate that known supporter of a movement which is intended to weaken the war effort should be allowed to make private fortunes out of the war commitments of Government. But it is recognized that the great bulk of such contracts are granted by Military authorities and that there are serious obstacles in the way of discouraging the grant by these authorities of contracts to a particular class of persons on grounds of a political nature.

In particular, it is very difficult to avoid the frustration by vicarious tenders of any attempt to exclude hostile elements from a share in war contracts.

I have the Honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

H.G. Dennehy  
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Assam

1 Doc. 41

## 66: Official Summaries of Provincial Reports on Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Replies to our letter at page 23<sup>1</sup> have been received from all provinces except Sind, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Delhi. It is doubtful whether any fresh points will be raised by these provinces, and I think we can now consider whether any modification of our letter should not be made. Of the major Provinces who has replied, only Punjab and Assam agree with the policy suggested without reservation. The chief criticism made by U.P., Central Provinces and Bombay is that the term, 'known Congress Supporters' is too general and vague. I think we must agree with them, although, I think, they have taken our letter too much at its face value. It is obvious that the policy is intended to be adopted towards those who are known supporters of the movement started by the Congress by their Resolution of August 8, 1942. Madras (it will be seen from serial No. 17<sup>2</sup>) have modified their instructions to their officers on these lines. We should I think, similarly write to the Provinces correcting their impression on this point.

2. I do not think we need waste much time on the other objections, such as, those raised in the Central Provinces letter at S. No. 21.<sup>3</sup> We gave no directions to provinces on the subject, but merely commended the principle of the policy to them. The actual methods whereby it is to be carried out were left to the provinces, and it is expected that if they adopt it, it will be pursued with discretion and humanity.

3. Assam, in S. No. 23,<sup>4</sup> have raised the question of Government contracts. This is indeed unfortunate that in prosecuting the war we are unable to avoid putting money into the pockets of those who, we know, strongly suspect are supporters of Congress trained at frustrating the war effort. This, in the present economic conditions in this country, is unfortunate, but it is a fact of which we must take account. The only principle upon which we can act is that of fostering the war effort, and if we can only discriminate against our internal enemies by seriously damaging that effort the larger consideration must prevail.

4. I submit a draft D.O. letter to all Provincial Governments explaining our previous letter.

A.W. Lowatt  
22.6.43

## 67: C.I.D. Special Branch (U.P.) to all Superintendents of Police — Revival of Congress rebellion

File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Criminal Investigation Department

Dated Camp Naini Jail, the 26th June '43 to all Suptds of Police

My dear Sir,

As the anniversary (August 9th) of the opening of the congress rebellion of 1942 draws nearer, there are indications of increased interest by Congress and C.S.P. organisers in plans aimed at restarting the rebellion on more carefully prepared lines. There is also a considerable speculation as to the lead which Mahatma Gandhi will give on this occasion and the prospect of a 'Fast unto death' is being confidently suggested in a large number of leaflets which have been circulated in the provinces, ostensibly with the object of dispelling a spirit of defeatism which arrests and improved war news have created. Funds have not been lacking and agents, we believe, have been at work in various district recruiting and organizing sabotage groups. This latter issues, *then* with the object of indicating to you the lines upon which the Congress leaders hope to restart the movement and the areas in which, according to our information their agents have been at work to this end.

2. For some considerable period, and particularly following upon the publication of the correspondence between the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi that preceded the latter's fast there have outwardly been two groups amongst the Congress leaders propounding respectively the 'non violent' and 'violent' creeds. There can be little doubt that this is but a policy of convenience and that ample Congress funds are made available for violent and non-violent schemes which alike enjoy the approval of the Mahatma. In consequence, however, we receive two series of instructions to Congress organisers and followers, purporting to issue alike from the Indian National Congress. I will give details hereafter of these separate instructions as now issued, but before passing to this it would be as well to indicate the interpretation placed on the Congress Committee's resolutions by the now 'violent' and more powerful group led by Jai Prakash Narain and controlled by the Congress Socialist Party. In a 15 page booklet entitled 'To all fighters for Freedom' and circulated in this province this leader writes as follows:

Coming to the question as it affects us, I want first to remind you of the difference between Gandhiji's views of non-violence and those of the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. Gandhiji is in no event prepared to depart from non violence. With him it is a question of faith and life principle. Not so with the Congress. The Congress has stated repeatedly during this war that if India become independent, or even a National Government were set up, it would be prepared to resist aggression with arms. But, if we are prepared to fight Japan and Germany with arms, why must we refuse to fight Britain in the same manner? . . . .

My own interpretation of the present Congress position-Not Gandhiji's -- is clear and definite. Congress is prepared to fight aggression violently if the country became independent. Well, we have declared ourselves independent, and also name Britain as an aggressor power. We are, therefore, justified within the terms of the Bombay resolution itself to fight Britain with arms. If this does not

accord with Gandhiji's principles that is not my fault. The Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. themselves have chosen to differ from Gandhiji and to reject his conception of non-violence as applied to the war. . . .

3. The Congress 'non-violent' programme has arrived in the province very recently and consists of instructions to the Provincial Congress Committees for the celebration of the 9th August. The main item in this programme is a 'Gandhi Yatra' (Satyagraha march). This visualizes a march by a 'Satyagrahi Jatha' of one thousand to the place of Gandhi's imprisonment of the 9th August, this jatha being composed of Satyagrahis carefully selected from each province. Each such Satyagrahi is to give a pledge to remain non-violent, to carry out the orders of those in charge of the march, not to retreat before or evade lathi charges or gun fire and not to return home but to continue Satyagraha until Gandhi is freed. The list of selected persons is to be sent to the central office by July 1st by a messenger, who will bring back further detailed instruction. On the same day other jatha in groups of not less than five, 'with posters, flags and slogans are to set out from different places in the province on foot towards the goals and are to continue their march until they reach their destination or are arrested. No pledge is required of them. Apart from this the general programme for the day is to be as follows:

- (a) General Hartal on the 9th of August, '43
- (b) Students Hartal for three days
- (c) Collective spinning for at least an hour should be organized on the 9th August.
- (d) National Flags should be hoisted on all buildings.
- (e) Meetings, processions, flag-hoisting should be organized all over and the history of 'The Year' should be narrated in brief. Resolution to be passed registering the determination of the people to carry on the struggle till freedom is won.

As far as we are aware at present this programme has not been circulated and it is probable that copies will be printed in this province for circulation in the immediate future.

4. The plans of the 'violent' group have been in circulation for the past two months and envisages carefully prepared programme of sabotage. One set of instructions encourages group of saboteurs to start with minor acts of sabotage as soon as they are organized, but generally the indication is that the work of preparation should be completed in time to start a second offensive to date from the Mahatma's anticipated fast from August 9th.

The instructions of this group have appeared in booklet form in three separate issues:

- (1) 'To all Fighters for Freedom' (15 pages) issued by Jai Prakash Narain, General Secretary, A.I.C.S.P.

'This is really a pep talk to Congress workers to encourage them not to be downhearted at the results of the first phase of the rebellion, which the writer claims were good, failed owing to lack of efficient organisation of the national revolutionary forces that could give effective lead to the mighty forces that were released. 'The lack of organisation', writes the author, 'was so considerable that even important Congress men were not aware of the programme of the revolt.' Also there was not further programme once the first phase was over. He claims the present period to be but an 'ebb' in the revolution, that the programme of violence is that authorized by the Congress Committee and exhorts all comrades to prepare themselves for the second phase at the same time indulging in activity against the enemy which will in itself be a preparation.'

(2) 'A.B.C. of Dislocation' (16 pages) (Pahila Azad): origin not given.'

This visualizes the forming of sabotage groups in each district of the province to be termed 'Azad Dastas'. Each group is to be band of shock troops, a sort of advance guard, who should possess the proper technical and political training, and who should, in the manner of guerillas, wage ceaseless war against the enemy.' The strength of each Districts group is to be 250 guerillas of Azads, 'organized in five jathas of 50 each, which jathas are further subdivided 'Azad Dastadars' and Azad jathadar and live on the support in cash and kind received from the people of the district, no support from central funds being forthcoming, as also income obtained from the looting of mail bags, small post offices, Government Gram shops, etc. Once selected and formed Azads must take an oath of allegiance which among other conditions requires the continuance of the fight until India is free. It is recommended that dastas have their main bases in jungle tracts. They are to employ themselves in

- (1) Dislocation of communications and war efforts.
- (2) Depriving Government treasuries etc. of monies,
- (3) Raids for destruction of the centers of enemy's authority and for disarming them.

The instructions do not consider that arms are necessary at this stage, but give the suggested equipment of a Azad Dasta as

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| (a) Pliers or wire cutters                    | 2  |
| (b) Hack-saws                                 | 2  |
| (c) Hammers                                   | 2  |
| (d) Axe                                       | 1  |
| (e) Spades                                    | 5  |
| (f) Pick-Axes                                 | 2  |
| (g) Lathis                                    | 2  |
| (h) Spears                                    | 10 |
| (i) Materials for incendiaries                |    |
| (j) Two ropes — thickness half, length 12 ft. |    |
| (k) Copper wiring 118 swg., length 10         |    |

Training is largely to be self acquired for the simpler forms of Azad activity though training on the 'relay' basis is visualized as trainers are available. Acts of sabotage are to be dispersed rather than concentrated.

(4) 'A.B.C. of Dislocation' (24 pages): origin not given.

Though bearing the same title as the above booklet, this is, in fact, a detailed explanation of the best and simplest methods of committing acts of sabotage and is meant to be an instructional pamphlet for the Azads and referred to above.<sup>3</sup> It deals with

- (1) Dislocation of communications — Telegraph and telephone lines and installations, railways, roads and highways, postal services, wireless.
- (2) Industrial dislocation — factories, mines, docks.
- (3) Incendiarism -- burning of records, buildings, petrol drums, etc.

The principal points brought out are:

- (1) Telegraph poles — cut or burnt — select a pole where the wire takes a turn where the pull will help the cutting select a pole with guy wires and cut wires.

- (2) Wires — three azads should be employed one on the ground and the other two up adjacent poles when they will cut the wires between the two making detection difficult. Wind a length of thin brass or copper wire round the wires and pole so that it cannot be seen from the ground.
- (3) Insulators — Use a hammer or piece of stone fastened to the end of a bamboo.
- (4) Railways — damage vital points e.g. waterworks pipes may be cut, coal stacks fired — one foot of track cut with a hacksaw in 45 minutes and left in place — fish — plates, signalling mechanism and wires.
- (5) Engines — Seek cooperation of Railway Staff — Add one pound emery power to a gallon of lubricating oil.
- (6) Factories — enrolling of agents in factories — simple fire bomb of potassium nitrate, sulphur, sawdust *toil* in a card board box with a time igniting mixture of sulphuric acid in a small rubber container or paper sealed cylinder that it will burn through in *tie* according to thickness of rubber or paper. Fill a rubber balloon with kerosine or other suitable inflammable oil tying on to it timed incendiary cylinder. May be thrown noiselessly in any place.
- (7) Petrol Tanks — add 5 to 10 percent licensed oilspring a hone in the side and fired at.

5. These instructions may have had a limited circulation but it is not known to what extent they have been passed around and each and every district should remain on the look out for their appearance and operation. The information we have show that the headquarters of C.S.P. organisation in the United Provinces has been now for many months located in Banares. There the principal organizer is Baba Raghav Das of Gorakhpore — a well — known Congressman, who has evaded arrest. He has been effectively assisted by prominent local leaders such as Dr Swami Nathe (under arrest) and Professor Chandra Shekhar Asthana of the Kashi Vidya Pith, who is in charge of the Eastern Zone and continues to evade arrest. At this headquarters about the middle of May an important meeting of C.S.P. district organisers was held at which the A.B.C. Dislocation instructions were read and discussed. Thereafter those organisers returned to their districts to carry out the instructions given. The district now known to be so affected are Benares, Ballia, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, *Jupur*, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Gorakhpur. It is also known that these instructions have found their way to Lucknow, Cawnpore and Allahabad. In Lucknow copies have been recovered but source information indicates that no less than 200 have been under distribution for the past month. In Allahabad we have no evidence of distribution but it is known that the Bombay organizer, Mehta, with whose visit to Benares coincided the appearance of these C.S.P. instructions, visited Allahabad and held a meeting there. In the West we have little information of progress of these C.S.P. clans. It is known that Professor Asthana was recently deputed to tour and organise the Western area and source information indicated that C.S.P. literature had been sent. Interrogation has shown extensive C.S.P. organisation connecting up with the Gwalior State but much of this has been effectively broken.

In most affected areas in the province, police action has been most deterrent and in circulation details of the plans of the 'violent' party of the Congress it may be said that present indications are that response will not be so extensive as in 1942 though the activity where staged will probably be more carefully planned, explosives and incendiaries more intelligently used and saboteurs more difficult to detect. A large number of absconders still are free to act as 'azads' and more particularly in the Eastern districts and to quote from the very recent

statement of a prominent C.S.P. organizer now under *areas* 'very large number of absconders of the Eastern districts (U.P.) have been in contact with us and we hope, when Gandhiji fasts to death in August there will be sufficient upheaval in the Eastern districts – not by the masses but by bands of these absconders'.

6. In the period now remaining before August 9th, it is, requested that a careful look out be kept for the development of C.S.P. plans in the formation of Azad Group for the circulation of the 'A.B.C. of Dislocation' instructions as well as the Congress Gandhi Yatra programme and for any signs of quiet planning and organizing more particularly by released detenus. Much useful information, it is suggested, may be obtained from interrogation. Where information of this nature is secured in your district will you please keep this branch promptly informed.

7. Will you please acknowledge the receipt of this letter on the enclosed slip, a copy of a letter issued by Government to all District magistrates is enclosed for your information.

Yours sincerely,

Geo. D. Porkin.

To  
All Supdts of Police,  
United Provinces.

Copy to:

1. Secretary to H.E. the Governor, U.P.
2. Inspector General of Police, U.P.
3. All Deputy Inspectors General of Police, U.P.
4. Asst. Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., U.P.
5. Commandment Military Police, U.P. Sitapur.
6. Supdt. Govt. Railway Police, U.P., Allahabad.
7. All Commandants, S.A.C., U.P.
8. All Commissioners of Divisions, U.P.
9. Home Secretary to Government, U.P.
10. Chief Secretary to Government, U.P.
11. Central Intelligence Officer, U.P. & Ajmer, Lucknow.
12. General Staff Officer II, Central Command.
13. General Staff Officer II, Meerut District.

- 1 See Doc. 1, chapter I-A
- 2 See Doc. 45, chapter I-A.
- 3 See Doc. 45, chapter I-A.





## 68: Government of Madras to the Government of India — (Congress security prisoners)

File No. 3/30/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

Government of Madras  
Public Department

No. S/856-9/43

*Dated, 3rd July 1943*

From G.W. Priestley, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,  
Fort St George, Madras

To The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department, New Delhi

Sir,

Congress Security Prisoners -- Ref. Home Department letter No. 3/30/43 – Poll (I) dated 3rd April 1943.<sup>1</sup>

I am directed to say that the C.I.D., Madras have classified the persons detained in this province under Rule 2 of the Defence of India Rules since the commencement of the Civil Disobedience Movement under the three heads.

- (a) likely organisers and persons of influences,
- (b) second rank Congressmen; and
- (c) ordinary rank Congressmen

There are 247 in Class (a), 187 in Class (b) and 137 in class (c). The C.I.D. consider that these detenus in class (a) should not be released on any account until the Congress calls off the present rebellion. They have, however, recommended the release, initially of those in class (c) on a bond with two sureties to abstain from objectionable political activities. When this experiment have been tried for about 2 to 3 months, they suggest that it may be considered whether it may safely be extended to those in class (b).

2. This classification of detenus and the suggestions of the C.I.D. mentioned in paragraph 1 above has been referred to the District Magistrates for their views. Replies are still due from a few of them, but from the replies so far received, it is seen that most of them agree with the classification and the suggestions of the C.I.D., except in a few individual cases. A further communication will be sent to the Government of India if necessary as soon as all replies from the District Magistrates have been received and orders passed on them.

Yours obedient servant,  
for Chief Secretary to Government

## 69: Office Memorandum – Legality of refusing licences on merely political grounds

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India  
Department of Labour

Secret

No. G 113

*Dated New Delhi, the 9th July 1943.*

### **Office Memorandum**

Reference office Memorandum from the Home Department No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I) dated the 29th June 1943.<sup>1</sup> The policy in regard to refusal of licenses may be applied to leases of grass plots and usufruct of trees on lands in the possession of the Central Public Works Department and to precious stone mining licenses in Centrally Administered areas other than Baluchistan although applications for such licenses are very rare.

2. As regards the licenses under the petroleum and explosives Acts the position is as follows. All applications for new licences are sent to the District Magistrate for a certificate to the effect, that there is no objection to the applicant receiving a license for the site proposed. The District Magistrate would accordingly be in a position to state whether in his opinion a license should be granted to a particular person or not. It is, however, laid down that it shall be recorded in writing and a copy of the order containing the reasons for such refusal shall be given to the applicant on payment of a fee of Rs 1. An appeal against any such order *lies*, finally, to the Central Government.

In the opinion of this Department, under the law as it stands at present, there appears to be some doubt as to the legality of refusing a license on merely political grounds, particularly in the case of petroleum licences. If the grant of these licences is to be withheld from Congress – minded people, special confidential instructions should be issued to the Licensing authorities and the District Magistrates instructing them as to how to record order refusing application for such licenses.

D.L. Mazumdar

Joint Secretary

To  
The Home Department

1 Not printed.



# 70 Govt. of Bombay to Govt. of India – (Action against secondary organisations)

File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

## **Express Letter**

Secret

No. S.D.V./8201

*Dated the 12th July, 1943*

To

Home, New Delhi

Reference your letter No. 4/3/43 – Poll (I) dated the 10th May 1943<sup>1</sup> regarding the All-India Spinners Association and the All-India Village Industries Association.

2. As the Bombay Government was aware of the possibility that workers of the All India Spinners Association may render assistance to the civil disobedience movement, it issued instructions last February for a careful watch being kept on the activities of workers of the Association and Charkha Sanghs in the Province. Similar instructions have now been issued in regard to the All India Village Industries Association. There has so far been no evidence justifying action under the Criminal Law Amendment Act against any of the Branch of the two Associations in this province.

3. The Bombay Government has been subsidizing the All India Spinners Association since 1937-38. For the current financial year a subsidy of Rs 36,000 has been sanctioned for the Karnatak Branch of the Association for its scheme of organizing hand-spinning as a famine relief measure in the Bijapur District. A sum of Rs 15,000, has already been paid and the balance is due to be paid during the remaining part of the financial years.

All India Village Industries Association gets free of cost the waste paper from certain Government offices as an encouragement to village industry. It also gets a grant-in-aid annually equal to the amount realized from the sale to the Deccan Paper Mills of waste paper from the Yeravada Prison press. The amount of the grant for 1942-43 was Rs 1,089. Government also pays an annual grant of Rs 11,000 to the paper manufacturing center of the Association situated in Poona. Government had undertaken to pay this subsidy only up to the end of the current year. Recently, the Association asked for an additional subsidy of Rs 6,300 to be utilized for the purpose of converting the paper manufacturing and demonstration center at Poona into a well equipped research and paper testing laboratory. Final orders have not yet been passed on the Association's request.

In addition to the subsidies mentioned above, this Government is subsidizing the Association's scheme to assist the hand-made paper makers of Jumar and Erandola. so far an amount of Rs 7,000 has been sanctioned for the purpose. A provision of Rs 17,000 has also been made in the current year's budget to help the Association in its schemes for the development of other cottage industries, and grants amounting to Rs 7,500 have been sanctioned from their source for the following purposes:

(a) Training in coir industry	Rs 3,000
(b) Training in button making at <i>Honavar</i>	Rs 450
(c) Training in manufacture of horn articles at <i>Honavar</i>	Rs 450
(d) Cost of Administration including office establishment of the Industrial School, <i>Honavar</i>	Rs 1,600
(e) Subsidies to paper-making Centers	Rs 2,000
Total	Rs 7,500

4. The reports received from Government indicate that the grants have been properly spent for the purposes specified. In view of this and the fact that the activities in this Province of these two Associations have so far been free from objection, Government has decided to continue to grant. The question whether the Poona paper center should be taken over directly by Government is under consideration.

Bombay Special  
Additional Secretary to the Government  
of Bombay,  
Home Department

1 Not printed.

## 71: I.G. of Police, Bihar to all S.Ps of the State

File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Confidential

Memo No. Con 72/11943  
Office of the Inspector General  
of Police, Bihar.  
*Patna, dated the 13th July 1943*

To

All S.S.P. (Including Addl. S.P. Dhanbad and Jamshedpur)  
S.R.P.E.R. Rly., and A.S.R.P.C. & T Rly.  
All D.I.G.

Subject: Revival of Congress Movement.

From information received it appears that attempts will be made to revive the Congress Movement early in August. It is possible that the 9th August will be 'Zero' day. The D.I.G., C.I.D., in his secret Memo. No. 12386/437 S.P. dated the 2nd July 1942, has mentioned the

programme issued by the Indian National Congress. It is improbable that there will be spontaneous mass movement on the scale of August 1942, unless there is some special cause such as a fast by Gandhi or a worsening of the food situation. Jai Prakash Narayan and other subversive elements will no doubt attempt to revise sabotage and violence, but unless there is a mass movement the action of these violent factions will no doubt be limited in extent. It is necessary however, to be prepared for all development and to take precautionary measures accordingly.

The basis of any police action must be on information and I would request you to make special arrangements for the collection of information regarding possible developments if you have not already done so. In this connection I would mention that any information of value has to be paid for and that if you require Secret Service money you should ask for it as early as possible. There will be no difficulty in this respect.

It will be necessary to examine the position with regard to forces at your disposal and to make preliminary plans for their use. Now that the Armed Police of most districts have been substantially increased, the aid that can be given from the Provincial Reserves is accordingly reduced. Will you please send me a copy of your orders and let me know as early as possible through your D.I.G. the extra forces if you consider necessary to deal with possible contingencies on your district.

In urban areas it is probable that attempts will be made to take out processions, and to make other demonstrations. The student may be troublesome, and should be dealt with firmly. The local educational authorities might be consulted in this connection and their assistance sought.

The most effective weapon is an exhibition of strength, rather than the use of force. In this connection I suggest that frequent police patrols in motor trucks in troublesome areas are likely to have good effect and to give an impression that our forces are much stronger than they really are. Such patrols might be started from the 6th and 7th August.

Special attention should be given to the protection of places likely to be sabotaged, and guards on treasuries and *armories* should be warned to be particularly alert. Officials who have incurred the displeasure of the lawless elements should be protected as far as possible, as well as police informers. It may not be possible to give individual protection to the latter but they should be warned and if there is real danger they might be sent away from their usual haunts for a few weeks, their expenses being paid for from S.S. Funds.

It is possible that military units may be deputed to assist in internal security duties in some districts. S.P. concerned should remain in closest contact with officers in charge of such units and keep them fully informed of all development. Similarly there should be the closest cooperation between the District Police and the R.P.P. All information regarding possible sabotage of the railway should be sent by the quickest methods to the nearest unit of R.P.P. and a copy should be sent to the commandant.

Any lawlessness that occur should be dealt with firmly from the outset. In this connection, it is to be noted that in some districts, during the August revolt, the constabulary appeared to be singularly ignorant of how to use the lathi in dispersing a mob. This was mainly due to lack of training. *Unarmed* and other reserves, together with the town police should be given intensive daily practice in the use of the lathi, or dispersing stick for the next week or two. I suggest the formation of a reserve of specially selected reliable constables to form the spearhead of lathi charges. The reserve might be formed by mobilizing 2 or 3 constables from each town outpost at district headquarters. In this way a useful body of 20-25 'Storm' police can be

organized who if properly selected and trained will give the lead and inspiration to others. Similarly reserves might be formed in other towns where there are outposts. At district headquarters these reserves, should be mobilized in the Reserves lines and given intensive training. A few tactical exercise in street clearing in the bazaar would serve a very useful purpose.

Immediate steps should be taken to see that short guns and ammunition at police stations are serviceable and will not fail in an emergency, if this has not already been done.

All leave from the 1st August until further orders should be stopped. It is not necessary to recall those already on leave and those desiring casual or short leave may be allowed to go provided they return by 1st August, 1943.

C.J. Creed.

Inspector General of Police,  
Bihar

## 72: Govt. of Baluchistan to the Govt. of India (Revival of disturbances)

File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### **Express Letter**

From: Baluchistan, Ziarat.

To: Home, New Delhi.

Rptd.: Foreign, New Delhi.

No. 38-S/43

*Dated Ziarat, the 31st July 1943*

Subject: Action in the event of revival of serious disorders.

Reference your express letter No. 3/68/43 – Poll (I) dated the 24th July, 1943.<sup>1</sup>

2. This Province remained entirely unaffected by the disturbances which took place elsewhere in 1942, since sympathy with the Congress is confined to a few urban Hindus and a very small number of Muslims with advanced political ideas but no influence or following among the general public. In order to prevent the possibility of a clash with the police at Quetta and consequent disturbance of the public peace about six of the leading spirits of the Anjuman – Watan, who profess Congress sympathies, were arrested last week, and detained for some months under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules. All have now been released but are prohibited from making public speeches and there is no reason to expect that they will attempt to foment any disturbances in future. The very small influence which they previously enjoyed has decreased still further owing to the recent visit of Mr Jinnah to Baluchistan and the temporary enthusiasm for the Muslim League engendered by that visit.

3. There is therefore in my opinion no likelihood of any disturbances on the anniversary of the Congress arrests nor any need to take special precautions to meet such eventualities. It will however be carefully watched and the local Military authorities will be kept in touch with all developments likely to lead to requests from this Administration for military aid.

Agent to the Governor  
General in Baluchistan

1 See Doc 54 in Chapter III.

## 73: Copy of Letter No. 737-Pr., dated the 4th August, 1943 from the Addl. Secy., Home Deptt. Govt. of Bengal to the Convenor, Provincial Press Advisory Committee, Bengal

File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

I am desired to address you as regards the extent to which publicity should be given on or about the 9th of August to the disturbances initiated on that date last year and to any activities purporting to be a revival of those disturbances.

2. The present position is governed by Government's notification No. 1029 Pr., dated the 28th November, 1942 and the press note issued on the same date. These were issued, as members of your committee will remember, after a full discussion between the Press Advisers to Government and the Provincial Press Advisory Committee on the 7th November, 1942, a note of which was circulated to the Press, and after your Committee had ascertained that the arrangements embodied in them were acceptable to the press as a whole. Both the order of Government and the agreement embodied in the press note still in force and Government assume that obligations under the agreement continue to be accepted by the Press. Government are of opinion that 'Commemorative' or 'anniversary' articles are matter of the kind, which the press undertook to avoid publishing, and that publication of such articles would consequently amount to a breach of the undertaking in consideration of which Government withdrew the requirement of pre-censorship. Similarly, publication of even 'factual' news of disturbances, either within or outside the Province, would, in the opinion of Government in some circumstances be, in effect, an incitement, to or convey suggestions for, prejudicial activities. Government are confident that there is widespread recognition that the publication in Bengal papers of accounts of disturbances elsewhere in India did, in fact, last year serve as a hint to evilly-disposed persons and consequently contributed in some measure to such disturbances as were witnessed in this Province. Holding this view in which they trust that the Press Advisory Committee will agree, Government consider it desirable to let the Committee know that, in accordance with the terms of the press note, they will consider themselves at liberty to take such measures as they may consider desirable in the event of any publication, which, in the opinion, amount to a contravention of the agreement.

3. I am to request that the subject of this letter may be considered at the earliest possible opportunity by the Press Advisory Committee. Should an indication for the coming that the views set forth in the previous paragraph are substantially accepted by the Press Advisory Committee. Government would not propose at present to issue any further restrictive order but would be content to leave it to the press to exercise a discretion intended to bring publication of matter of the kind referred to into line with the view of Government which have been set out above.

## 74: District Magistrate, Madura (South India) to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras sending details of the prosecution of a few Congress volunteers for distributing prejudicial pamphlets 14.8.43–26.8.43

Govt. of Madras, Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G O. No. 2  
[TNA]

### *Enclosure 1*

Police Station – B.I. Central Police Station. Dt. Madura North,  
F.I. Book No. 457 of 1943.

Date and place of occurrence: 2nd August 1943, Evening Bazaar.

Offence: Rule 56(4) of the Defence of India Rules.

Accused:

1. N. Varadayan of Tirumangalam.
2. K.P. Vasu of Madura.
3. S. Subbraju of Rajapalayam.
4. Periambillai of Pachery, Sivaganga Taluk.
5. Sadasivam of Pachery, Sivaganga Taluk.

Public (General) Department

6. Subbaraman of Pachery, Sivaganga Taluk.
7. J.M. Manickam of Pachery, Sivaganga Taluk.
8. I. Ibrahim of Pachery, Sivaganga Taluk.
9. N. Subu Servai of Tiruppavanam.

### *Enclosure 2 Police Report*

To

The District Magistrate, Madura

Through

the Deputy Superintendent of Police,  
Madura Town, Madura



Sir,

The accused are volunteers of the Congress association. They distributed leaflets at 4 p.m. on 2.8.43 in the evening bazaar announcing a meeting to be convened at 5 p.m. next in the Hall Park.

At about 5 p.m. accused 1 to 9 were seated on the grass in the park and about 2000 persons had gathered about them. They attempted to convene a meeting. They also distributed pamphlets containing prejudicial matters.

The accused may be ordered to be prosecuted under Rule 56 (4) read with 121 of the D.O.I. Rules.

B. Shanmuga Siva  
S.I. of Police,  
B.I. Central, Madura,  
14-8-43.

*Enclosure 3 Charge Sheet*

Charge Sheet

No. 17302. In the Court of the City I. CL. Magte, Madura.

District: Madura North Charge Sheet No. 87

*Date 14-8-43.*

Police Station: Central Police Station, F.I.R. No 457. Dated 2-8-43

Name Address and occupation of Complainant or informant: Inspector of Police, Madura.

Name and address of accused persons not sent for trial,  
whether arrested or not arrested, including absconders:

1. N. Vardayyan of  
Tirumangalam

Names and address of accused persons sent up for trial:  
In custody

2. K.P. Vasu of Madura.
3. S. Subbarajao of Rajapalayam.
4. Periambullai of Pachery, Sivaganga Taluk.
5. Sadasivam of Sivaganga.
6. Subbaraman of Sivaranga.
7. M. Manickam of Sivaganga.
8. I. Ibrahim of Sivaganga, and
9. N. Subbuservai of Tiruppuvanam.

Property (including weapons) found with particulars of where/when and by whom found and whether forwarded to Magistrate.

Name and address of witnesses: Sri S. Balskrishan Naidu, Inspector of Police, Law and Order, Madura.

Charge or information; name of  
offence and circumstances  
connected with it on concise detail  
and under what section  
of law charged:

The accused are volunteers of the Congress  
Association. They distributed leaflets at 4.30 p.m. on  
2.8.43 in the Evening Bazaar at Madura  
announcing a meeting to be convened at 5 p.m.  
next in the Hall park at Madura.

*Enclosure 4*

At about 5 p.m. next accused 1 to 9 and some others were seated on the grass in the said Hall Park and about 2000 persons had gathered about them. They attempted to convene a meeting in Public and they had no permission from the Dt. Magistrate to do so. Thus they attempted to contravene the provisions of the order of the rule 56(1) of D.O.I. Rules.

Hence they are liable under Rule 56(4) read with 121 of D.O.I. Rules.

P. Shanmuge Siva  
S.I. Police.

Despatched on 15-8-43.

Madura  
Public (General) Department

Ref. 2684-M-43-C  
Madura Dt. Magistrate's Office

*Dated the 26th August 43*

From  
J.L. Wood Esq., I.C.S.,  
Dt. Magistrate, Madura

To  
The Chief Secretary to Government,  
Public (General) Department,  
Madura

Sir,

POLITICAL AGITATION: Civil Disobedience accused: N. Vardayyan and 8 others Rule 56(4) read with Rule 121 of the D.C.I. Rules – Prosecution sanctioned – Report submitted.

I submit herewith a copy of my proceedings in Ref 2684-M-43-C, dated 26-8-43 Sanctioning the prosecution of N Vardayyan and 8 others for offences under Rule 56(1) read with rule 121 of the D.O.I. Rules.

2. Copies of F.I.R., Charge Sheet and the report of the Sub-Inspector, B.I. Station, dated 14-8-43 with the endorsements of police on it are enclosed for reference.

for Dt. Magistrat.

- Enc: 1. Proceedings sanctioning Prosecution.  
2. F.I.R.  
3. Chargesheet.  
4. Report of the S.I., dated 14-8-43 with endorsements on it.



# 75 Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar to all District Officers – Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

No. 1185 P.R.  
Government of Bihar  
Political Department

From  
Y.A. Godbole, Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government

To  
All District Officers (including the Additional  
Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad and Singhbhum)  
P.O. Hindoo, Ranchi, the 16th August 1943

Subject: Refusal or cancellation of licenses to known supporters of Congress.

Sir,

In continuation of Mr Houlton's letter No. 515-P.R. dated the 16th June 1943,<sup>1</sup> I am directed to convey further instructions of Government in respect of renewal and grant of licenses.

2. For the purpose of those and the earlier instruction referred to above the term 'Congress supporters' includes Congress men who took an active part in the Civil Disobedience Movement of August 1942 and any one who continues to subscribe to Congress funds since that time.

3. (1) Licenses under the Cinematograph Act: Now licenses are not to be granted nor old licences renewed in favour of known supporters of Congress.
- (2) Licenses for possession of Potassium Chlorate, Sulphur, Poisons and other substance: No licenses for the possession of these substance should be granted or renewed in favour of known supporters of Congress. Licenses for dangerous substances in the possession of such persons should be cancelled or revoked forthwith. This will not apply to the normal professional requirements of medical men and chemists but the existing orders about maintenance of registers etc. must be enforced.
- (3) Grant and renewal of mining concessions: Separate instructions will issue from Commerce Department.
- (4) Stamp vendors and Excise fixed fee licenses discrimination should be made in granting these licenses and a black list of Congress supporters may be maintained for this purpose. This is, however, left to the discretion of the District officers.

4. It may be necessary to record the reasons for refusal of a licensee in writing. In such cases it would be sufficient for the District Officer to note that he does not consider a certain individual a suitable person to hold such licenses in times of war.

5. I am to emphasize the need for safeguarding against any improper action by subordinates. Where Congress supporters are to be discriminated against, action should be taken only after a careful verification of the facts of the case by a reliable officer.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
Godbole  
Chief Secretary to Government

1 Not printed.

## 76: Govt. of Madras to the Govt. of India — Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

(Dept. of Supply, M.P. Sect.)

Reference main Sect., Memo No. M-55(1)/43 of 6.7.43.<sup>1</sup>

The Directorate General of Munitions Production is responsible for the issue of the following categories of licenses:

- (a) Licenses under the various Control orders issued by the Dept. of Supply, such as the Machine Tool Control Order and the Non-Ferrous Metals Control order;
- (b) Licences for import and export under powers delegated to the DGMP by the Commerce Dept., and
- (c) Licences issued by the D.C.C.I., Calcutta, for panel items which are issued according to the allocation made by the DGMP to various importing houses.

2. Generally speaking, the licences issued by us cannot be said to 'give the holders a privileged position or special facilities under Government'. The licenses are granted not as an act of patronage, not because we expect the persons concerned to play an important part in India's War effort directly or indirectly. In fact, most of our licences are issued not to private individuals but to firms and factories whose technical knowledge or capacity we wish to utilize. There are, however, a few instances where licences are issued to individuals to act as stockiest and distributors or to import or export of certain categories of goods. In these cases it might be possible to refuse licences to persons who are known to be supporters of the Congress. But, even so, it would be impracticable for us to make enquiries about the antecedents of each person as this would mean great delay. We do not have any ready means of ascertaining the political sympathies of the persons concerned, such as the provincial Govt. have at their disposal, and as we deal with persons all over India, verification in every case would be an impossible task. The only workable proposition would be for us to have a black list of individuals to whom we should refuse any licences to which they are not entitled either as a

matter of right or in accordance with certain fixed licences under the Panel Scheme. On the whole, therefore, the cases falling within the purview of the Home Dept. letter with which we are concerned constitute such a small and negligible proportion of the cases which we handle and the practical difficulties of enforcing the policy in those rare cases are so great that do not think the results would be commensurate with the time and labour involved. We would also point out that, so far as import and export licences are concerned, we are acting under powers delegated to us by the Commerce Department, and the views of that Department on the subject may be ascertained by the Main Secretariat.

S.A. Venkataraman  
21.8.43

1 Not printed.

## 77: Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy – (Reg. revival of Disobedience Movement)

Linlithgow Collection  
[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

(Secret)

*August 23rd, 1943*

No. 635-G.B.

From  
H.E. Sir Thomas Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,  
Governor of Bihar

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

A copy of the Chief secretary's report for the fortnight of August is enclosed.<sup>1</sup>

As will be seen from it, 'the fateful 9th' passed off with no occurrence of the slightest consequence at all. The student fraternity was remarkably quiescent. The details of incidents such as robbery of a postmaster in the latter portion of paragraph 3 are the underground staff mostly committed by the followers of Jai Prakash. The failure to arrest him under Section 59, Criminal Procedure Code, on suspicion as a proclaimed absconder and escapee from jail by the Military Intelligence Officer at Muzaffarpur is regrettable. It appears he recognized from the circulated description but contented himself with instructing a servant or orderly to trail him while he sent word to the Superintendent of Police. A report has just come in of sabotage on the S.I.R. loop line at three places between Akharnagar and Pirpainti stations by cutting telegraph wires, uprooting the posts and removal of fishplates. It is in the area that the Congress gang leader Siaram Singh<sup>2</sup> whom we have been after for some time is believed to be still operating. Telegraph wires have also been cut on the O & Y main line between Lakho and Begusari and owing to the excessive rains the line is in a precarious state near Pasrahha where it was breached last August by the insurgents. Commercial traffic is reported to be nearly at a standstill.

The dacoity figures continue to be bad. For June the total was 105-96 in Shagalpur, 62 in

Santal Parganas and 43 in Monghyr district. Many of them no doubt appear to be due to economic stress; in a number of cases the dacoits are reported to have brought empty bags for grains, but mainly they are due to the general spirit of lawlessness stirred up by a year's outbreak. They are even more difficult to deal with than the political dacoity gangs of the Banka area and at present the only way that I can see of dealing with them is to draft into the areas extra police from other parts of the Province to regularly patrol the villages. This will be done as soon as we are sure that the present 'all quiet on the Congress front' is not illusory.

2. We are examining the cases of security prisoners gradually to see whether the grounds for further detention are adequate: they include a number of late Ministers and other prominent Congress men who would normally be decent people and who were locked up before they had a chance to do any harm. I have ordered that the cases be resubmitted on 1st October 1943, and had thought meanwhile to write to your Excellency separately as to whether, if they give a signed guarantee that they will neither take part in nor incite to civil disobedience to sabotage, there would be any objection to conditional release. I have just been reading some C.I.D. summaries of the rebellion incidents and they do not encourage one to feel merciful to Congress; on the other hand, though ready enough to put them away where such a precaution is necessary, I do not like keeping men not proved to be rogues, bandits or rebels for indefinite periods in the kind of accommodation we are able to provide in Bihar jail without giving them, once the emergency is over, a formal opportunity of guaranteeing good conduct if released. If they won't give the guarantee, then we can say their remaining in jail is of their own choice and they confirm their recalcitrance.

3. Sale of standard cloth is now progressing well, but Dhanbad, Ranchi, Palamau and Shahabad district have not yet received in full their April – July allotment. Apropos of the small coin shortage it is reported from Saran district that pieces of metal known as Putwalis paisa or Gorakhpuri paisa are coming into circulation. They are apparently made in Nepal and were in regular circulation up to 1931 when action by local officer drove them out of open use. We are leaving matter alone for the present.

I had a visit from Nemenyi, the Hungarian Jew (?), who has been put on special duty about inflation, he was interesting on this subject but very shy about Hungary's behaviour in this war. He seems to be coming round to the idea that the large increase in foodgrains price has made it necessary to take a considerable portion of the resulting crores of increased income out of the countryside by some system of forced loans.

4. Wakely, the G.O.C., L. of C., suggested that I should let him have Government House, Patna, for an Emergency Commission Selection Board of 20 officers, 20 candidates and 57 subordinates, the idea apparently being that each batch of candidates should be under observations for a fortnight by the 20 officers. I was to stay in Ranchi and occupy Lacey's house when I had to go to Patna. I said 'no' There are other buildings in the province more suitable.

6. As another Indian officer of the Indian Police has raised the question of proportionate pensions I venture to remind your Excellency of paragraph 4 of your letter, dated 20th May, which refers to paragraph 4 of my letter of 10th May 1943.



# 78. Govt. of India to the Govt. of Madras

Political Department File No. 12(15) – P(S)/43 of 1943

[NAI]

Subject: Interrogation of persons detained under Defence of India Rules 129.

Secret

D.O. No. 44/2/43 – Poll (I)

Government of India,

Home Department

*New Delhi, the 30th August 1943.*

My dear Priestley,

In our letter No. 44/2/43 – Poll (I) dated the 25th May, 1943,<sup>1</sup> we pointed out, with particular reference to the need for securing more information regarding the plans for the Congress rebellion, the advantages to be gained from the scientific interrogation of arrested persons; and we suggested that separate accommodation should be provided for these interrogations which should be carried out by specially trained staffs. Replies to these letters, while they have shown that Provincial Governments on the whole accept the desirability of employing interrogation as aid to other intelligence methods, have left the impression on us that only one or two provinces appreciate the full advantages of scientific interrogation, and the importance – if success is to be achieved – of having a really expert interrogation staff and suitable separate accommodation in which all contact from disturbing influences can be precluded. We are communicating to provincial Governments separately our views as to the conditions under which persons detained under Defence Rules 129 should be maintained. One of our recommendations is that persons who are considered suitable subjects for police interrogation should be detained under the rule in police custody. The purpose of this letter is to endeavor to present more fully than we did before what we regard as the advantages to be gained by interrogation and the conditions necessary for success.

2. I enclose a note on the subject prepared by the Director of the Intelligence Bureau. It will be seen that he values the method of interrogation at least as highly as any of the three normal means of securing intelligence – secret agents, surveillance and censorship. It will also be seen that he repudiates the prevalent idea that interrogation is connected with methods of torture. This misconception, and the very natural reluctance of Provincial Governments to lend themselves to what they may regard as coercive methods of investigation, may be responsible for the lack of enthusiasm with which our original letter was received. Interrogation rightly understood as is made clear in the Director's note, is a psychological methods which depends for its success very largely on the expert technique and detailed knowledge of the interrogator and on the establishment of ideal conditions, of which the most important are concentration and seclusions. By concentration should be understood the conduct of each particular case with great patience and without respite until a conclusion is reached, while by seclusion should be understood the maintenance of the suspect in an atmosphere free from all interruptions likely to interfere with the mood sought to be induced by the interrogating officer. We fully support the conclusions reached in the Director's note and the importance

attached by him to interrogation and we would appeal to you to reconsider the whole matter very carefully.

3. We realise that it may not be possible in all Provinces to set aside a permanent, whole-time interrogation staff, not indeed, would we regard the employment of such a staff as in all cases desirable. The successful interrogator must possess a detailed knowledge of the subject concerning which he is seeking information, and this may frequently require local knowledge, or acquaintance with current Criminal Investigation Department work. We so consider, however, that in every Province, nothing but advantage would accrue from adopting interrogation as a regular method: from maintaining a small staff of specially trained experts who would always be available for the scientific interrogation of selected cases of importance; and from the setting aside of special accommodation for the purpose, where adequate seclusion could be obtained. We would add that, although the attached note deals with interrogation from the point of view of the assistance it can give to the prevention and detection of political crime, the general principles apply with equal force to scientific interrogation as an aid in ordinary crime work.

4. You will I hope, forgive us for approaching you again on this subject. We do so only because we have had many demonstrations recently of the early remarkable results that have been achieved by a process which we are satisfied is in itself completely justifiable; and we feel that there must be suitable cases in every province in which equally valuable results could be achieved by similar methods. I need only add that the Director of the Intelligence Bureau will at all times be most ready to discuss that matter personally with you and your officers during the course of his tours, if you think that this would be advantageous.

Yours sincerely,

R. Tottenham/  
(R. TOTTENHAM)

Copy to All Provinces and Chief Commissioners except Panth-Piploda.

No. 44/2/43 – Poll (I)

New Delhi, the 30th August 1943.

Copy forwarded to  
Political Department.  
External Affairs Department.  
Director, Intelligence Bureau.

*Enclosure*

By order  
Signed

A note on Interrogation prepared by the D.I.B.

The responsibility of the Special branches of Provincial Criminal Investigation Departments in India can be briefly described as furnishing their Government with the background of Political knowledge necessary to enable those Governments to deal with day-to-day problems which arise; advising Government regarding action which is necessary in the political field in the preservation of law and order; and acting themselves executive within the powers given to them by law in the same direction of prevention and detection of political crime.



Knowledge-detailed knowledge- is the essential pre-requisite of successful special branch work. Knowledge confined to the broad outline of political grouping and public pronouncements is worse than useless for it is inadequately dangerous. The knowledge which is required is the colour, shape and make-up of each fragments of where the great majority of political parties is against the Government, where revolution and individual terrorism are political creeds and secret conspiracy is rife, such knowledge is difficult to secure even in peace. A war situation increases not only the difficulties but also the burden which special branches have to bear.

Special Branch Officers make political parties a whole time study. In order to acquire the intimate knowledge they must have to employ certain means. The principle means employed by most of the Special Branches are three in number — Special Secret agents, surveillance and censorship — to furnish inside knowledge, knowledge of movements and contacts and knowledge of communications, illuminating mentality and contacts as well as plans, some special branches employ a fourth means — interrogation and have found that it pays a more than generous dividend.

In intelligence parlance interrogation means making a suspect tell the truth against all his inclinations to lie. The popular belief that inducement invariably employed is something large in the way of sticks, or other manner of physical torture, is nonsense. Such methods would be damaging in that inevitably they would secure more false admissions than actual truth. Skilled interrogation are helped by their understanding of human psychology even more on knowledge which enables them to appreciate the value of what the subject says and often permits them to create the impression in the subject's minds that nothing he has done is hidden from those who question him and that disclosure is a formality which will harm neither himself nor others. It will easily be appreciated that the collection of intelligence from agents, censorship and surveillance, and what is just as agents, censorship and surveillance, and what is just as important, its meticulous recording, plays a vital part in successful interrogation.

It is wrong to think that interrogation has its uses only after a crime has been committed, to make an approver or to obtain knowledge and evidence which will enable a prosecution to be launched. There are other uses which make interrogation procedure as integral a part of all successful intelligence as are agents, censorship and surveillance. At the same time, as a preventive it has almost more value than as a cure. Intelligence is constantly faced with difficulties when an agent has gone as far as he can go, or when censorship discloses something which cannot be followed up by any of the agents who are in the special Branches employment. There are often times it is necessary to check up on intelligence received by more direct methods than seeking corroboration from other agents whose reliability may be doubtful quantity. On occasions means have to be found to penetrate into organisations who manage to preserve their secrecy better than others. Often interrogation will sow distrust where it is required and it will kill conspiracy before it had time to mature to the stage of action. Of the value which can be placed on the information secured from the subject who has been persuaded to make truthful disclosure there can be do doubt. No matter how good an agent may be, he seldom reaches the standard of benefit to intelligence that a deponent does who has made up his mind that the time has come for a disclosure without reservations. Thus interrogation, provided the subjects are carefully chosen and their selection is based on good grounds for believing that they have the knowledge it is desired to possess, and provided officers are skilled in their approach and are helped by efficiently maintained records, can not only be a powerful preventive weapon but also a most helpful adjunct to other intelligence procedure as a means of securing further intelligence through what the deponent discloses: as a check

on intelligence already received and a process of furnishing agents for work where they are badly required. That the process of interrogation can persuade (and has in many cases persuaded) the subject to help authority after his release is further proved, if any is needed, that torture is not the interrogator's weapon.

It should not be thought that interrogation has never to admit defeat, it often does. But one good statement disclosing truth regarding important matters, or one which prevents the commission of political crime, makes up for many failures. It goes without saying that in all circumstance patience (which may mean weeks of waiting before resistance is broken down) and concentration are essential.

If concrete examples are required to convince that doubting of what interrogation can do, many can be quoted. Interrogation literally smashed the last terrorist movement in the Punjab and dealt as effectively with the combined Ghadr-Moscow move to infiltrate into India a large number of trained communists. More recently the officers of the same Province and by the same method have uncovered a conspiracy the ramifications of which dangerously threatened the country's security in war. Army security has also benefitted measurably from interrogation conducted by a special staff maintained by G.H.Q., cases of mutiny having been dealt with and units cleared of undesirable elements. An enquiry into an instance of desertion of the enemy is being investigated mainly by interrogation, which has proved that the virus of disaffection was introduced into the regiment by Subhas Chandra Bose before he left India to go to Germany. A last example shows how the whole of India is benefiting. Interrogation is the main weapon which is being used to defeat the Japanese Intelligence attack on this country. Its efficiency has been a big factor in enabling 'Security' to put 95% of the large number of agents the Japanese have sent to India 'in the bag'.

1 Doc. 54

## 79: Official Notings: Olver's comments on replies received from the provinces regarding Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

A summary of the replies received from Provincial Govts and Depts is put up.

2. This summary is in respect of the applications of the 'refusal' policy to known supporters of Congress. As regards its application to those who commit acts of sabotage, all Provincial Govt. are agreeable to applying it to those convicted of such offences.

S R N  
1/9/43

It will be seen that the proposal in our letter of 7-5-43 has met with a mixed response. A number of arguments have been advanced by those opposed to the proposal, both here in the Departments and in Provincial Governments. Those arguments are based on two principal

grounds, the first that any such policy of political discrimination would be unfair and the second that it would be impolitic and ineffective.

2. This seems to me a subject on which one can argue indefinitely without reaching any decisive conclusion. What is really amounts to is that those who oppose this policy are supporters of the attitude deplored by Additional Secretary in his note of 21-1-43. They have expressed their opposition in various terms, but for one reason or another, they are in fact opposed to economic warfare against Congress. The central point at issue, therefore, is the extent to which we are prepared to press our attitude that economic warfare against Congress and Congress supporters is legitimate and necessary.

3. As far as Provinces are concerned, I would rather doubt whether we could in any case go so far as to give definite instructions regarding the adoption of the general policy. If, therefore, it is considered desirable for us to go back again to those Provinces — Bombay, U.P. and C.P. — who are opposed to our policy, perhaps the most that we can do is to stress our view that this form of economic warfare is legitimate and urge that the principle should be accepted at least in the more important cases.

4. The position with regard to Departments of the Government of India is very similar; future action depends almost entirely on the extent to which we are prepared to demand the acceptance of our principle. It is clear that we cannot ask that the principle should be given such priority as to interfere with the war effort and I do not think we can complain of the Supply Department's attitude, which is the one they have always maintained in the face of proposals of this nature. I & C.S. Department and Commerce Department succeed in largely evading the issue under the plea that the licences with which they are concerned do not give the holders a privileged position. This again is a question on which it is possible to hold very different opinions, and if we are going to take this question up really strongly, we should doubtless press for the application of our principle in all cases where it does not interfere with the war effort. The Labour Department's attitude is definitely weak and if we are returning to the charge, we could insist that the question of refusing licences under both the Explosives and Petroleum Acts should be pursued. If the matter is to be pursued, we should also take up with D.G., P & T the question of refusal of wireless receiving licences, though this is bound up with so many other questions that it will be a very complicated matter.

5. Before proceeding with the preparation of a draft to Provinces and with detailed action with Departments here, I think a further definition of our policy is necessary. I am inclined to think that we are not on very strong ground in insisting on the introduction of this policy as a form of sanctions against Congress supporters, at a time when:

- (a) the country is very largely peaceful;
- (b) the great majority of population is concerned more directly than ever before in the war effort, i.e. in the services, in war industries, or in 'Grow More Food' campaigns etc.; and
- (c) there appears to be a growing movement among Congress supporters for a revision of the policy initiated by the August Resolution.

Whether, without insisting on the application of the whole principle, we might not specify certain categories of licences which should not be granted to Congress supporters is another matter. The only classes of licence which I can think of offhand in which such insistence would clearly be justified are licences under the Arms and Explosives Acts and possibly also under the Petroleum Act. On the whole, however, I am inclined to doubt whether any further

communication from us to Provinces — short of a direction which is presumably out of the question — will achieve any useful object. Nor do I think we shall get much farrader with Departments except the Labour Department, with whom we might well take up the point about explosives and petroleum licences.

S.J.L. Olver  
2-9-43  
D.S. (I)

Doc. 41.

## 80: Govt. of Assam to the Govt. of India (Action against secondary organisations)

File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of Assam  
Home Department  
Confidential Branch

No. C 130/42/10

*Shillong, 3rd September, 1943*

From  
H.E. Dennehy, Esqr., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam

To  
The Secretary to the Govt. of India,  
Home Department

Subject: All India Spinners Association and All India Village Industries Association.

Reference: Your letter No. 4/3/43 – Political (I) of the 10th May 1943.<sup>1</sup>

Sir,

I am directed to forward a copy of a note prepared by the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Assam, on the activities of branches of the above organisation and persons connected therewith in Assam.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,  
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Assam

Copy forwarded to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Assam, with reference to his No. 11026 SB of the 24th August, 1943. He is requested to propose action to seize the funds of Khaddar Bhandars on some favorable occasion when they are believed to be in funds.

Home Poll (I) 4/3/43

*Enclosure*

Copy of U.O. No. 110265 B dated the 24th August, 1943 from the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Assam to the Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Assam.

The Assam Provincial Branch of the AISA is situated at Sibsagar town. Its Secretary is Binala Prasad Chaliha of Helachakar, Sibsagar Town. After his detention under rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules for his subversive activities in the present Congress movement, Bhadra Kanta Duara, s/o Nara Kanta of Melachakar, Sibsagar Town, has been working as an acting Secretary on a monthly remuneration of Rs 20. Most of the workers are paid servants and their present activities are confined to the production of Khaddar. The spinning Centers do not dispose of their cloths but send their output to the Khaddar Bhandars for sale to the public. At present no center is functioning properly for want of funds and active workers who were mostly Congress workers and are now in jail in connection with their subversive activities.

The spinning working Centers in Sibsagar are at Nakatani and Dhekiakhowa. In Nowgong District, there are three Centers viz., Roha, Horigram and Charaibahi. Mohendra Hazarika of Roha – the notorious leader of Nowgong District (since convicted and sentenced to 4 years rigorous imprisonment) was managing the Roha Centre of the AISA from 1935 to 1940. He resigned his managership in 1940 when his co-worker Jnan Pal succeeded him and continued to work till June 1942. Mohendra was in the Committee of Abhay Ashram for a long time. In 1934, he returned to Nowgong from Comilla and took up the work of the AISA. After the start of the Congress disturbances in 1942, some workers of these Centers took an active part and were convicted. The Charaibahi Spinners office was closed in the last part of 1942 as the office was a rendezvous of the political agitators and terrorist workers. The work of this center was, however, started on in a private manner. The present workers are doing spinning with Khaddar, Endi, Muga etc. The Fakiragram Sakti Ashram in Goalpara District is trying to open a branch of the AISA.

There is a Khaddar Bhandar at Sibsagar Town. At Silchar, a vidyasram shop was in existence for 8/9 years till; September 1942. There is one at Sylhet Town run by Satish Chandra Nag (Congressmen). Khaddar clothes, ghee and mustard oil are being sold to the public. In October 1942, the whole Khaddar stock of Gauhati Khadi Bhandar Shop was sold and the sale proceeds sent to the AISA and shop was closed. Ram Hari Pathak, who was the manager of this shop has since been made a security prisoner. Recently, one Lakhnyadhar Choudhury (Congressman) s/o Bhudev Choudhury Gauhati town has started a Khaddar shop at Pambazar, Gauhati. He bought Khaddar from Feni. There is a Khaddar Bhandar at Dhubri Town run by Hiranya Kanta Basu (ex-detenu). The Congress workers of Tezpur are contemplating to start on Khaddar Bhandar at Tezpur Town.

Bonja Ballav Darjee, s/o (late) Somilal of Emadpur, Police Station Jhangharpur, District Darbhanga, an auditor of the AISA with his headquarters at Wardha, audited the AISA Centres in Assam in May last.

This Spinners' Association is actually run by Congressmen and is a part of the Congress movement and a watch has been kept on its activities.

As the information had to be collected from districts, there was some delay in sending the reply.

## 81: Official Note – To differentiate between active supporters of Congress and Congress sympathisers (dt 6.9.43) (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Would it be possible to (a) arrive at a satisfactory formula that would differentiate between active supporters of Congress and 'Congress sympathisers'?

(b) Give a list of licences which we should regard as placing the holder in a privileged position or which we think should not be given to congress supporters as defined in (a)? e.g. could we specify licences from the holding of which a pecuniary profit can be made and the withholding of which from congress supporters will not affect this war effort; and could a few others, such as arms & explosive licences, which there are reasons of substance, for danger to congress 'supporters'.

R. Tottenham  
6.9.43

## 82: Official Note – Olvers definition of 'Congress Supporters' – Reply to Tottenham's Note (Doc. 81) – (dt 8.9.43–11.9.43) (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Home Department

As regards (a), defining 'active supporters of Congress', one possibility would be to include in this category all office-holders in Congress organisations of a certain category. Such a definition would have the advantage of being absolutely precise, on the other hand, it would suffer from the disadvantage of excluding a number of people who, while actively supporting the movement, had nevertheless remained in the background and not taken up any official position. As alternative formula, which lacks this precision, but which would be free from this latter disadvantage and which is to my mind preferable, is the following:

Any person who actively assisted in any way, whether openly or secretly, the Congress Movement.

This formula would admittedly allow of some latitude in interpretation, but we might endeavour to reduce this latitude by giving certain examples making it clear of course that the examples were in no way intended to be all inclusive. Such examples might be

- (a) a person who is suspected of having taken part in any incident or outrage connected with the disturbances;
- (b) a person who is suspected of having harboured or otherwise assisted any underground Congress worker,
- (c) a person who is suspected of having assisted the movement with funds or gifts in kind;
- (d) a person who has opposed or obstructed measures taken by the authorities to prevent the recurrence of outrages etc., e.g. collective security measures.

One could add to this list almost indefinitely but the above categories cover a fairly wide range.

2. It is not that easy to make out a complete list of the type of licences that we consider should be affected by this measure. The action to be taken seems to me to fall into two separate categories, the first denial of licenses to active Congress supporters for security reasons, and the second economic warfare proper against active Congress supporters, the second category would embrace all licenses the possession of which enables the licencees to make a profit. I would tentatively suggest the following licenses for inclusion under these categories:

(a) Security licenses

- (1) Licenses under the Arms Act and Rules.
- (2) Licenses under the Explosives Act.
- (3) Licenses under the Poisons Act.
- (4) Licenses under the various defence rules. For the possession of such substances as potassium chlorate, Sulphur etc., connected with the manufacture of explosives.
- (5) Licenses for wireless receiving sets.

(b) Profit Licenses

- (1) Licenses under the Salt Act.
- (2) Licenses under the Cinematograph Act.
- (3) Licenses in respect of public motor.
- (4) Licenses under the Petroleum Act.
- (5) Licenses to stamp vendors.
- (6) Excise Fee Licenses.
- (7) Licenses for the occupation of canal terms, lease of grass, usufruct of trees etc. on lands in charge of the P.W.D.
- (8) Licenses connected with mining concessions.
- (9) Newsprint licenses.
- (10) Iron and steel licenses.
- (11) Starch licenses.
- (12) Sulphate of Alumina licenses.
- (13) Import and Export licenses and *wholesale*.
- (14) License under the profit control order. Licenses under the Food Grains Control order.

3. The great majority of the above licenses concerns department of the Central Government. Any action we propose will of course have to be subject to the overriding consideration that nothing shall be done which will seriously interfere with to impede the war effort. Even with this reservation, however, I think we are likely to meet with considerable opposition from other Departments in this policy. It is for consideration, therefore, whether we should not put

the case up if not to Council then at least to the Internal Affairs Committee if this body is still extant. It would considerably strengthen our position, when referring again to Provinces, if we could indicate that extensive action in this direction was being taken by the Central Government. It is for consideration, therefore, whether before proceeding with the case to Provincial Government we should not take action to clarify the position with regard to Central Government departments. In referring the matter to Departments here, we could at the same time indicate that the list of licenses given is not exhaustive and welcome any suggestion for further licenses which might be included. I am sure there must be a number of other licenses under Defence of India Rules, the possession of which enables the licensee to make profit.

8.9.43

(S.J.L. Olver)

Under Secretary.

D.S.(I).

Home Department.

1. As regards the formula to clarify what we meant by 'known supporter of Congress', I cannot think of a better definition than the one evolved by Mr Olver namely 'any person who actively assisted in any way whether openly or secretly the present Congress movement'. The examples given by him could be quoted in explanation but I do not think we can possibly attempt a rigid formula. As I stated before, the whole question of discrimination against individuals must be left to the discretion of the District Magistrate. In practice, it should not be a case of automatically refusing licenses to all active supporters. The District Magistrate would naturally use these powers as a handle to keep active congress supporters in order.

2. As regards the list of licences, I would add

(15) Ferry licenses.

(16) Nazul leases and licences.

to Mr Olver's list. As regards the classification, I am doubtful whether licences for wireless receiving sets should be considered at all and I am also somewhat doubtful about licences under the Poisons Act.

3. As regards the Profit Licences, most of these, apart from Nos (8) to (14), are granted by District Magistrates or any way granted only after they have had an opportunity of commenting on the suitability of the applicant. What we might do is to send a list of these licenses and say that where District Magistrates have themselves the authority to refuse them they should be advised to follow the policy stated in our letter and where they are consulted they should comment on the suitability of the application from the point of view of economic warfare against supporters of the Congress movement. The Department of Industries and Civil supplies should be asked to justify that their licences for Nos (9) to (12) do not give the holders a privileged position or special facilities under Government and Commerce Department may be asked whether some discrimination is not possible as regards import and export licences.

4. 'The Labour Department have raised an interesting point about the legality of refusing licences on merely political grounds.' This point, I think, should be put to the Legislative Department. Also the further point whether if it is together permissible for Government to ask District Magistrates to exercise discrimination in the manner suggested when the Act or



Rules governing the grant of licences do not expressly authorize the Provincial Government to control the discretion of the District Magistrates in this matter.

(V. Sahay)

11.9.1943.

Deputy Secretary.

The policy of waging economic warfare against subversive organisations like Congress has long been accepted and this particular application of it has already received the approval of the Internal Affairs Committee. There should be no question, therefore, of obstruction from any Central Department; and so far as I can see, there would be no obstruction provided that we made our intentions a little clearer and added the provision that, in no case, should a licence be refused on political grounds if the effect of the refusal would in fact be detrimental to the war effort.

2. As regards the legal point raised by the labour Department, I cannot myself see how it would arise in cases (which surely are the great majority) in which the grant of a licence is at the discretion of Government or their officers.

3. I would, therefore, proceed generally on the lines recommended by U.S. and D.S., but I think it would be better to put the proposals in the form of a draft which can then be submitted for H.M.s approval.

(R. Tottenham)

Secretary.

11-9-43.

1 See Doc 69 above

## 83. Govt. of U.P. to the Govt. of India – Action against secondary organizations

File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

Government of the United Provinces,  
Confidential Department

*Dated Lucknow, September 15, 1943*

D.O. No. 5698 C.X.

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

Please refer to your secret D.O. No. 4/3/43 – Poll (I), dated September 4, 1943,<sup>1</sup> to Mudie, about the All India Spinners' Association and All India Village Industries Association. I am desirous to say that the entire organisations of the all India Spinners' Association and All India Village Industries Association, in this province, were used for financing the Congress Movement while the premises of the various Khaddar Bhandars, Gandhi Ashrams etc. which are the

affiliated bodies of these associations, in this province, were used as organizing Centers, meeting places, hiding places and Centers for the distribution of literature. Action was, therefore, taken against these institutions by taking over a number of them under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and by dealing with their workers under the Defence of India Rules. The position now is that most of these institutions are in the possession of Government and where they are not, they have themselves closed down owing to the arrest of the workers.

Yours sincerely,  
D.S. BARRON

1 Not printed.

## 84: Official Notings on drafting a letter to the Provinces regarding Licensing Policy and draft letter (dt 24.9.43–28.9.43) (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Home Department

. . . I put up a further draft to Provinces. I have included in the draft a list of the Central Government licences in respect of which we propose taking action. Even the various provincial Government licences are in some cases the part concern of the Central Government departments viz. I. & P., C.B.R., Labour Food Departments. We should, I think, therefore send copies of the draft to the departments concerned and obtain their concurrence in these further proposals.

24.9.43  
(S.J.L. Olver)

Under Secretary.

V. Sahay.  
27.9

Please send the draft to the Departments concerned simultaneously ask for their early concurrence, as seen above.

R. Tottenham,  
27.9.43.

Dft note for approval.

a.p.  
28.9.43  
U.S.(I)

S.J.L. Olver  
28.9.43

Draft letter to the Provinces

To  
All Provincial Governments and Chief  
Commissioners (Except Panth-Paploda)

Replies to our letter No. 3/17/43 - Poll (I) dated 7th May 1943,<sup>1</sup> indicate a general acceptance of the principle that licences, of the nature laid down in the Madras Government's letters which were enclosed with our letter, should be refused to persons who commit overt acts of sabotage. Doubts were, however, expressed by several Provinces regarding the extension of the principle to 'known supporters of Congress'. These doubts were based principally on the difficulty of defining with adequate precision either a 'known supporter of Congress' or 'licences which give the holders a privileged position or special facilities under Government. We trust that, provided these difficulties of definition are overcome, the general principle advocated in our letter of 7th May will be found acceptable and we have endeavoured therefore to set forth our proposals rather more precisely than was done in that letter.

2. It is not of course possible to give a cast iron definition of 'supporter of Congress'. We think that in practice, however there should be little difficulty in applying for this purpose the formula 'Any person who has actively assisted the Congress movement in any way, whether openly or secretly'. Such a formula naturally allows of some latitude in interpretation but it always be open to the Provincial Government to exclude from the operation of these proposals any border-line cases to which the formula does not sufficiently clearly apply. Examples which would in our opinion clearly fall within this formula are:

- (a) A person suspected of having taken part in any incident, outrage etc. connected with the disturbances,
- (b) a person suspected of having harboured or otherwise assisted any Congress underground worker;
- (c) a person suspected of having assisted the movement with funds or gifts in kind;
- (d) a person who has opposed or obstructed measures taken by the authorities to enquire into, or prevent the recurrence of outrages etc.

3. Our view, which we trust you will accept, is that, subject, to the overriding consideration in all cases that no action should be taken which result in a net loss to the war effort, no person falling within the above formula should be granted a licence by Government which will enable him to make pecuniary profit. The distinction is clearly illustrated by consideration of licences under the Motor Vehicles Act. Licences to own or drive private motor vehicles are the right of all citizens who fulfil the necessary conditions, and do not therefore fall within the scope of these proposals. Licensing on the other hand to drive or maintain public service vehicles are a means of profit to their owners; they do fall within the scope of these proposals, and we hold that they should not be granted to persons falling within the above formula.

4. We suggest that this principle should be applied to the following licences which may be expected to be a source of profit to their possessors and which are granted by or on the recommendation of the Provincial Government or its officers:

- 1) Licences under the cinematograph Act.
- 2) Licences in respect of public service vehicles under the Motor Vehicles Act and Rules, to the extent that these licensees are not claimable as a statutory right;
- 3) Licences under the Petroleum Act.
- 4) Licences to stamp vendors.

- 5) Licences connected with mining concessions.
- 6) Licences under the Food Control Order.
- 7) Ferry Licences.
- 8) Nazul leases and licences.
- 10) Excise Fee Licences.
- 11) Licences for the occupation of canal terms lease of grass, usufruct of trees etc., on lands in charge of the P.W.D.

5. The above proposals refer exclusively to licences the possession of which is a source of profit. We consider that the same principle should apply to a restricted class of licences the possession of which by persons falling within the above formula may be expected to prove a danger to security. Such licences are:

- 1) Licences under the Arms Act and Rules;
- 2) Licences under the Explosives Act; and
- 3) Licences under the various Defence Rules relating to the possession of such substances as Potassium Chlorate, Sulphur, etc., connected with the manufacture of explosives.

The Labour Department of the Government of India which is concerned in the administration of the explosive Act, has agreed to the application of this principle to this act.

6. We are examining here the application of this principle to the following further licences which may be expected to prove a source of profit to their possessors the granting of which is in the hands of the Central Government.

- 1) Licences under the Newsprint Control Order.
- 2) Licences under the Iron and Steel Control Order.
- 3) Licences under the Starch Control Order.
- 4) Licences under the Sulphate of Alumina Control Order.
- 5) Import and Export licences.
- 6) Licences under the Cloth Control Order.

Secy. to the Government of India.

1. Doc. 41

## 85. Classification of security prisoners as done in different states — October 1943

File No. 44/37/43 — Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Whether a separate class has been introduced for Congress Security Prisoners.

*Central Govt.* Single Q class for Congress security prisoners. Others divided into classes I and II.

*Madras.* No separate class introduced. Class I and II.

*Bombay.* No separate class introduced. Class I and II.

*Bengal.* No separate class introduced. Single class & Goonda class.

*U.P.* Separate class originally intended; but owing to pressure on jail, distinction abolished and restrictions imposed on all security prisoners. Class I, II and III (Goonda).

*Punjab.* Security prisoners classified into 2 classes, but a separate class introduced for C.D. prisoners.

*Bihar.* Security prisoners divided into 2 classes (X & Y) and in more dangerous each class into 2 Division (I & III). No separate class for C.D.

*C.P.* Class I & II – No separate class for C.D.

*Assam.* Class I & II -do- at present 'Q' class. having been abolished in Feb. '43'.

*N.W.F.P.* Classes I, II & IIA (Goonda). In order to help segregation of C.D. security prisoners, 'Q security' is added to the 'Ordinary Class'.

*Orissa.* 2 classes at present, but classification being abolished. No 'Q' class. (Only 2 non congress security prisoners of no importance).

*Sind.* 'Q' class for Congress security prisoners. Other divided into classes I & II.

*Note: Coorg.* All security prisoners detained in Vellore, subject to Madras Rules.

*Delhi.* Security prisoners mostly detained in Punjab subject to Punjab Rules.

*Baluchistan:* No Congress security prisoners at present.

*N.B. C.D. means Civil Disobedience – Ed.*

### **Special Facilities for Security Prisoners to Attend to Legal and Business Affairs**

*Madras.* Reasonable facilities allowed to obtain legal advice. Interviews for the purpose may be granted by Government, Corr. in regard to legal advice treated as personal matter, Corr. on strictly business affairs e.g. civil suits also permitted.

*Bombay.* Congress security prisoners. Correspondence permitted with persons other than members of family, permitted to make arrangements about money or business matters necessitated by their sudden arrest.

*Others.* Correspondence and interviews allowed under Security Prisoner Rules.

*Bengal.* 1) Reasonable facilities to execute and register powers of attorney for management of property. 2) If there is a civil suit against a security prisoner additional letters and interviews permitted.

*U.P.* Restrictions apply to correspondence regarding legal affairs but extra correspondence in a few cases and even interviews in some cases permitted when security prisoner was involved in litigation.

*Punjab.* C.D. security prisoners permitted to receive and to send replies to letters from Insurance Companies and business concerns. No bar to correspondence relating to civil suits etc. added to courts being passed on to them. A special letter permitted to a relative or friend regarding grant of general power of attorney in any matter to which security prisoner cannot attend personally.

*Others.* Permitted correspondence & interviews under S.P. Rules.

*Bihar.* No specific provision but interviews with relative or when no male relatives available with an agent which should enable instructions and power of attorney to be given.

*C.P. & B.* Extra correspondence with lawyers on legal and business matters allowed to C.D. security prisoners also. Examination of security prisoners on commission also permitted.

*Others.* Correspondence and interviews permitted under S.P. Rules. Interviews with lawyers also allowed in connection with criminal cases pending against SPs and in connection with Habeas Corpus appeals if directed by the High court.

*Assam.* Interviews and correspondence for reasons of private, legal or other business permitted. Permission of P.G. necessary for interviews and correspondence with persons other than member of the family.

*N.W.F.P.* Special 'Q' restrictions (now removed) did not apply to corr. about civil suits etc.

*Orissa.* Rules being revised to allow more letters in the event of civil suits etc. Reasonable facilities to execute and register powers of attorney for managements of property.

*Sind.* 'Legal assistance not permitted' (Meaning not clear as corr and interviews with legal advisers are not banned under the S.P. Rules in the case of non-Congress SPs.)

*Coorg.* (Madras Rules)

*Delhi.* (See Punjab)

*Ajmer.* Corr about civil suits and similar business through Baluchistan.

### **Special Restrictions on Congress Convicts**

*Madras.* No furniture for B Class.

Not allowed to receive books and periodicals from outside the jail.

No interview except for legal advise or business arrangements during first fortnight and for arranging for power of attorney.

No correspondence except in connection with death or grave illness of a near relative.

*Bombay.* If kept along with SPs; No interviews and correspondence with family on personal and domestic matters; communication with others however allowed for making formal arrangements about business of money necessitated by their sudden arrest otherwise Nil.

*Bengal.* Nil.

*U.P.* Nil.

*Punjab.* No interviews; All treated as 'C' class. though given diet of about Rs 8 instead of Rs 6 for C class.

*Bihar.* Nil.

*C.P.* Nil.

*Assam.* Interviews and correspondence as for SPs. with members of family only after a month in jail. Interviews and correspondence with others may be permitted under special orders of Government.

*N.W.F.P.* Nil.

*Orissa.* Nil.

*Sind.* Nil.

*Coorg.* C class only. (A & B transferred to Madras Jails) No interviews. Not taken out of jail for work. May receive and write 1 letter a fortnight.

*Delhi.* As in Punjab.

*Ajmer.* Nil.

*Baluchistan.* No such prisoners.

**Extracts from U.P. Govt. Letter No. 1969/Dated the 19th June 1943**

- (1) Although it was originally intended to keep persons detained in connection with the recent disturbances in a separate class from other security prisoners, pressure on jail accommodation made this impracticable and the distinction was abolished. Security prisoners are divided into three classes according to status. Class III is reserved for individuals of the goonda type.
- (3) (a) Correspondence is limited to receiving and writing one letter per month; such letter to be limited to 500 words and to be confined to personal and domestic matters. Security prisoners may also receive and reply to, letters sent to them from security prisoners detained by other provinces or administrations.
- (b) Interviews are prohibited.

In some cases extra correspondence, and, in a few, even interviews have been sanctioned by order of Government for special reasons, e.g. where a security prisoner has been involved in litigation and instructions to counsel were imperative.

2. No distinction has been made between persons convicted of offences in connection with the disturbances and ordinary convicts. The former are subject to the ordinary jail rules and have been classified in the usual way as A.B. and C class prisoners. As indicated in paragraph 1(I) above, there is no distinction between Congress and non-Congress security prisoners. A statement indicating the differences in treatment between security and convicted prisoners is attached (Appendix C). The Governor appreciates that certain anomalies exist, in that in some respects — largely interviews and correspondence — prisoners convicted of offences connected with the disturbance receive more liberal treatment than security prisoners. These are unavoidable in view of heavy pressure on accommodation and overwork of the jail staffs which preclude, on the one hand, elaborate sub-division of prisoners into a number of classes requiring separate accommodation and separate treatment, and on the other, the grant of privileges entailing considerable extra work on an already over-burdened staff. With reduction in the number of prisoners and the opening of a camp jail, the Governor hopes to be able to remove some at least of the anomalies. I may add that the Governor hoped to have the use of the camp jail at Lucknow many months ago. That jail was about a year ago given over to the military authorities as a depot for training the Jail Battalion and, but for unforeseen difficulties, should have been vacated many months ago. It has now been vacated and will be opened as a Camp Jail in a week or two.

**Extracts from the Letter from the Govt. of Orissa  
Home Deptt. No. 1993 C Dated the 28th June 1943**

1. There is no separate class for prisoners detained in connection with the disturbances of last year, but at present all Security Prisoners are classified in two divisions, viz., division I and division II, the difference in classification being principally as regards correspondence. Government, have, however, already approved a single classification for all Security Prisoners and effect will be given to this change shortly. It is proposed that these

prisoners shall receive approximately the same treatment as is provided in the Provincial Jail Manual Rules for prisoners of Division I.

3. Security prisoners of Division I are ordinarily permitted to write two and receive four letters per week and those of Division II, one per week, but on urgent occasions, such as death or serious illness in the Security Prisoners family this rule can be relaxed by the Superintendent of the Jail. The letters must, however confine themselves to strictly personal and domestic matters. All correspondence is subject to censorship by officers authorized to do so and in all cases where a letter is withheld the Security prisoners are informed. The receipt and despatch of telegrams are subject to the same restrictions except that the number of telegrams which may be despatched by a prisoners will be within the discretion of the Superintendent of the jail. The Provincial Government may by general or special order prohibit the correspondence between any Security Prisoners and any person.

The rules in this respect are being amended so that a security prisoner of the new single class will only be entitled to write one and receive two letters per week, and so that, when a civil suit is instituted against any security prisoner, permission to write more letters than are ordinarily allowed may be granted to a Security Prisoner by the Superintendent of the jail in order to enable him to defend his suit.

5. Security prisoners are allowed to receive funds, with the previous sanction of Government from specified relatives or friends at intervals of not less than a month, not exceeding Rs 10 in case of Division I prisoners and Rs 5 in case of Division II prisoners, to enable them to supplement their amenities of life in jail. It is proposed to raise the limit to Rs 25 in the case of the new class.

## 86: Govt. of Sind to the Govt. of India — (Reg. Congress security prisoners)

File No. 44/37/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of Sind  
Home Department (Special)

Secret  
No. S.D. 229/2

*Sind Secretariat,  
Karachi, 1st October 1943*

To  
'Home', New Delhi.

Subject: Congress Security Prisoners.

Reference your letters No. 44/37/43 – Poll (I), dated 21st July<sup>1</sup> and 14th September, 1943,<sup>2</sup> regarding treatment of Congress Security Prisoners. Except to the extent indicated in the



following paragraph, the Government of Sind are in agreement generally with the principles enunciated by the Government of India in connection with the treatment of Congress Security prisoners. Most of the principles suggested are being observed here already. In the matter of funds the existing maximum amount of Rs 15 per mensem is being raised to Rs 20 per mensem. As these funds are intended for the purchase of toilet articles, etc., it is not proposed to allow any personal allowance.

2. Congress detenus in Sind have been placed in one single class called 'Q' class and as far as possible they are segregated from non-congress security prisoners. The Provincial Government are unable to accept the principle that if complete segregation is impossible Congress security prisoners should be classified on the same basis as the non-Congress Security Prisoners with whom they will have to associate. Such a procedure would create anomalies and lead to difficulties. No difficulty has been experienced so far in the working of the principles of treatment for Congress detenus and the Government of Sind do not propose to make any change in this direction.

1. See Doc. 53 in Chapt III.

2. Not printed

## 87: Central Board of Revenue's comments on the draft letter<sup>1</sup> of the Govt. of India – Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Simila, the 13th October, 1943.*

### Memorandum

Reference Home Department Memorandum No 3/17/43 – Poll (I) dated the 1st October 1943.

2. Please see D.O. correspondence between Sir John Sheehy and Sir Richard Tottenham resting with the latter's letter D.O. No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I) dated 8-5-1943<sup>2</sup> wherein doubt was expressed as to the application of the policy of refusing licences in favour of 'known supporters of Congress'. (C.B.R. is concerned with Salt licences.)

3. The present draft indicates that certain provincial governments also have their doubts, more particularly owing to the difficulty of defining the term 'supporter of Congress'. In the view of C.B.R. that difficulty is not really removed by the explanations given in para 2 of the draft.

4. Apart from the general question of policy, C.B.R. has the following observations to make on matters of detail.

5. Presumably it is intended that the term 'supporter of Congress' should apply only to supporters of Congress who are known (a) to have supported that organisation since it was declared illegal and (b) who have assisted its unlawful acts. This however is not made clear.

6. Moreover in three of the four examples given in illustrations of the formula which has now been devised the phrase is used 'a person suspected'. But is mere suspicion enough? It

is not the same thing as knowledge. And by whom is the suspicion to be entertained. In the case of a Department such as the Salt Department neither the Collector nor his staff is directly concerned with the political activities of those with whom he deals. For information on that matter he has to rely on the C.I.D. It follows that, in practice, the Collector would have to act on the report of the provincial C.I.D. without that report having been appraised either by the provincial Government or by a District Magistrate and without being able himself to exercise a really informed judgment upon it. This in a matter affecting the livelihood of the persons concerned, is altogether unsatisfactory.

7. In the view of the C.B.R. it is not possible therefore to lay this onus on a Collector of Salt Revenue. But there would be less objection to instructing Collectors of Salt Revenue that, both in regard to renewals and new licences, they should consult the District authorities to ascertain whether from their point of view there is any objection to the application being granted, and that ordinarily if they do object, the Collector should act accordingly.

Benjamin

First Secretary, Central Board of Revenue.

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1 Doc 84 2 Doc 12

## 88. The comments of the Labour Department on the draft letter<sup>1</sup> of the Government of India

File No. 3/17/43 Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

Government of India  
Department of Labour

No. G 113

*Dated, New Delhi, the 16th October 1943*

### Un-official Memorandum

Subject: Question of issuing licences to known supporters of Congress.

Reference Home Department un-official Memo No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I), dated the 1st October 1943. The Department of Labour concur in the letter proposed to be issued to Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners.

2. With reference to Para 2 a copy of a note recorded by the Chief Inspector of Explosives in regard to grant and renewal of Petroleum and explosives licences, is enclosed for the information of Home Department.

Assistant Secretary to the Govt. of India.

To  
The Home Department (Mr Olver).

*Enclosure*

Copy of note recorded by the Chief Inspector of Explosives, dated 15-10-1943.

In the case of new licences both for Petroleum and explosives the onus will fall on the District Authority, who is in every case approached for a certificate to the effect that there is no objection to the applicant receiving a licence. In the case of explosives, the elaborate procedure required affords ample opportunity for refusing a licence; but the matter is much more difficult in the case of petroleum licences and it will only be possible for an application which is technically correct in all respects to be refused on some made up grounds, which grounds will, in due course, automatically come up on appeal to the Central Government in the case of Explosives Department licenses or the immediate superior official in the case of the District Authority. The reasons for the refusal of the licenses have to be recorded under rule 120.

In the case of both explosives and petroleum licences, considerable difficulties must arise in connection with the renewal of licences, and it will be very difficult to refuse to renew, a license which is technically correct and which has been in force for a number of years, since the reason for refusing to renew a license has to be recorded in writing and an appeal lies against the decision in exactly the same way as an appeal lies against refusing to grant a new license.

I am not clear how this will be done unless the fact that a man is a known congress supporter can be recorded as a legal reason for refusing to grant or renew a license.

1 Doc. 84

## 89. Angry comment on C.B.R.'s comments<sup>1</sup> on the draft letter (Document 84) of the Govt. — Licensing Policy (dt 16.10.1943) (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

### **Note in the Home Department**

Submitted: C.B.R. is the only Dept. so far to raise objection (A reminder is also put up).

It is clear from C.B.R.'s memo of 13-10-43 that they still have serious mental reservations about the whole policy of economic warfare against supporters of Congress. It will in due course I think be necessary to remind them that this policy has received that assent of a committee of Council and that it is not open to any department to question the principle involved, though of course practical details may still be the subject of discussion. As regards points of details mentioned in C.B.R.'s Note:

- (a) Para 5 of their memo seems to me a willful misunderstanding of the position. The definition given in para 2 of our draft makes it clear that we are applying the term only to people who have assisted 'The Congress Movement' – the term which is well known to apply to the disturbances which occurred after the passing of the August Resolution by Congress, and the arrest of the Congress leaders.
- (b) Para 6 of their memo. Obviously, if there was knowledge based on evidence that could be brought forward of this assistance, then more direct action against the person concerned would be possible, either in the form of prosecution or in the imposition

of restriction or detention orders. To meet the point we might, however, insert the word 'reasonably' before 'suspended' in examples (a), (b) and (c). No one is suggesting that salt collectors are experts on internal politics and it is obvious that for this purpose they would have to rely on the report of the local intelligence officers. The distinction which C.B.R. seeks to make for this purpose between the police and the District Magistrate is an artificial and mischievous one; in fact the District magistrate acts in such matters on the information given to him by the police (including the Provincial C.I.D.)

We could issue a fairly convincing and rather cutting reply to the C.B.R.'s memo. I do not think we need in any case delay the issue of our letter until we have C.B.R.'s final views and I would be inclined to delay our reply to C.B.R.'s memo until we have issued our draft and to present them with a fait accompli.

16.10.43  
(S.J.L. Olver)

Under Secretary.

This memo needs no reply. The C.B.R. have only made some debating point and do not (as I read their letters) object to the principle. The suggestion in Para 7 of their memo will do.

When we issue our letter, we shall endorse it to C.B.R. for action as in para 7 of their memo.

V. Sahay  
16.10.43.

Doc. 87

## 90: Govt. of Bihar to the Govt. of India – (Action against secondary organisations)

File No. 4/3/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

Government of Bihar  
Political Department (Special Section)

D.O. No. 2949 C – 299/43

*Patna*  
*the 17th October 1943*

My dear Sahay,

Please refer to your demi-official letter No. 4/3/43 – Poll (I) dated the 4th September 1943.<sup>1</sup>

2. The policy adopted by the Provincial Government in dealing with the All India Spinners

Association ever since the beginning of the Congress Rebellion has been on the lines subsequently indicated in Sir Richard Tottenham's letter No. 4/3/43 - Poll (I) dated the 10th May 1943.

3. On the 9th August 1942 the Provincial Government issued an order under sub-section (5) of section 17E of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 (XIV of 1908) prohibiting the All India Spinners Association of Bihar from paying, delivering or transferring or otherwise dealing in any other manner whatsoever with monies, securities and credits save in accordance with the written orders of Government, in view of the fact that there was reason to believe that these were being used or were intended to be used for the purposes of an unlawful association. In January 1943 all District Officers were instructed to requisition the cloth and yarn of the All India Spinners Association under rule 75A of the Defence of India Rules. The Director of Industries has at the same time asked to sell these stocks through his departmental or recognized agents, taking care to see that the stock did not fall in the hands of profiteers. Instructions were also issued to deposit the sale proceeds in the treasury which along with other funds of the All India Spinners Association are in Government custody. Other miscellaneous articles seized such as furniture etc. were returned to the authorities of the All India Spinners Association and it has been left to the discretion of the District Officers to release or not to release the premises of the said organisation which were seized by them.

4 The following instances have come to notice in which branches of the All India Spinners Association had been used for subversive activities in furtherance of the Congress rebellion.

- (a) The Khaddar Bhandar at Jamshedpur was used as a meeting place of local congress agitators and for keeping prejudicial literature.
- (b) The Muhammedpur Khaddar Bhandar in the District of Darbhanga was used to shelter wanted persons. Seven absconders were arrested during a raid on the premises. The Sakri Khaddar Bhandar in the same district was also raided and inmates offered stiff resistance as a result of which fire was opened and one of the inmates killed.

5. Besides the above, a number of prominent workers of the All India Spinners association took part in subversive activities and were dealt with under the Defence of India Rules.

6. The All India Spinners Association is now not functioning in this province and no subsidy is being paid to this body.

7. Regarding the All India Village Industries Association there are two instances on record of workers of the 'Gram Udyog Sangh' taking part in subversive activities during the rebellion. Both were detained under rule 28 of Defence of India Rules. No subsidy is being paid to this body also.

Yours sincerely,

Y.A. Godbole  
Chief Secy. to Govt.

Vishnu Sahay,  
Addl. Secretary to Govt. of India  
Home Dept., New Delhi.

## 91: Department of Information & Broadcasting commenting on the draft letter of the Govt. of India on Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

No. 77/6/43–A. & G.

Government of India  
Deptt. of Information & Broadcasting

*New Delhi,  
the 19th October 43.*

### **Un-official Memorandum**

Reference Home Department Secret Memorandum No. 3/17/43 - Poll (I) dated the 1st October, 1943,<sup>1</sup> regarding the question of issuing licences to known supporters of Congress.

As the issue of licences under the Cinematograph Act is a Provincial subject, and of licences under the Newsprint Control order the concern of the I. & C.S. Department. I. & B. Department has no comments.

(P.N. Thapar)

Joint Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Home Department (Mr S.J.L. Oliver)

1 Doc 84

## 92: Department of Posts and Air Commenting on Govt. of India's draft letter on Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

Government of India  
Department of Posts and Air

No. 13-G/3-43

*Dated New Delhi, the 20 Oct. 1943.*

### **Office Memorandum**

Reference Home Department endorsement No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I), dated the 7th May, 1943.<sup>1</sup>  
Refusal of licences to person who commit overt acts of sabotage or are known supporters of

Congress. A list of the licences dealt with by this Department and giving the comments of the officers concerned and the views of this Department thereon is enclosed. It does not include the licences and permits issued under the Motor Vehicles Act, 1943, as it is a provincial subject, and neither this Department nor any of the officers made it issue any such licences. This Department, however, agrees with the view of the Madras Government contained in their letter No. 10508-3, dated the 26-4-43, with reference to these licences.

Under Secretary to the Government of India.

To  
The Home Department

**List of Licences Dealt with by the Civil Aviation Directorate and the  
Main Department Civil Aviation Directorate**

<i>No.</i>	<i>Types of Licences</i>	<i>Comments by the DCA</i>	<i>Remark by the P&amp;A Deptt.</i>
1	Licences and leases land for building and for fueling facilities at the civil aerodromes	These licences are granted to reputable firms and we consult C.I.D. if in doubt. This usually involves access by individuals to aerodromes. Before passes are issued C.I.D. is consulted.	Can be refused to known supporters of the Congress
2	Licences for grazing & fishing rights	Usually issued to individuals, whose antecedents are not verified as such, but this is done by the C.I.D. before passes for entry to the aerodromes are issued.	
3	Licences for catering arrangements at the aerodromes	Please see remarks against S. No. 1 above.	
4	Pilots Licences	These are issued to individuals who possess the necessary technical qualifications etc., under the Indian Aircraft Rules. Before employment by the Civil Aviation concerns their antecedents are verified by the C.I.D. When employed by Flying Clubs or Operating Companies located at the aerodromes their antecedents are again verified by the local C.I.D. before passes for entry to aerodromes are issued to them.	It is not a case of employment but it is a case of issuing Licences to a person who satisfies prescribed conditions. These Licences cannot be refused.
5	Navigators Licences	Same as Pilots Licences	
6	Aircraft Wireless and Telephone Operators Licences	Same as Pilots Licences	
7	Ground Engineer Licences	Same as Pilots Licences	

<i>No.</i>	<i>Types of Licences</i>	<i>Comments by the DCA</i>	<i>Remark by the P&amp;A Deptt.</i>
8.	Certificate of Registration of Aircraft	There is only one privately serviceable aircraft, which has been chartered by Air Headquarters and 4 owned by reputable Civil Aviation concerns. As all private flying has been stopped no such certificate will be issued during the war to a private individual.	Not to be refused.
9.	Licences of Aerodromes and landing grounds	There are none issued during the war, except under exceptional circumstances to reputable companies.	May be refused.
10.	Motor spirit licences under the Motor Spirit Rationing order	These are mostly issued to Civil Aviation Operating Companies, Flying Clubs and Mechanics Training Centres. When issued to a private owner of an aircraft, which is very rare during the war, his antecedents are verified by the C.I.D. before the licence is issued.	May be refused.
Director General of Observatories Nil			

### Director General of Posts & Telegraphs

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type of Licences</i>	<i>Comments by Director General Post &amp; Telegraphs</i>	<i>Remarks by P &amp; A Deptt.</i>
1.	Broadcasts Receiving Licences	Exclusion of the class of persons in question from the privilege of possessing such licences would not serve any useful purpose. Although any of these sets might be used for listening to enemy broadcasts such an act would probably have a healthy influence by enabling the possessor to hear the truth through the A.I.R. news and Government Propaganda etc.	Not to be refused.
2.	Commercial Broadcast Receiver Licence	The licences present a some what different proposition but if such licences are misused the police generally take notice of the fact and Provincial Governments will be sufficiently alert to insist on their cancellation in undesirable cases. The withholding of such licences to any one seems, therefore, unnecessary.	Not to be refused.



No.	Type of Licences	Comments by Director General Post & Telegraphs	Remarks by P & A Deptt.
3.	Dealers Possession Licences	Granted only to bonafide dealers in wireless apparatus	Can be refused if any number of the firm is a Congress supporter
4	Import Licences		
5.	Transmitting Licences		
	a) Fixed	a) Issued only on the recommendation of the local authority	Can be refused if any number of the firm is a Congress supporter
	b) Mobile	b) Issued only for W/I sets in ships and aircraft	Can be refused if any number of the firm is a Congress supporter
6	Telephone Licences and licences for Mail Contractors	The existing rules are being issued to ensure that such licences are not given to persons considered as undesirable by the local administration.	Discretion could be exercised against mail contractors if of proved sympathy with the Congress
7.	Licences for professional letter writers	Department issues are being issued to ensure that such licences are not given to persons considered as undesirable by the local administration.	

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1 Doc 41

## 93: Govt. of Punjab to the Govt. of India (Interrogation methods)

File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Copy of a D.O. Letter No. 5172. Ad. S.P. dated the 23rd Oct. 1943 from F.C. Bourne, Chief Secretary to the Punjab Govt. to Sir Richard Tottenham.

Will you please refer to your most secret demi official letter No. 3/16/43 - Political (I), dated October the 9th, 1943,<sup>1</sup> regarding interviews between security prisoners who have been under interrogation and their legal advisers.

2. I am desired to say that the Punjab Government admit the force of your objections to denying security prisoners all interviews with their legal advisers after their removal to jail

custody, and are, therefore, now introducing the rule a copy of which was forwarded with my secret memorandum No. 3087 — A.S.B., dated September the 17th/20th, 1943.

3. As stated in my demi official letter No. 165-N of September the 23rd, 1943 the Punjab Government do not believe that security prisoners and others held in the Lahore Fort for interrogation are tortured or maltreated. Such methods would be merely short cuts to the extraction of statements but not to the extraction of truth, and it will, I think be admitted that the statements recorded in the Fort at Lahore have proved to be remarkably reliable and straight forward statements of fact and surprisingly free from the false admissions which torture might be expected to extort. We do not believe that such statements could have been obtained by inhuman treatment. At the same time, it is obvious that no suspect can be expected to incriminate himself and his associates unless considerable pressure is exerted on him. The actual methods of interrogation vary naturally with the psychology of each individual, but the main factors governing success in interrogation are an intimate knowledge of the suspect's background and antecedents patience, perseverance and concentration skill in handling men and detailed questioning. In other words, out interrogating officers do no more than pit their brains, knowledge and determination against those of the persons whom they are interrogating.

4. The Punjab Government are not surprised to learn that certain quarters are not altogether prepared to accept the assurance given that Punjab methods of interrogation do not involve inhuman treatment, as they have reasons to believe that the successes in interrogation obtained in the Punjab in recent years have led to some resentment at the exposure of the failure of some Provinces to use interrogation as an aid to intelligence. That we have nothing to conceal should be apparent from a recent offer made by Wace to Jenkin that Special Branch Officers from other Provinces should be asked to collaborate with Punjab Criminal Investigation Department officers in the interrogation of suspects belonging to their provinces. A case in point is that of Jai Prakash Narain whose interrogation has been postponed till the arrival of qualified interrogation officers from Bihar and Bengal, because Wace did not feel that his officers had the necessary knowledge to interrogate him with any reasonable hop of success.

1. Not printed.

## 94 Official Notings on Licensing Policy (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 — Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Home Department

I would first remark that the opinion entertained by Mr Benjamin<sup>1</sup> about the debatability of the formula 'known supporter of Congress' is at variance with the general view of Provincial Governments who were addressed on the subject, and that it was in deference to the latter's views that we adopted the definition proposed in the draft under consideration.<sup>2</sup> We are not wedded to any particular form of words and if legislative Department can devise for us a formula which expresses the intention as set forth in these notes, and will, on the other hand,

be more likely to find favour with the courts than our existing formula apparently is, then we will accept it gratefully.

2. I think, that we shall very likely have to pursue our policy regardless of the possible reactions of the courts, in the hope that in the majority of cases, the party concerned would not take the matter to court at all. Before we decide finally, however, we should I think ask for further information from legislative Department on the following points:

- (a) Would a Government officer carrying out our proposed policy in respect of any of the licences referred to in the draft lay himself open to prosecution or a suit for damages, or would the result, suppose the court decide against Government. Merely be the revocation of the officer's orders.
- (b) Which of the licences referred to in the draft fall, in Legislative Department's opinion, within the head (1) of Sir George Spence's note.
- (c) Granted that the grounds of refusal remain those indicated in the draft, which of the licences referred to in the draft, to do Legislative Department consider fall within the head (2) of Sir George Spence's note.

2.11.43

S.J.L. Oliver

Under Secretary

In addition to the above, the point made at the end of my note dated 11.9.43<sup>1</sup> may also be put to Legislative Department.

V. Sahay

3.11.43

Note in the Home Dept.

Will H.M. please see the draft letter,<sup>1</sup> which we proposed to send to Provincial Governments after consulting the various Departments of the Government of India mentioned in our memorandum of October 1st. The Central Board of Revenue still seems to be anxious to create difficulties and the legislative Department notes of the 22nd and 23rd of October<sup>4</sup> have thrown a further spanner into the works. Although the points made by under Secretary in his note of November 2nd are relevant, I hesitate to prolong inter-departmental discussion on this subject until we get the main principle settled. The Legislative Department tells that where the law says that an authority may grant a licence, it does not necessarily mean that the authority has complete discretion in the matter. In other words, it has been held that the law does not mean what it says. The main question is whether we are to disregard this warning and run the risk, that, if licences are refused to congress supporters, the matter may be taken up with adverse results by the courts. I confess to a feeling that, whatever recommendations we may make to Provincial Governments, the practical result will not be great and therefore I am almost inclined, although reluctantly, to drop the whole matter. I would, however, welcome a discussion with H.M. if he thinks we should stick to our guns.

R. Tottenham

Addl. Secretary

3.11.43

I agree, with some reluctance, with Additional Secretary's views. I don't think we are likely to get much out of this case and it is rather late in the day anyway and on the whole we had better not waste more valuable time over it.

Maxwell  
3.11.43

1. Doc. 87. Also see n. 4 below.
2. Doc. 84.
3. Doc. 82.
4. Doc. 111 in Chapt. III.

## 95: Further official discussion on Licensing Policy (dt 5.11.1943–6.11.1943) (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### **Notes in the Home Dept.**

I put up a draft to Provincial Governments. After issue Labour Department should see; they will observe that on the strength of Legislative Department's note, we have included licences under the Petroleum Act in the draft. They may also be asked to take action as suggested in para 7 of Mr Benjamin's note.

5.11.43  
(S.J.L. Olver)

Under Secretary

I doubt the advisability of addressing Provincial Governments, anyway in these terms. The legal proposition in para 2 of the draft may put off those which have already taken action. Para 3 seems to be of doubtful utility in views expressed by the dissentients to para 4 is largely unnecessary as no one gives licences for Arms and Explosives to suspects.

In view of the decision on the previous page the case may be closed for the present. No Provincial Government has asked for a reply.

V. Sahay  
Addl. Secy.

I think it will be advisable to issue the draft as slightly amended. Labour Department may then see as suggested.

R. Tottenham  
6.11.43

# 96: Final letter to the Provinces (Licensing Policy)

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India.  
Home Department.

## Express Letter

From  
Home, New Delhi.

To  
All Provincial Governments and  
Chief Commissioners except Panth-Piploda.

No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 8th Nov. 1943.*

Replies to our letter No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I) dated, 7th May, 1943<sup>1</sup> indicate a general acceptance of the principle that licences of the nature laid down in the Madras Government's letters which were enclosed with our letter should be refused to persons who commit overt acts of sabotage. Doubts were, however expressed by several Provinces regarding the expansion of this principle to 'known supporters of Congress', based principally on the difficulty of deciding whether persons were or were not 'known supporters of Congress' and of defining with sufficient precision the type of licences to which the proposal was to be applied.

2. A legal complication has also emerged, which may be stated briefly in the proposition that the mere expression of a statutory provision for the issue of licences in terms of 'may' does not necessarily vest the licensing authority with absolute discretion to grant or withhold a licence at pleasure. We are advised that in the event an aggrieved party taking the matter to the court, the latter might overrule a refusal of licence unless it could be shown either

- (a) that the statutory provisions applicable to the relevant licence were so drawn as to vest the licensing authority with absolute discretion to grant or refuse the licence; or
- (b) that the grounds of refusal was within the scope and objects of the enactment imposing the licence requirement.

3. We still hold that the policy outlined in our letter of 7th May, 1943, of economic warfare against supporters of the Congress as fully justified and we would urge that it should be pursued by Provincial Governments in every possible way, subject to the overriding consideration that none of the measures taken should be such as seriously to interfere with the war effort or the economic stability of the country. But in view of the difficulties described in the preceding pages, we do not consider it feasible to lay down in detail the methods to be adopted to give effect to this policy and we must leave it to Provincial Governments to adopt such measures as they consider suitable in the light of local conditions.

4. Apart altogether from the question of economic warfare against Congress supporters

by refusing to issue to them licences which could be a source of profit to them, we have no doubt that Provincial Governments will continue to ensure on security grounds, that supporters of Congress and any person known to have been connected in any way with the Congress movement should be prevented from obtaining any of the following licences:

- (1) Licences under the Arms Act and Rules.
- (2) Licences under the Explosives Act.
- (3) Licences under the Petroleum Act.

We are advised that such action would fall within head (b) of paragraph 2 above and would not be likely to be called in question in the courts.

(R. Tottenham)

Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I), New Delhi, the 8th November 1943

Copy to I. & P.I. & C.S., Food, Commerce, Labour and supply Departments and the Central Board of Revenue. Copy for information to S.G.C. (Personal) S.G.G. (Public), Political Department, E. A. D. and Director, Intelligence Bureau.

By order,  
(S.J.L. Olver)

Under Secretary to the Government of India.

1 Doc 11

## 97: Govt. of Punjab on interrogation methods (dt 23.12.1943) (extracts)

File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Extracts from D.O. letter No. Sec. 1793–S.B. dated 23rd December, 1943, from F.C. Bourne, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Lahore, to Sir Richard Tottenham, Additional Secretary, Government of India, Home Department, New Delhi.

(Serial No. 21, P.48/c of File No. 3/74/43 – Poll (I).)

6. Mishra was a very important member of the Congress underground Directorate and was fully aware that the statement made by him to the police must prejudice his position with his associates on his release from jail. It is, therefore, not surprising that in order to forestall criticism of his disclosures he should have made wild allegations against his interrogators. Such allegations must indeed be expected from persons of importance in Congress and C.S.P.

circles and other subversive bodies who break down under interrogation. Moreover, it has to be remembered that the primary object of such allegations is to create publicity in the press and to stir up a police demand for the abolition of interrogation as an aid to intelligence. Particularly in the Lahore Fort where interrogation has succeeded in uncovering so many attempts to overthrow Government which are embarrassing to Congress and other allied subversive organisations. A secondary but very important object of such allegations is to shake the confidence of interrogating officers and, if possible, to suggest to them that they will not receive the support of Government. We, therefore, consider that it would be a grave mistake to attach importance to Misra's and similar allegations and thereby create the impression that Government have misgivings in regard to the methods used in interrogation. These methods have been described in previous correspondence, but I must again emphasize that interrogation does not merely consist of asking questions for a few hours a day, but is trial of strength and will power between the interrogators and those under interrogation which may last for weeks or even months. Unless these facts are realized the Punjab Government will find difficulty in future in agreeing to the interrogation of persons at the request of the Central Government. Finally, I am to add that the Punjab Government are satisfied that the methods of interrogation as practised in the Fort in Lahore do not involve mental and physical torture.

## 98: Government of India to all Provincial Governments

File No. 22/31/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

Government of India  
Home Department

From  
Home, New Delhi

To  
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners,  
(except Panth – Piploda)

No. 3/2/44 - Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 13th January 1944*

Subject: Independence Day

Please refer to our express letter No. 3/3/43 – Poll (I) dated 16th January, 1943 regarding the celebration of Independence Day in 1943.<sup>1</sup>

2. The situation this year is substantially the same, with the majority of Congress Committees still unlawful association. The only instructions for the observance of Independence Day so far seen are those purporting to have been issued by the All India Satyagraha Committee, a copy of which is attached; it is not clear whether the pledge referred to in these

instructions will be the normal pledge or an adaptation of the revolutionary pledge included in the enclosure to our letter of 16th January, 1943. It seems possible, however, that an effort will be made to return to the regular pre-rebellion form of celebration.

3. We consider that the policy laid down in our letter of 16th January 1943 still holds good and we trust the Provincial Government will take all necessary steps to prevent any form of celebration of the day.

R. Tottenham

Add. Secy. to the Government of India.

No. 59/1(122)P.S.

Copy with copies of the Annexure forwarded to

All Commissioners of Divisions.

Inspector General of Police (Deputy Inspectors General of Police and Superintendents of Police have been informed direct).

All Deputy Inspector -- General of Police.

All Superintendents of Police.

All Subdivisional Officers

Secretary to the Governor,

For information and guidance.

Add. Secretary to the Government of Bengal

1 Doc 7

## 99: Chief Secretary, Govt. of Punjab to all Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab

Govt. of Punjab, H-Political File No. 33  
[Punjab State Archives]

### **'Independence Day Celebrations'**

No. 285-313 B.D.S.B.

From

F.C. Bourne, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

To

All Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

Dated Lahore, the 17th January, 1944

Sir,

I am directed to address you on the subject of 'Independence Day' on the 26th of January, and to refer to my letter No. 964-992 BDSB, dated the 22nd January, 1943.<sup>1</sup> Since Congress



Committees are still unlawful association policy will be the same as that adopted for 1943, and any attempts that may be made to recite the time honoured pledge will be punishable under the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act. So far as is known, no definite instructions have yet been issued for the celebration of 'Independence Day' by the Central Congress Directorate or its subordinate organisations. On the other hand, the Lahore District Communist Party is preparing to celebrate 'Independence Week' in accordance with the programme given below. It is not improbable that this programme of the Lahore District Communist Party will be followed in other districts, in which case public speakers are likely to proclaim the Independence Pledge and Congress sympathizers are likely to use the communist platform for their own party propaganda. If you are satisfied that this is going to happen you should have no hesitation in banning under section 144 C.P.S. all public political meetings advertised in connection with the observance of 'Independence Day'.

21st January, 1944 - 'Lenin Day'. Public meetings to be held and the life and achievements of Lenin to be discussed.

22nd January, 1944 - 'National Defence Day'. Public meetings and the passage of resolutions now being drafted by the district Committee.

23rd January, 1944 - 'National Leaders Release Day'. Public meeting to be held and resolutions passed demanding the release of Congress Leaders.

24th January, 1944 - 'Right of Self Determination Day'. Public meeting.

25th January, 1944 - 'Self-Determination Day'.

26th January, 1944 - 'Independence Day'. Public meeting.

On the 25th and 26th National Flags or Unity Flags as directed by the Central Committee of the C.P.I., will be sold Funds collected will be earmarked for Bengal relief.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

No 314-318 BDSB, dated Lahore, the 17th January, 1944.

Copy forwarded for information to all Commissioners in the Punjab.

Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

No. 319-353 BDSB, dated Lahore, the 17th January, 1944.

Copy forwarded for information to:

1. All Superintendents of Police in the Punjab;
2. All Deputy Inspectors-General of Police in the Punjab.

For Dy. Inspector General of Police,  
C.I.D., Punjab



# 100

Govt. of Bengal to all District Officers and  
Chief Commissioner of Police

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 6/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Secret

Home Department  
Political

## Memorandum

No. 59(28)P.S.

*Calcutta, the 20th January 1944.*

To  
All District Officers  
The Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

Subject: Celebration of 'Independence Day' – 26th January 1944.

Reference: Secret Memorandum No. 178 P.S., dated the 23 January 1943,<sup>1</sup> and reference there quoted.

A copy of what purports to be the instructions of the All Indian Congress Satyagraha Committee in connection with the forthcoming 'Independence Day' (26th January 1944) has been received and is reproduced in Annexure A.<sup>2</sup> Government are not aware that this instruction has to any extent been circulated in Bengal. An alternative programme, which is known to have been circulated in Bengal, is that forming Annexure B,<sup>3</sup> which purports to emanate from the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee Council of Action.

2. As in previous years, and subject to the modifications in paragraph 3 below, Government do not desire that any obstacle should be placed in the way of meetings and processions held in celebration of Independence Day along lines which have previously led to no disturbance and have now become stereotyped.

3. These directions are subject to the following modifications:

- (a) Government consider that it would be unwise to allow meetings to be held near, or processions to be taken past, jails and they desire District Officers to take measures to prevent these.
- (b) In Midnapore Government again leave to the district authorities full discretion to deal with the celebration as they think fit.
- (c) (If prejudicial speeches are made or prejudicial acts are committed during the celebration. Government desire that those responsible for them should be prosecuted). Action directed to frustrating Government's programme for the procurement of the aman paddy crop appears to Government to be of this nature: government desire that a careful record should be at once sent to Government of any speeches against the aman procurement scheme made by prominent men.

- (d) It is not clear what form of pledge it is intended to affirm during the forthcoming celebration. There is no record, however, that the form of pledge and the appeal, which formed part of the annexure to Government memorandum No. 178 P.S., dated the 23rd January 1943,<sup>2</sup> were given currency last year or that there will be any attempt to give them currency this year. For the same reasons as were indicated in paragraph 3(c) of the memorandum, dated the 23rd January, 1943. Government consider that measures should be taken to prevent recitation of the pledge in that form or circulation of the appeal and that those who do indulge in these activities should be prosecuted.

4. Copies of this memorandum have been sent to Subdivisional officers.

Signed  
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal

No. 59/1(122) P.S.

Copy with copies of the Annexures forwarded to –

All Commissioners of Divisions.

Inspector – General of Police (Deputy Inspectors-General of Police and Superintendents of Police have been informed direct).

All Deputy Inspector-General of Police,

All Superintendents of Police,

All Subdivisional Officers

Secretary to the Governor.

For information and guidance.

Signed  
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal

1 Doc 13

2 Doc 89 in Chapter I-A

3 Not printed.

## 101: Govt. of India to all Provincial Govts – Revival of disorders

Political Dept. File No. 12(2) – P(S)/44

[NAI]

Secret

Political Dept.

Subject: Congress agitation.

2. Instructions regarding action to be taken in the event of revival of serious disorders.

No. 44/86/43 – Poll (I)

Government of India  
Home Department

From

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India

To

All Provincial Government etc.  
New Delhi, the 21st January, 1944.

Sub: Action in the event of revival of serious disorders.

Sir,

Please refer to our letter No. 3/68/43 – Poll (I), dated 24th of July 1943 and especially para 2 and 3 of that letter.

2. We adhere to the view that, in the event of really serious and widespread disturbances, the correct course will be to proclaim martial law of the type described in Defence Co-ordination Department letter No. 767 – OR/41 dated the 20th of February 1942. There are however obvious advantages in avoiding that step if possible by providing an intermediate stage in which special powers of an exceptional nature may be brought into operation.

Most of the special powers actually utilized during the Congress rebellion will, for the time being at any rate remain available – that is to say the Defence of India Rules, the Enhancement of Penalties Ordinance, and the Collective Fines Ordinance. It is in the matter of machinery for the speedy trial and proper punishment of offences that the chief deficiency exists. It is possible that the legal objections to the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance may be removed when the matter comes before the Privy Council, but this will take time and, even if the final decision is favourable, we are by no means sure that the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance was an ideal instrument or, in practice, produced the desired results. We have, therefore, been examining other possibilities.

3. The first suggestion to be pursued, mainly to meet the legal objection to the discretion allowed to the executive authorities by the special Criminal Courts Ordinance in the selection of offences to be tried by Special courts, was that there might be justification in time of serious disorder for shortening the procedure for the trial of all offences in a disturbed area and, possibly, for curtailing, in the case of all accused or convicted persons, the rights ordinarily enjoyed by them in such matter as trial by jury, appeals etc. With this object in view we have examined the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure and Annexure I to this letter contains two lists of changes –

- (1) of a more or less procedural character; and
- (2) of a more than procedural character; which might produce results of the kind desired.

4. The second suggestion was to follow the example of the Military Operational Area (Special Powers) Ordinance 1943 (No. xxxvii of 1943) (copy enclosed for ready reference) and to select as small as possible a list of serious offences and to provide for the trial of these offences, but not others, by Special Courts. Annexure II to this letter suggests a schedule of such offences. It will be seen that (with a few possible exceptions) they would all be offences arising out of the disorders which it would be the object to suppress and further that, while many offences have been omitted, the object has been to select those for which prompt and

condign punishment is most necessary. All offences mentioned in the schedule, however, whether they actually arose out of the disturbances or not, would be tried by Special Courts and there would be no discretion in the hands of the Executive authorities.

5. It seems to us that combination of these two suggestions might produce the results desired. Criticism on points of detail might no doubt be made regarding the contents of both annexures. At this stage, however, we would not invite detailed criticism of Annexure I, (though we should of course welcome any further suggestions of a broad nature that might help to expedite the disposal of cases), but we should like to have the opinion of Provincial Governments as soon as possible on the principle of the two proposals and, if the second proposal is supported, on the contents of the Annexure II.

6. If the general idea of these proposals is accepted, there will remain the important, but difficult question of the type of Courts to be set up for the trial of the offences scheduled in Annexure II and the extent to which appeals should lie from the decision of these Courts and the authority to deal with such appeals as might be allowed. There are two broad possibilities.

- (i) Military Courts; and
- (ii) Special Civil Courts.

In either case only one class of Court would be required with powers to impose any sentence authorized by law. All the offences are serious and Courts with limited powers of punishment would not be required. If of a military character, therefore, the Courts would correspond to the Superior Military Courts provided in Ordinance No. XXXII of 1943. If of a civil character, they would correspond to the Courts of Special Judges provided by the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance (No. 11 of 1942).

7. Consultation with the military authorities has shown that it would be impossible to set up any large number of Superior Military Courts actually manned by military officers; and since the whole hypothesis is 'widespread disorder', a considerable number of Courts would be required, if, therefore, the Courts were to be military in character, they could only be so in the sense that a specified Military Commander would be empowered to appoint (as, of course, he would have to do if true martial law were proclaimed) any officers he might wish, including military officer, civil magistrates and even suitable non-officials. In other words, the courts would only be Military Courts in the sense that they derived authority from a Military Commander and they would probably follow the civil procedure, instead of the court martial procedure, for the trial of offences. The Civil procedure itself would, of course, be shortened if the proposals in Annexure I were accepted.

On the other hand, if the Courts were so constituted, it would be able to arrange for the sentences imposed by them to be confirmed by a specified military authority on the lines of section 10 of Ordinance No. XXXII of 1943, thus excluding altogether the appellate jurisdiction of the High Court.

8. If the Special Courts are to be civil in character, it might perhaps be possible to select a limited number of suitable magistrates or judges to preside over them, but it would be far more difficult to exclude any right of appeal and it is doubtful whether the experiment of the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance is suitable by which appeals in certain cases lay to selected High Court Judges acting in *propria persona*.

9. We should be glad to have your opinion on this choice of alternatives as soon as possible. We ourselves see distinct advantages in adopting the first alternative. We feel that,

so long at any rate as the war lasts, the military authorities must take a special interest in the restoration of order in the event of any widespread trouble that may adversely effect the prosecution of the war. In a situation of that kind troops would in any case be operating in aid of the civil power; and we see strong justification for entrusting them not only with the actual suppression of disorder but also with the duty of administering justice over a comparatively small range of the most important offences. It would, no doubt, be inappropriate to make use of the military authorities merely as an alternative judiciary; but the whole matter would be put in proper perspective if (following again the provisions of Ordinance No. xxxvii of 1943) the military authorities were given power not only to try certain cases but also to arrest persons found committing or suspected of having committed those offences and to hold them in military custody pending trial. It might also be desirable, for the same purpose, to empower specified military authorities to exercise in the affected areas some or all of the powers provided by the Defence of India Rules.

10. To sum up the questions on which an early expression of the views of Provincial Governments is invited are:

- (1) do you accept either or both of the suggestion referred to in paras 3 and 4?
- (2) if you accept the suggestions in para 4
  - (a) Have you any comments to make on the contents of Annexure II, and
  - (b) what form of Special Court — Civil or military do you recommend?
  - (c) if you agree to Military Courts, what executive functions do you consider should be exercised by the military authority empowered to set up those courts?

I have the honour, to do,  
Your most obedient servant  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India.  
Government of India

F. No. 12(2)-P(S)/44

Political Department  
Home Department

## ANNEXURE I

### List I: Procedural Changes

1 In offence triable exclusively by a Court of Session or punishable with transportation or imprisonment exceeding seven years of which cognizance is taken on a police report the commitment stage may be abolished and Sessions Court may adopt the same procedure as prescribed for a Magistrate trying a warrant case. This could be done by empowering Sessions Courts to take cognizance by an addition to Section 190 Criminal Procedure Code, but this would involve a number of consequential amendments in other sections, e.g. 173 etc. It would seem preferable, therefore, that the sessions Court should take over when the stage referred to in section 208, and this could be done by substituting for sections 208-220 a provision on the following lines (of section 15 of the Operational Areas Ordinance xxxvii of 1943):

When it appears from a police report that the offence is one triable exclusively by a Court of Session or punishable with transportation or imprisonment exceeding seven years, the Magistrate shall on perusal of the police report or when the case reached the stage referred to in section 208 of the Code

of Criminal Procedure make over the case to the Sessions Court having jurisdiction and shall forward the accused if in custody and shall send all police reports relating to the case to that Court and that Court shall thereupon proceed with the trial of the case following the procedure for the trial of warrant cases.

Amendments would also be required to section 346 and 347 to enable Magistrates to transfer case to a Court of Session; but this might be done by providing that the expression 'commit the case for trial' in those sections should be interpreted as meaning 'take the action provided by the section substituted for sections 208-220'.

2. Trials may be expedited by putting section 356 Criminal Procedure Code out of operation and permitting evidence to be recorded in other than summons cases also in the manner prescribed in section 355 Criminal Procedure Code. An alternative which would also serve the purpose of avoiding double cross – examination (see 3 below) might be to amend the definition of warrant cases in section 4(1)(w) so as to include a greater range of offences; but the former seems simpler.

3. To avoid delay caused by double cross-examination before and after the charge which is permissible in the trial of warrant cases at present, the right to cross-examine at the pre-charge stage should be taken away by an amendment of section 252 or section 256.

4. To avoid delay caused by demands for the production of witnesses not necessary in the interest of justice Section 257(1) of the Criminal Procedure Code might be amended to read as follows:

If the accused, after he has entered upon his defence, applied to the Magistrate to issue any process for compelling the attendance of any witness for the purpose of examination or cross – examination, or to the production of an. document or the other thing, the Magistrate shall, if in his opinion it is necessary for the purpose of justice, issue such process

5. Unnecessary adjournments may be made more difficult by adding a proviso to sub-section (1) of section 344:

Provided also that no adjournment or postponement shall be granted by reason of the absence of a witness other than witness summoned by the Court, or of the pleader for the accused, unless the Court is satisfied that such absence is due to circumstances beyond the control of the accused, the witness or pleader and that ends of justice.

6. Obstructive tactics on the score of the absence of the pleader for the accused may be guarded against by adding a sub-section to section 340 Criminal Procedure Code.

If it appears to the Court that any accused person has had a reasonable opportunity of engaging a pleader and has neglected or omitted to do so, and if, in the opinion of the Court, it is necessary for the purpose of justice that such accused should be defended by pleader, the Court may direct any person appointed to be a District Pleader, whose name appears in a panel maintained by the District Magistrate for this purpose, to appear before it and conduct the defence of the accused. Any person so directed shall receive remuneration according to a scale to be laid down by the Provincial Government and any sums so paid to him may, if the District Magistrate so directs, be recovered from the accused as an arrears of land revenue.

7. The chances of delay due to transfer of applications may be reduced by amending 526(8) to read as follows:

If in any enquiry under Chapter VIII or Chapter XVIII or any trial, any party interested intimates to the

Court at any stage before the defence closes its case that he intends to make an application under this section, the Court shall, upon his executing, if so required, a bond with or without sureties, of an amount not exceeding Rs 1,000 that he will make such an application within seven days, adjourn the case for such a period as will afford sufficient time for the application to be made and an order to be obtained thereon, provided that the Court shall not be bound to adjourn the case if, for reasons to be recorded, it considers the application to be frivolous and provided that no such application shall be entertained unless made at the first hearing on which the accused is present.

8. To guard against obstructive tactics caused by the absence to accused a new section may be put in after section 540A:

Where an accused has, by his voluntary act, rendered himself incapable of appearing before the Court, or resists his production before it, or behaves before it in a persistently disorderly manner, the Court may, at any stage of the trial by order in writing made after such enquiry as it thinks fit, dispense with the attendance of the accused for such period as it may think fit, and proceed with the trial in his absence. Such an order will, however, not affect the right of accused to bring representation by a pleader at any stage of the trial, or being present in person if he has become capable of appearing, or appears in Court and undertakes to behave in an orderly manner. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Criminal Procedure Code, no finding, sentence or order passed shall be held to be illegal by reason of any omission or irregularity whatsoever arising from the absence of any or all of the accused whose attendance has been dispensed with as above.

9. The trial of the less important offences may be expedited by extending the scope of section 260 Criminal Procedure Code to include more offences and to enable more severe sentences than those laid down by section 262(2) being passed in cases under the summary procedure. Six months might be substituted for three months in section 262(2) and for six months in section 260(1) (a) might be substituted one year.

### **List II: More than Procedural Changes**

1. The pressure on Sessions Courts may be reduced by the Conferment of section 30 powers on Magistrates anywhere in India.

2. Trial with the aid of assessors may be dispensed with by amending section 268 Criminal Procedure Code.

3. Trial with the aid of juries may be dispensed with. This can be given effect to without new legislation (see section 269 Criminal Procedure Code).

4. Tightening up of bail provisions. Some tightening up of bail provisions may be desirable in an emergency and section 497 Criminal Procedure Code may be modified. In sub-section (1) for the words 'If there appear reasonable grounds for believing that he has been guilty of an offence punishable with death or transportation for life' the words unless the Court is satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that the has not been guilty of a non-bailable offence' may be substituted. In subsection (2) for the words 'not reasonable grounds for believing the accused has committed' the words reasonable grounds for believing that the accused has not committed' may be substituted. A fresh sub section may also be added to section 497:

No person accused of a non-bailable offence shall be released on bail or on his own bond by any Court unless the prosecution has been given an opportunity to oppose the application for release, and no person who has been sentenced to a term of imprisonment for any offence, whether bailable nor non-bailable, shall be released on bail pending any appeal by him.



5. Raising the limits of non-appealable sentences so as to include sentences of imprisonment upto, say, 3 or 6 months by the amendment of Section 413 or 414.

## ANNEXURE II

### List of Offences Triable by Special Courts

1. Offences punishable under section 302, 304 and 325 Indian Penal Code when death or hurt is caused to a Government servant or member of the armed forces.
2. Offences punishable under the Defence of India Rules 35 and 35R (sabotage and the receiving of sabotaged property).
3. Offences punishable under the Explosives Substances Act of 1908.
4. Offences punishable under the Defence of India Rule 54.
5. Waging war against the King (Section 121 Indian Penal Code).
6. The offence of causing political hartals punishable under Rule 56 A of the Defence of India Rules.

1 Doc. 54 in Chapter III

2 Not printed

3 See Docs 2, 3, 10, 16, 21, 31 in Chapter III - Ed

# 102: Copy of an order prohibiting the holding of meetings

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files, File No. 109/44  
[TNA]

25.1.44.

Whereas it has been made to appear to me that it is necessary for the public safety and the maintenance of public order to prohibit the holding of or taking part in public processions, meeting or assemblies in furtherance of the object of the Indian National Congress, National Youth League and its affiliated committees, viz., the National Students Associations and National Labour Unions and the National Students organisations in the Kistna District.

Now therefore, in exercise of the powers under rule 56(1) of the Defence of India Rules which have been delegated to me by the Provincial Government, I, Sri Rao Bahadur D. Mahanty, M.A., Dt. Magistrate, Kistna hereby prohibit the holding of or taking part by whomsoever in public processions, meetings or assemblies in furtherance of the objects of the Indian National Congress, the National Youth League and its affiliated committees, viz., the National Students Associations and National Labour Unions and the National Students Organisation in Kistna District.

This order shall be in force until further orders.

(True copy)  
Dt. Magistrate.

# 103: Official Notings – Observance of the Independence Day (dt 29.1.1944–5.2.1944) (extracts)

File No. 3/2/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Sub: Policy in regard to the observance by the Congress of the 'Independence Day' on the  
26th January 1944

The *A.B. Patrika* has carefully left out the seditious bits.<sup>1</sup> But the asterisks may be seditious  
ones?

R. Tottenham, 29-1-44

We have already seen *A.B. Patrika* and written to Bengal.

S.J.L. Olver, 31-1-44

Attention is invited to a cutting from *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, dt 28-1-44<sup>2</sup> regarding the reading  
of the Independence pledge of the India's National Congress at a meeting of the Calcutta  
Corporation. We may perhaps take up the matter with the Bengal Govt.

K.M. 4.2.44.

I agree that action should be taken but I doubt whether we have any real *locus standi*. Perhaps  
a personal reference from S.G.G. (Pub.) might be in order.

S.J.L. Olver  
4.2.44

V. Sahay 4/2

Olver 4/2

No harm in sending a D.O. to Bengal saying we have seen this cutting and asking if any  
action is being taken.

R. Tottenham,

I put up a draft

Olver, 5/2/44

Submitted. While it is correct that the pledge was published in the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* with  
the omission of the seditious portions, it is not perhaps correct that it was not published in a  
'prominent way'. The 'National Flag' above the text of the pledge provides prominence enough.  
However, we may perhaps await reply to S. No. 9 before addressing Bengal again.

K.M.  
9-2-44

1. Refers to Publication of the Independence Day Pledge – Ed.
2. See Docs 147, 148, 167 in Chapt. III.

# 104: Government of India to Secretary, Political Dept., India Office

The Transfer of Power – Volume IV – Doc. 351

Government of India  
Home Department

To  
The Secretary,  
Political Department  
India Office

Express letter to P&J/8/625 ff 17-18

No. 27/1/44 – Poll (I)

*N.D. 1 Feb. 44*

Mrs Sarojini Naidu\* is only member of Congress Working Committee now at liberty. She was released unconditionally after Gandhi's fast on grounds of health and until recently lived quietly in her home in Hyderabad State. About a week ago she seems to have started propaganda tour, to coincide with Independence Day, of which we had no previous warning. She opened with an Independence day message at Allahabad on Jan. 23rd with local press advisor somewhat leniently passed for publication. She then came to Delhi gave interviews to foreign correspondents and held press interview on Jan. 20th. Provincial governments had previously been warned not to allow Independence day celebrations and Press was warned to be careful about publishing her statements. Main object of her statement at press conference was clearly to vindicate Congress and rally support for their policy thus discouraging any attempt to resale from August Resolution. Blame for disturbances was thrown on Government and special point was made of exonerating Congress leaders from charges of advocating violence or being pro-Japanese. After full consideration we decided no part of the statement could be passed for publication & Press Agencies were formed accordingly. Several newspapers, however, including two in Delhi H.T. & National Call – published accounts from their own correspondences with full knowledge of advice given to Press Agencies. We have accordingly found it necessary, after consulting,\*but without receiving support from, Central Press Advisory Committee, to pass precensorship orders against these two papers in respect of statements since August 1942 made by or attributed to Gandhi or any member of Congress Committees that have been declared unlawful associations or comments thereon. We have also advised Provincial Governments proceed likewise against other offenders. Outgoing messages referring to statement have also been stopped. We were unable to take action against Mrs Naidu herself before she left Delhi but on arrival in Lahore on 26th morning, Punjab Government served her with order prohibiting her from addressing meetings or making communications to press and we have since passed similar orders with all-India effect under clause in new Detention Ordinance Corresponding Defence Rule 26(1) (f).

Independence Day itself seems to have passed off fairly quietly judging from Press reports,

though attempts at demonstrations were made in many places. Official reports have not yet been received.

Above is for information in case news reaches England which may provoke questions in Parliament.

R. Tottenham,  
Addl. Secretary to Govt. of India

## 105: Statement of persons undergoing imprisonment — 1.2.1944

Government of Central Provinces & Berar — Pol. & Mil. Dept. — File No. 188  
[Madhya Pradesh Secretarial Records]

Secret

Statement of persons undergoing imprisonment or detention in connection with the civil disobedience movement on the 1st February 1944.

<i>Province</i>	<i>Imprisonment</i>	<i>Detention</i>
Madras	1051	477
Bombay	802	1169
Bengal	64	63
U.P.	4560	1188
Punjab	138	280
Bihar	5210	427
C.P.	834	316
Assam	790	193
N.W.P.P.	132	115
Orissa	487	349
Sind	56	60
Coorg	4	3
Delhi	198	47
Ajmer-Merwara	6	18
Baluchistan	Nil	Nil
Total	14032	4705

## 106: Government of India to Govt. of Bengal

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 6/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Secret

D.O. No. 3/2/44 -- Poll (I)  
Government of India  
Home Department

*New Delhi, the 7th Feb. 1944*

I write in continuation of our express letter No. 3/2/44 -- Poll (I) dated 3rd February<sup>1</sup> to say that we have seen a report in the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* to the effect that the Independence Pledge was read out on January 26th in the Calcutta Corporation. We do not know if this is correct, but if so, we should be interested to know what action you are taking.

Yours sincerely,  
(Vishnu Sahay)

A.E. Porter, Esq., CIE, ICS,  
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal  
Home Department  
Calcutta

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See Doc. 148 in Chapt. III

## 107: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 -- Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Political* -- The Congress: There has been no Congress activity of importance since 'Independence Day', and the trouble inside the Berhampur Jail, mentioned in my last report, has, so far, had no repercussions outside. The District Magistrate reports that those who were injured have now all fully recovered. It has been ascertained that the prisoners professing allegiance to the Communist Party took no part in the incident.

The District Magistrate of Koraput, however, reports signs of revival of the Congress Party's activities in that district with a view to launching active subversive activities again when the time or ripe. He considers that any large scale release of Security prisoners in that area would

have disastrous effects, and his point of view will, of course, be borne in mind by the Provincial Government if further releases are decided upon.

In spite of the extreme optimism shown by the Radical Democratic Party in regard to the bye-election in Ganjam, which was mentioned in my last report, Ananda Rout, who was supported by the Congress and the Communists, was returned with an overwhelming majority. After the election, he announced that he was a genuine Congressman and would follow the dictates of the Congress in the Assembly. It is, however, understood that he may support the Ministry in certain circumstances.

## 108: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

### **Political Situation**

Political – (a) *Congress*: His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in the Central Legislature has met with a cold reception in Congress circles, but among the general public is considered conciliatory in spirit and has been interpreted as indicating the release of Congress security and civil disobedience prisoners except members of the All India and Provincial Congress Working Committees. Reactions to the emphasis on the geographical unity of India have been on the usual communal and party lines.

As a mark of respect for Mrs Kasturba Gandhi most of the Hindu business quarters and Hindu College in Lahore, Amritsar and other centers remained closed on the day the news of her death was received. There were, however, no demonstrations or public meetings. The Congress rank and file have at present no wish for a further trial of strength with Government after the suppression of the 1942 rebellion, but there is no reason to believe that their leaders and their more violently-minded followers still in detention are in any way repentant or that they will not cause trouble again when opportunity offers. A preliminary examination of the cases of the 280 Civil Disobedience prisoners has led to the release of 97, of whom 87 have been restricted, 8 gagged and 2 externed from the Province. Notices under section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance have been issued to the remainder and to the 19 Congress security prisoners in detention.



# 109

## Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of India Licensing Policy

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of Bengal  
Home Political Department

### **Express Letter**

From

A De C. Williams, Esq., CIE, ICS  
Secretary to the Government of Bengal

To

The Secretary to the Government of India  
Home Department

No. 1260P

*Dated: 15th March, 1944*

Sub: Refusal of licences to persons who commit overt acts of sabotage and to known Congress supporters.

Ref: Correspondence resting with this Department S.No. 38 letter No. 1163-P-S., dated the 19th July 1943<sup>1</sup>

In the case of persons who commit or against whom there is information indicating that they have financed or inspired or have been privy to, activities subversive of law and order, the Provincial Government are prepared to take very much more stringent action than debarring them from obtaining licences in the manner proposed, which in most cases would probably follow as a corollary of such action as they would take.

2. Any general discrimination against known supporters of Congress, however, is, in the opinion of the Provincial Government, not practical politics in Bengal. The ministry contains two members, who claim to be and are considered Congressmen, and discriminatory action against Congressmen as such, applied against members of the rival group, would be liable to grave criticism on the ground that the action taken was in fact inspired by the desire to coerce rivals into supporting their own faction. Moreover, Government are satisfied that whatever may be their public pronouncements, and these have been comparatively few and more or less innocuous, Congress members generally in Bengal condemn the disruptive activities connected with the rebellion, responsibility for which is in fact confined in the province, so far as Congress members are concerned, to adherents of comparatively well defined group within the Congress fold.

3. Finally the Provincial Government are of the opinion that it would be an error of policy to take discriminatory action against comparatively less important individuals in the Province, in the absence of any clear and decisive action taken by the Central Government against 'big business', which is known to have financed or countenanced the activities which followed

upon the passing of the Congress resolution of the 8th August 1942 and the arrest of Congress leaders.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal

Not printed.

## 110: Statement of Convictions – Govt. of India to the Secretary of State for India (London)

File No. 18/15/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret 2955

Telegram Z No. 2955

*dated 16th March 1944*

From  
Governor General (Home Dept.) New Delhi

To  
Secretary of State for India, London

Home Department telegram No. 2026, 22nd February.<sup>1</sup> Following is summary of 36th issue of statements of convictions and detentions for month ending 1st February.

1. Conviction for all offences under D.I.R.

- a) during month 1986
- b) progressive total 96419
- c) undergoing imprisonment on 1st February 8859

2. Undergoing imprisonment on 1st February, under all laws in connection with Congress Disturbances 14032.

4. In detention under section 3 of Ordinance III of 1944, on 1st February on connection with Congress disturbances 4705.

In statement III of our last report please read 21017 for 20997 and 7637 for 7437.

P.S.V. Secy. Ex Council, Secretary & Deptt. (2)

1. Not printed.





# 111: H.V. Kamath's (security prisoner) representation

File No. 44/54/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

S. Prisoner: 2 Name: H.V. Kamath

Detained on: 22-6-42 By: Central Government, New Delhi

Under Section: 26 D.I.R.

## Representation against the order of detention under Ordinance III of 1944

To  
The Addl. Secretary to Government of India  
Home Department  
New Delhi

Through: The Secretary to Government  
Political & Military Dept.  
Nagpur

Reference: Your notice No. 44/15/44 dated  
25th January 44.<sup>1</sup>  
Central Jail, Jubbulpore  
25th March, 1944

The charge that has been levelled against me is that I was an active supporter of the Forward Bloc, an organisation to which the Central Governments by notified order directed that Rule 27A of the Defence of India Rules applies. The charge is, as I hope to show, of such a flimsy character that it will not bear scrutiny; it constructs no ground but a mild hollow pretext for my continued detention.

2. Let me at the outset briefly narrate the circumstances that attended my arrest. On 26th January, 1942, I was arrested at Nagpur under the Defence of India Rules on a warrant issued by the SDM, Arrah (Bihar), and remanded in jail custody, till 28th February 1942 when I was released on bail by the Patna High Court on condition that I made no speeches for the duration of the trial. I scrupulously observed this condition, in as much as I refrained from even a post-prandial utterance during the period. Nevertheless, even before my trial commenced, I was rearrested at Bombay on 22nd June, 1942, on a warrant of the Central Government dated 11th June 1942 and detained under Rule 26(6) D.I.R. Considering that the case pending against me in Bihar was subsequently withdrawn presumably due to lack of evidence, my arrest was to say the least, a flagrant abuse of the power conferred on Government by the Defence of India Act: firstly, because I had not engaged in any prejudicial activity during the interval, and secondly, because at the time of my arrest in the early hours of the morning on 22nd June 42, on a warrant issued ten days earlier, I was a supporter of a wholly lawful organization. The Forward Bloc was declared an unlawful body only subsequent to my

arrest, and it was only in Arthur Road Prison, Bombay that I read the Central Government notification banning the organisation. And now in 1944 you have been pleased to inform me that the ground for my arrest and detention was that I was a supporter of an organization to which Rule 27A of D.I.R. applies – a rule which itself came into being after my arrest. Could anything be more outrageous or preposterous?

3. This factual survey over, I shall now proceed to a close examination of your case against the Forward Bloc. For this purpose a short account of the genesis and evolution of the Forward Block will not, I believe, be out of place. This organisation was born on 22nd June, 1939, as a left wing group within the Indian National Congress, based on a Socialist-democratic ideology, with the establishment of a free Socialist State in India as its goal, and an active preparation and energetic mobilization of the country's resources for the coming struggle as the immediate programme. At a time when the British Government was still averse to a rapprochement with Socialist Russia, and was flirting with Fascism and dangerously toying with the idea of diverting Hitler from Western Europe by appeasing him in the East and encouraging his *Drang nach Osten* it was the Forward Block which was the first to warn the nation, in clear tones of courage, against the impending catastrophe. It was only when Hitler said 'Westward Ho!' that the British Government awoke to the realities of the situation, and perceiving that Fascism constituted a grave menace to their imperialism and that Hitler contemplated an attack on the British Empire, finally abandoned their this policy of appeasement of the Fascist Powers. It was only then that the Defence of India Rules, in truth, Rules for the Defence of British Imperialism in India, were employed as a deadly weapon for an indiscriminate attack on the civil liberties of the Indian people and for a savage repression of their urge to freedom, a freedom to which the British Government stand sternly pledged, a freedom which we ardently seek with a view to the successful defence of our motherland against aggression, a freedom which is one of the proclaimed war aims of the Allied Nations, the sublime ideal for the attainment of which this greatest of wars in human history is being so ferociously fought in all the continents of the world. It is a poignant tragedy of this war that those who profess to fight for freedom should be fighting the fighters for freedom. Or is it a grim irony of fate?

4. Again it was the Forward Bloc, which recognizing the inevitable repercussions of political ideas and institutions on the military conduct of a total war, called for the immediate formation, of a Provincial National Government and a National Defence Brigade which could efficiently tackle the gigantic task of the Defence of India. We clearly saw that the world could not endure half slave, half free and that in this global war freedom could not be denied to India without serious detriment, moral as well as strategical, to the cause to which Britain and the other United Nations have proclaimed their adherence. Events elsewhere have already demonstrated the mortal danger of waging a total war with an unfree people in the rear: it simply does not work. It is like building your house on sand: the rains came, the winds blew a storm best upon the house, and the house fell and great was the fall of it, I have no manner of doubt that History will completely vindicate the stand taken by us in this world crisis, notwithstanding the befogged vision of myopic British Statesmen and their handmaid, the Government of India.

5. I may also draw your attention to the fact that during three years of its existence, not once did the Forward Bloc deviate from the principles and policy which had guided it since its very inception, nor from the programme which it had chalked out for fighting aggression and the establishment of a free Socialist State – ideals which ought to be unexceptionable even in the eyes of the British Government assuming of course, that they are sincere in their

protestations of friendship with the Soviet Union as well as in their promises of freedom to India. I am confident that no resolution adopted by the Forward Bloc nor any pronouncement made by any responsible member of the organisation can be addressed by Government to show that we were pursuing a different path. As one instance only among a host of others, I may remind you that when Marshal Chiang Kai Shek visited India in February 42, after Japan had entered the war, a cordial message was sent to the Generalissimo on behalf of the Forward Bloc warmly congratulating him and the valiant nation on their determined stand against aggression, Govt. however, in their notification banning the Forward Bloc states that 'the persons in control thereof have had associations with persons concerned in the Government of States at war with His Majesty'. If you have in your possession any evidence in support of the charge against the Forward Bloc, I would ask you to furnish me with the same so as to afford me an opportunity of answering it, because I maintain that to the best of my knowledge this is an entirely baseless charge. Nor is this all, I would go further and say that had I been aware of any such activity on the part of the Forward Bloc, I would not have hesitated to dissociate myself from it and even sever my connection with the organisation. I gladly admit that we stood for freedom and independence, but this only as a means to an end -- the peace, happiness and welfare of the human race -- to the end that man may have life and have it more abundantly. If this be a crime, I proudly plead guilty. I may bring to your notice the dictum of a British judge of the Indian Civil Service to the effect that 'an exhortation to join a mass movement for freedom would be an act likely to assist the efficient prosecution of the war as soon as the desired end is attained', and that 'continued agitation for the freedom of the country can not be said to amount to a prejudicial act under the Defence of India Rules or one which is likely to hamper the prosecution of the war'. But look at the ignominious record of the Government of India. While posing as the champion and Defender of Freedom, it has perpetrated wrongs that beggar description. 'O liberty, What crimes are committed in the name'.

6 It is idle to suppose that these words of mine will have any effect on a wooden, callous and purblind administration which has hermetically sealed itself against the bracing air of public opinion, nay, of world opinion, a Government that has denuded itself of all burdensome conceptions of righteousness, justice and fair play and stiffened its opinions, always in the wrong', is pruning itself in its soulless obduracy and treating the Indian issue as a merry jest. Yet there is a satisfaction in clarifying our stand and reaffirming our tenets -- dearer far than our lives -- for which by an arbitrary fiat of an irresponsible Government, well nigh Fascist in nature if not in name, myself and thousands of my comrades are suffering today. Government intoxicated with their physical might, do not seem to realise that they are hallowing the prisons of the law with a holiness and a sanctity far beyond the reach of their imagination. There are higher Powers that rule the destiny of men and things and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which we represent may prosper more by our suffering than by our remaining free.

7. 'Absolute power absolutely corrupts', and so it has been with the Government of India they are today trampling underfoot the life, liberty and happiness of the Indian people. They are draining the wealth of the country by all means in their power. They are sowing the wind and may have to reap the whirlwind. For the spirit of freedom and the will to freedom cannot be crushed.

Freedom's battle once begun,  
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son  
Though baffled oft, is ever won.

My appeal to your reason may fail. But a whole nation's appeal from tyranny to God cannot go in vain.

H.V. Kamath,  
Signed by Security Prisoner No.

I. Not printed.

## 112: Official Notings (dt 10.4.44 to 25.4.44) (extracts) — Tottenham's snide remarks on Kamath's representation (Document 111)

File No. 44/54/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

This magnificent oration<sup>1</sup> reads curiously in the light of the activities of its author's leader – S.C. Bose – whose name is not even mentioned.

R. Tottenham  
10–4–44.

There is no attempt here at any defence. I am not sure to what extent Kamath was involved in this Bose conspiracy which is I suppose the chief reason for our action against the Forward Bloc and its leaders. Our communication to him made no mention of Bose and his reply also studiously avoids any reference to him.

2. There can I imagine be no question of releasing Kamath, but we should be *faithful* for DIB's comments.

S.J.L. Olver  
12/4  
D.I.B.

H.D. u/o No. F. 44/54/44 – Poll (I), dt 13/4/44.

No. 44/54/44 – Poll (I)

Intelligence Bureau [Reg. H.V. Kamath's Representation See Doc. 111 – Ed.]

There is little in H.V. Kamath's tub-thumping oration which calls for comment. His presumption that the case pending against him in Bihar was withdrawn owing to lack of evidence is incorrect. The facts in brief are that he was arrested on 26/1/42 and was released on bail on 27/2/42 by the Patna High Court; his case was subject to much delay in disposal and in June 1942, following a suggestion from the Bureau that it would not be in the interest of security to allow Kamath to remain at large any longer. Home Department decided that the case against Kamath in Bihar should be dropped and he should be detained under Defence of India Rule 26. Kamath's claim that he did not engage in any prejudicial activity during the period 27/2/42 to 22/6/42 is false. It is shown that he attended the All India Forward Bloc Working Committee

meeting held in Bombay on 4/4/42, at which one of the resolutions passed was to the effect that any compromise with Britain on the issue of Indian Independence would do incalculable harm to the Indian people and it has been stated by Mukundlal Sarkar that early in June 1942 Kamath, Sarkar and P.M. Kabali conferred at Bombay with a view to sending an emissary to Japan to contact Subhas Bose. Kamath's quibble that the Forward Bloc was declared an illegal organisation only subsequent to his arrest is also without foundation. The decision to declare the Forward Bloc an illegal organisation was communicated to Provincial Governments on June 11th 1942, the same date on which the order for Kamath's arrest was issued, and the notification declaring the Forward Bloc illegal was issued on June 22nd 1942, the day of Kamath's arrest.

2. There can be no question of Kamath's release. The intemperate tone of his representation is of itself clear evidence that there has been no change of heart on his part and that he is as dangerous an agitator as ever. It is true that no mention of Bose has been made in the charge communicated to Kamath. This is explained by the fact that Kamath was in jail from the middle of 1940 to the middle of 1941, the period during which the Bose disappearance was staged. That he remained innocent of the conspiracy after his release from jail, however, is extremely unlikely. It is significant that he became General Secretary of the Forward Bloc in January 1942, at the same time that Sardul Singh Caveeshar became President. The latter's part in the Bose conspiracy has recently been the subject of a separate analysis and there can be no doubt that he was very deeply involved. It is extremely unlikely that Kamath was not taken into confidence by Sardul Singh Caveeshar. Confirmation of this is to be found in the statement issued by Kamath in the Forward Bloc bulletin dated 20/1/42 shortly after his appointment as General Secretary of the Forward Bloc and shortly before his arrest, expressing concern for the well-being of Subhas Bose who had taken a 'daring step' solely with the purpose of securing Indian independence. The statement concluded significantly with the words 'Let us go forward and meet a New Sun, greet a New world.'

E.J. Beveridge.

(E.J. Beveridge)  
Assistant Director(s)  
21-4-44

Home Deptt. (Sir Richard Tottenham)

D.I.B.U.O.No. 13/P.F.(D)/42, dated Apr. 24, 1944

I agree that the order against Kamath must be kept in existence — and probably extended upto July 15.

R. Tottenham,  
25/4/44



# 113: Govt. of India to the Secretary of States for India (London) (Statistics of convictions and detentions)

File No. 18/15/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Home to Secretary of State, London

Secret

No. 4247

*Dated 12-4-44*

Secretary of State, London

Home Dept. telegram 2955 of 16th March. Following is summary of 37th issue of statistics of convictions and detentions for month ending 1st March. Headings correspond to those in previous telegram:

1. (a) 2014  
(b) 98531  
(c) 8542
2. (a) 74  
(b) 21125  
(c) 6647
3. 13382
4. 3966

Figures at 1(2), 2(a) and 3 and 7 do not include those for Orissa which will follow separately.

Home



# 114: Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of India – (Reading of Independence Day's Pledge at the Calcutta Corporation<sup>1</sup>)

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. 6/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

To  
S.J.L. Olver, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Home Department  
Govt. of India

Department: Home  
Branch: Poll  
Issue Number: D.O. 419 PS  
Date of issue: 21-4-44

The 21st April 1944

My dear Olver,

Please refer to Sahay's D.O. letter No. 3/2/44 – Poll (I), dated the 7th February, 1944 to<sup>1</sup> Porter about the reading of the Independence pledge at a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation. I apologise for the delay in replying, but we have only just managed to secure a copy of the proceedings the meeting of the Corporation held on the 26th January. These show that the Independence Pledge was read out at the meeting of the Corporation held on that date, and Government are now considering what action they should take in the matter. I Will write to you again when a decision has been reached.

Yours sincerely,  
Signed

<sup>1</sup> See Documents 103, 106

See also Documents 147, 148 & 167 in Chapter III.

# 115: News item from the *Hindu* dt 24.5.44

Govt. of Madras, Pub. (Press) Dept. – File G.O. No. 1986  
[TNA]

## **Proposal for Meeting of Madras Congressmen**

*Madras, May 23*

Mrs Rukmini Lakshmipathi, Vice-President of the Tamilnad Congress Committee, Mr K. Koti Reddi, Vice-President of the Andhra Congress Committee and Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Member, Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Working Committee have issued the following statement –

We are of opinion that the time has come for a meeting of Congressmen in the Madras Presidency to consider the present political situation, especially in view of Mahatma Gandhi's release. We are therefore getting into touch with Congress friends in Andhra, Tamil Nad and Kerala with a view of calling such a conference as soon as possible. Such a conference is in our view best held in Madras to suit the convenience of those who will attend the conference from the three Congress provinces. We are taking steps to constitute a Reception Committee immediately and we have to be able to announce the time, date and place of the Conference in Madras within a short time. We cordially invite the co-operation of all Congressmen and women in the three Congress provinces to make the conference a fully representative one – U.P.I.

## 116: News item from *Indian Express* – 28.5.44

Govt. of Madras, Pub. (Press) Dept. – File G.O. No. 1986  
[TNA]

### **Banning of Congress Meetings**

Madras. May 27. Mrs Rukmini Lakshmipathi, Vice-president of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee and Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Member, Working Committee of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, have issued the following statement:

In pursuance of the proposal to hold a meeting of Congressmen of the Madras province to enable them to review the present situation in this country, specially in view of Gandhiji's release, the Vice-President of the Andhra and Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committees wrote to the Police Commissioner, Madras, for the necessary permission to hold the meeting in the Gokhale Hall on June 10.

They have now been informed by the Police Commissioner that the permission for the meeting cannot be granted. We have no doubt that this arbitrary refusal of permission to hold such a meeting will be deeply resented by the people of the province. It is also a significant commentary on the mind of the authorities who are never tired of saying that it is for Congressmen to review the position in the light of the developments in the country. Gandhiji's release has evidently made no change in the position, at least so far as the Government is concerned. It is now for the public to take up the question of the withdrawal of all such orders that infringe upon the fundamental civil liberties of the people

## 117: News item from *Bharata Devi* dated the 28th May 1944

Govt. of Madras, Pub. (Press) Dept. – File G.O. No. 1986  
[TNA]

### **Banning of Congress Meetings**

The Government of India and the Bombay Government have not prevented people meeting and exchanging ideas with Gandhiji after his release. They have even allowed the publication



of reports of speculation as to what Gandhiji would do. In U.P. and Bombay, Congressmen have met to consider the present situation. But in the Province ruled by H.E. Sir Arthur Hope Congressmen have been prevented from holding a conference. They intended only to consider the state of affairs and be ready to offer their opinion to Gandhiji. The Commissioner of Police, Madras, has banned this meeting and feels himself to be a hero who has defeated Hitler. It is said of some people that they wander in places which even the Gods fear to tread. Perhaps, the Commissioner of Police, Madras is one such.

V.P. F.M. 29.5.1944 Public (Gl.) Deptt. H.O.

Public (press) Department U.O. No. 1253/44-2, Tamil, dated 29-5-1944.

## 118: News item from *Indian Express* (Madras) dt May 31, 1944

Govt. of Madras, Pub. (Press) Dept. – File G.O. No. 1986  
[TNA]

### **Banning of Congress Meetings**

'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? We do not know. But we do know that the Commissioner of Police, Madras, appears to be incapable of changing his hard intransigent attitude of opposition to the fundamental civil liberties of the people. He has now chosen, without assigning any reason whatsoever, to arbitrarily refuse permission for the holding of a conference of Congressmen of the province, in Madras, who wished to meet together to be able to review the current situation, in the country, specially in view of the release of Mahatma Gandhi. Such conferences of Congressmen have taken place already in more than one province without precipitating any new crisis to Indian politics. The Commissioner of Police had functioned so long as some kind of an Almighty in Madras and it is time he came down from his high pedestal of autocratic authority, and realized that it is not for him to continue to take shelter under an executive order promulgated originally at a time of emergency.

The original order prohibiting various Congress Committees and organisations and their supporters and sympathizers in the city from taking part in or holding of public processions, meetings or assemblies was, we think, promulgated as early as 10th August, 1943. Since then the same prohibition has continued more or less unbroken in some guise or other. On September 28, 1943, the Commissioner of Police cancelled a previous order and passed a new one under Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules. prohibiting processions, meetings etc. in connection with Mahatma Gandhi's birthday celebrations. Again on December 16, 1943, another order was promulgated by him prohibiting holding of procession, meetings and assemblies etc. in furtherance of the aims of the Indian National Congress and their programme of Civil Disobedience in the city, which order was to continue indefinitely. We hope we are not wrong in presuming that is under this order that the proposed conference of Congressmen has now been prohibited.

Mrs Rukmini Lakshmi pathi and Mr Muthuranga Mudaliar are right in saying that the people of the province will deeply resent the action taken by the Police Commissioner.

They are also right in considering this action as indicating that so far as the authorities in this province are concerned Gandhiji's release will not be permitted to alter the situation in any way. Their appeal to the public that it is their duty to take up the question of the withdrawal of all such orders that infringe upon the fundamental civil liberties of the people, is not only a timely one, but gains added strength from the context of events.

The most curious part of the whole business is that, while on the one hand Government spokesman, in India and in England continue to shout from the house tops that is for Congressmen to review the present position, the authorities in Madras seem determined to allow nothing to alter that position, is it that the present stalemate in the province suits the authorities well enough? If that is so, such an attitude implies nothing less than outrageous complacency. It will also show more than anything else, how completely cut away is the irresponsible bureaucracy which presides over the destiny of this province from the realities of the position from the side of the people. It is humiliating enough that Congressmen have to solicit police permission to hold a bonafide meeting. But the humiliation becomes intolerable when permission having been sought is arrogantly refused without even the condescension of so much as saying why. We trust that those concerned will not allow the Commissioner of Police to take the attitude that what he has said is the 'last word on the matter.

## 119: News item from *Andhra Prabha* dated the 31st May 1944

Govt. of Madras, Pub. (Press) Dept. – File G.O. No. 1986  
[TNA]

Referring to the order of the Commissioner of Police Madras, refusing permission for holding a meeting of Madras Congressmen, the *Andhra Patrika* dated 31-5-1944 observes as follows:

The meetings of the Congress members of the Legislature and other Conferences are permitted to be held and these will not disturb public peace and security in the opinion of the Government. Something had, it seems, will happen if the Congressmen of the Province hold Conference.

How many meetings of this sort are not held in the other Provinces? It is strange that such meetings should be banned at Madras alone.

The right to hold a meeting is the primary privilege of all the citizens. When such right is denied how can we say that public opinion is respected?

The order of the Commissioner of Police is a meaningless act – meaningless highhandedness of the authorities. The Government should not be silent in this respect. It is their duty to cancel this order and allow the Congressmen to hold public meetings not only in the City of Madras but anywhere in the Province.

Will the Advisers take our suggestions and fulfil popular aspirations at least now?

V.P.E.M. 1-6-1944, Public (General) Department, U.O.  
Public (Press) Department U.O. No. 455/44-1,  
Telugu, dated the 1st June 1944.

# 120: Statements of convictions and detentions

File No. 18/15/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Telegram Z No. 7441 dated 1st June 1944.

From . . . Governor General (Home Dept.) New Delhi.

To . . . Secretary of State for India, London.

Continuation Home Department telegram 4247 of 12th April.<sup>1</sup> Following is summary of 38th issued of statements of convictions and detentions for month ending 1st April.

1. (a) 1657  
(b) 100196  
(c) 8242
2. (a) 91  
(b) 21230  
(c) 6563
3. 13067
4. 4085

Following are corresponding Orissa figures for 1st March not reported in Provincial – telegram 34(2) C of 29th May to you:

1. (c) 320
2. (c) 345
3. 490
4. 343

PSV. Secy. Ex Council, Secy. & Dept. Home (2) L.A. (5)

<sup>1</sup> Doc 113

# 121: News item from *Free Press* dt 3.6.44

Govt. of Madras, Pub. (Press) Dept. – File G.O. No. 1986

[TNA]

*Ban on Congress Conference Condemned. Release of all Congress Leaders Urged.  
No Compromise on Pakistan Basis*

C.N.M. MUDALIAR'S FIGHTING SPEECH AT CITY MEETING MADRAS, June 3. 'While the Secretary of State for India, Mr L.S. Amery says that the Congressmen who remain outside

jails, have the freedom to meet, it is unfortunate that the authorities here ban all the meetings. It is unfortunate that the Govt. of Madras, whose Governor boasts of the Province remaining aloof from the troubles of August 1942 and of its contribution of Rs 3 crores to the War Fund have banned such meetings. No other province has put such a ban', said Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar presiding over a public meeting held last evening at the Ranade Hall, under the auspices of Hindu-Muslim League when Mr A.M. Allah Pichi, Ex Secretary of the Madras Provincial Muslim League, spoke on 'Hindu-Muslim Unity'.

Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar in his introductory speech said that it was a misfortune that during these days meetings could not take place without the permission of the authorities. The Govt. that professed to be fighting this war for safe-guarding democracy and establishing the Four Freedoms had put such bans on meetings and processions which were fundamental requisites for the working of democracy. It was deplorable that the citizens of Madras were all indifferent about it.

In India alone meetings had to be held for solving the communal problem. There were Muslims in other countries also but there were no such problems anywhere else. The presence of the foreign element, who wanted to keep the country in bondage and exploit it for their own benefit, was the reason for the communal wrangle. the question of Pakistan as a solution for the communal troubles originated from the ultra-conservative Round Tablers under the guidance of Mr Winston Churchill was the head. Even the Two Nations Theory could not be accepted though we had many religions. The Congress had never under-rated the need for unity so much so they had conceded many things to the Muslims for the sake of attaining unity. The Congress had been striving its utmost to solve this great problem. The proposals made by the Majlis recently might be discussed, though they had already been considered by the A.I.C.C. The whole problem had to be considered holding the Hindus and Muslims are belonging to one nation.

### **Biased Histories**

Mr Alla Pichai said that much cleavage between the communities was due to the biased histories written by prejudiced historians. Little troubles like music before the mosque or cow-slaughter should not be taken seriously. The Muslim Rulers with their simple and pure policy had done much to effect the coming together of the two nations. The British Govt. had done much to magnify the small weakness of the communities. Moreover the Mahasabha had done much harm to the country in its over-anxiety to serve the country. It was only after a Mahasabha Leader had said the 'the Hindus are a nation and the Muslims a community, as the German are a nation and the Jews are a community', the League began to ask for a separate state. The suggestion of Dr Moonje to ignore the League was a fantastic one. The Pakistan resolution did not envisage the formation of a federation. His own personal view was that Pakistan would do much harm to the Muslims. The League had also complete independence as its goal. It was really unpatriotic to attribute ideas of Pan-Islamism to the League. If the League firmly stands for the Pakistan let be given, for, he preferred a free India, however divided it might be, to a dependent India.

Much had been expected of Gandhiji and his letter to Dr Jayakar was wrongly interpreted in many quarters. Gandhiji has said, 'I can not withdrew the August Resolution'. Gandhiji as he was a democratic leader of the Congress did not say that he would not withdraw. How could he withdraw the resolution without knowing the views of his colleagues who were incarcerated by the British Govt. They must be released at once for the release of Gandhiji

had provoked much goodwill and understanding and similarly the release of other leaders would do positively much good. The Govt. should withdraw the ban they had imposed against meetings, as the meetings would enable Gandhiji to formulate a suitable course.

In his concluding remarks, Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar said he could not accept in to what Mr Alla Pichai has said. He could not accept the 'Two Nation Theory'. The Congress could not concede either Pakistan or any other Stans, for the Congress know only one Nation consisting all the Indian elements. Examples of Canada and South Africa clearly showed that even those who stood as bitter opponents could come together. The parties in India should give up the religious basis and form themselves as real political parties with joint electorate. By converting the majority into a minority by giving equal number of seats, we could not have democracy. He preferred only a united Free India, however long it took to achieve it.

Mr All Ibrahim, Secretary of the Hindu-Muslim League, proposed a vote of thanks.

## 122: Extracts form Fortnightly Report from Sind for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

In my report for the second half of March 1944, I mentioned that a sum of Rs 75,000 collected for the Bengal Congress Distress Relief Fund had been frozen on account of suspicion that the money was being used for general Congress purposes. A full investigation into the accounts was made, but nothing was found to show that any money had been misused. The freezing order has consequently been withdrawn.

## 123: Extracts form Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political - Mr Gandhi's release and speculations as to what will follow still occupy first place in the public mind. The earliest reaction, namely that this was a prelude to the release of other leaders and an easing in the political situation has given way to more sober feelings and Mr Amery's speech in the Commons has come as a cold douche to many. Hopes are still entertained, however, of a Gandhi-Jinnah meeting, which may pave the way to a solution of the deadlock between the two major communities. In Madras City it was proposed to hold a meeting of Congressmen in order to consider the situation arising out of Mr Gandhi's release. Invitations were sent to Congressmen all over the Province and instructions were issued by two prominent Congress leaders Mrs Lakshmipathi and K. Koti Reddi in their capacity as office bearers of the Tamil Nadu and Andhra Congress Committees which have been declared unlawful bodies by the Government. There was no indication as to the programme and agenda

of the meeting. The Commissioner of Police therefore prohibited it under the general Prohibitory Order under rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules, which is in force in the city. This had, aroused a lot of criticism from the Nationalist Press.

Prayers for Mr Gandhi's speedy recovery and meetings on this behalf have been held in a number of places but except for this, there are no important general repercussions in the mofussil. Congressmen are now actively engaged in raising money for the Kasturi Bal National Memorial Fund. A.V. Thakkar, General Secretary of the Fund visited Madras recently and addressed a meeting on 17th May 1944, at which he laid stress on the fact that the proceeds would be devoted solely to the welfare and education of women and children and not to political purposes. The same point was emphasized by Mr Rajagopalachariar at a meeting in Coimbatore. Reports of similar meetings have come from a number of other important towns. This emphasis on the non-political nature of the Fund appears to be a reaction to the controversy that has been going on, reported in the papers following Mr Jayakar's letter to A.V. Thakkar. This propaganda has been to some extent successful and a number of people have been roped in who would not have otherwise joined it. A striking example comes from Tanjore where two well known loyalists have consented to be President and Vice-President of the Committee set up for the purpose of making collection.

'Rebellion' activity has been slight. A country bomb exploded in an unoccupied house near Palghat of the Malabar District on the 14th and three men were arrested in this connection. It is suspected that this had been manufactured by the accused in the recent Malabar Bomb Conspiracy Case. From Nellore comes a report that the timbers of a railway bridge were found burnt near Gudur Station. The damage was slight and railway communication has not in any way been interrupted. There is no certainly however that this is a case of attempted sabotage and the Police are investigating.

## 124: DIB's detailed notes on all India Satyagraha Council (dt 19.6.44) (extracts)

File No. 4/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

. . . After the arrest of Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee at Bombay on August 8th, 1942, Mrs Sucheta Kripalani, Dr Ram Mahohar Lohia, Ran Nandan Mishra, Achut Patwardhan, Sadik Ali' and a number of other Congress workers immediately went underground and began to organise Congress subversive activity. The camp office of the A.I.C.C. at a Bombay, which was in fact the main A.I.C.C. Secretariat, also went underground. The first move on the part of the underground leaders was the circulation of two programmes for the 'open rebellion' all over India by post and through the medium of A.I.C.C. members returning home after the Bombay Session. After this an underground Congress 'Central Directorate' was formed in Bombay, of which Mrs Sucheta Kripalani, Ram Manohar Lohia and Achut Patwardhan were important members. This 'Central Directorate' was later joined by Jai Prakash Narain and Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali. The 'Central Directorate' gradually established an all-India underground organization and contacted other local underground workers in the various provinces until virtually all underground and sabotage activity came under its

general control and direction. It provided funds, weapons, implements, materials and, above all, propaganda and issued a constant flow of instructions. It was the 'Central Directorate' which kept the movement going after the first outburst of mass demonstrations but subsided. Not only did it organise underground activity, such as derailment, bomb outrages, circulation of illegal pamphlets, etc., but it organized sporadic open Congress demonstrations from time to time on such occasions as 'Independence Day' (January 26th), 'National week', Gandhi's fast, etc.

### **Separation of Non-Violence Group**

2 From the beginning there were two groups in the underground Congress movement; the right-wing group, which inclined towards non-violent methods and the left-wing group which believed in violence. Both groups, however, worked amicably together in pursuance of a common programme until February 1943. An important meeting of the 'Central Directorate' was held in Delhi on December 29th, 1942, and subsequent dates, at which it was agreed to carry out a programme which included the old orthodox Congress programme and the 'new phase of sabotage'. In February – March 1943, however, Gandhi staged a 21 – days fast, during which his isolation from the outside world was temporarily lifted. Among those who saw him during he fast was Mrs Sucheta Kripalani. During the fast Gandhi is said to have expressed disapproval of the violent activities carried on in the name of Congress and soon after the termination of the fast another meeting of the 'Central Directorate' was held in Bombay at which there was a strong difference of opinion between the Gandhian group, headed by Mrs Sucheta Kripalani, and the pro-violence group, headed by Jai Prakash Narain. After a heated discussion Jai Prakash Narain agrees to suspend the violent movement, for a period variously reported to be two or three months, in order to avoid a permanent rift. This temporary expedient, however, failed to heal the breach and in April 1943, Achut Patwardhan wrote to Jai Prakash 'Sucheta (Kripalani) is turning a priest'. The rift between the two groups gradually widened during the following months, but it was not until September 1943, following discussions in Bombay and Calcutta, that the Gandhian group finally broke away and Mrs Sucheta Kripalani resigned from the 'Central Directorate'.

### **Formation of New Organization**

3 The Gandhian group formed a new underground organization, modelled on the underground Congress organization controlled by the 'Central Directorate'. This new organization was called the 'All India Satyagraha Council', Sucheta Kripalani was the most important figure in this new Council and the main source of funds, although she remained discreetly in the background, in accordance with her usual habit. After Mrs Kripalani, Annada Choudhury of Bengal was probably the most important figure and of the various members of the Council his name has come to notice most prominently. On 25/11/43, a cyclostyled leaflet entitled 'All-India Satyagraha Council – What We stand For', dated 8/11/43 and issued by Annada Prasad Choudhury, was seen in postal interception in Calcutta. The leaflet stated that the August resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in Bombay was the final and irrevocable pledge of increasing open rebellion against British rule; the present period of lull and exhaustion had given time to assess the strength and weakness of the struggle and had led inevitably to the formation of the All-India Satyagraha Council with its Provincial and District branches, which consisted of those Congressmen who had the unalterable conviction that Satyagraha was the basis of their struggle and that in all future planning of the strategy and technique of the

movement ahead they should do nothing that would weaken the satyagraha basis and its discipline. The leaflet referred to the existence of some Provincial and District Satyagraha Committees which had spontaneously sprung up and were doing their utmost to carry on the struggle on non-violent lines and said that it was in response to a call from them for an All-India co-ordinating and directing agency that the All India Satyagraha Council had been formed.

### **Object**

4. The leaflet declared the object of the council to be 'to evolve by mutual consultation and planning programme of struggle which will prepare the Indian masses ultimately, and as early as possible, for the nation-wide, open, non-violent revolution, with the object of paralyzing the whole machinery of Government and replacing it by a truly People's Government'. The leaflet continued 'Our planning and struggle will lie in the direction of preparing the masses for a total refusal of taxes, supplies and co-operation with the present Government and training them simultaneously to divert such taxes, supplies and co-operation to a growing parallel People's Government; so that ultimately as the foreign system weakens and collapses a full-fledged people's organisation will be ready to take over national control'. It announced: 'We shall resist all attempts to link with the constitutional machinery of the present Government. At the present crisis in our struggle we consider Parliamentaryism a betrayal to be resisted with all the strength in us'.

### **Programme and Pledge**

5. The leaflet also outlined a programme of organisation and work to be adopted by Provincial and District Committees and prescribed the following simple Satyagraha pledge:

I believe in the Satyagraha basis of India's struggle for freedom. I hereby enrol myself as a Satyagrahi under the District Satyagraha Council, and shall carry out such work as is entrusted to me by the Council.

The leaflet concluded with the instructions 'Organizational work should begin from now on, to make the next 26th of January, our Independence Day, the occasion for a big blow at the Government at every provincial and District headquarters preferably by organizing open successive raids'.

6. According to a Bombay report dated 1/2/44, the object behind the organisation of the All-India Satyagraha Council was that all defiance should be open in order to avoid the unpopularity which resulted from the imposition of collective fines when secret sabotage occurred and remained undetected in village areas. The report states that, although, the circulars issued by the council purported to emanate from Calcutta, they were posted from Bombay, indicating that Bombay was the real distributing center.

### **Composition of Council**

7. It is believed that the All-Indian Satyagraha Council consists of the following:

- (1) Mrs Sucheta Kripalani (arrested on 28/4/44),
- (2) Annada Prasad Choudhury of Bengal,
- (3) R.R. Diwaker (Bombay who's who No. 29),
- (4) G. Ramachandran, Joint Editor 'Indian Express', Madras,
- (5) Baldeo Narain Verma of Bihar (arrested on 23/3/44).



It has also been reported, but not yet confirmed, that R.S. Dhotre, of the All-India Spinners' Association and Gandhi's Sewa Sangh, Wardha, is also a member of the Council.

### **Circulars Issued**

8. On 6/12/43<sup>1</sup> a circular containing detailed programme for the celebration of 'Independence Week' from January 20th-26th, 1944, was issued over the name of A.P. Choudhury from Calcutta. The programme consisted of the usual orthodox Congress demonstrations. The circular also directed the submission of weekly reports on enrollment of satyagrahis to the Central Office. The Council's attempt to organise demonstrations on 'Independence Day' proved a conspicuous failure but nothing daunted on 27/2/44 the Council issued 'instruction No. 5 of the All-India Satyagraha Council' giving a programme for the celebration of 'National Week' from April 6th to 13th, 1944. On 22/3/44 anonymous type - written letter, believed to have been written by A.P. Choudhury, came to notice in censorship in Calcutta, one of them addressed to the Editor of the Patna 'Searchlight suggested the publication of articles on satyagraha, reviewing the satyagraha campaigns of 1919, 1921, 1930, 1941 and 1942 on April 6th, 1944, the 'silver jubilee of the birth of Satyagraha in India'. Another of the letter contained instructions that the news bulletins issued by the head office were only intended for the information of zonal and provincial offices and not for the General public and that it was hoped what provincial and zonal heads would, before utilizing the accounts in their local bulletins, discriminate between open defiance and other defiant activities. In April 1944, a printed publication entitled 'Non-Violent Revolution. January-February 1944' edited by An-nada Prasad Choudhury was reported to be in secret circulation in Madras. This publication, which appears to be one of the news-bulletins referred to above, contained reports of 'Independence Day' celebrations in the Province and the programme for 'National Week'. In the same month, a cyclostyled leaflet in English entitled 'Satyagrahi Volume I No. 31' published by A.P. Choudhury came to notice in Calcutta. This leaflet contained a quotation from the underground Congress publication '9th August' dated 9/12/43 and gave exaggerated news of the satyagraha movement in Bengal, Bihar and elsewhere.

### **Suspension of Programme**

9. In May 1944, 'Circular No. 6 of the All India Satyagraha Council' dated Bombay, 13/5/44, and issued over the name of A.P. Choudhury came to notice in the Central Provinces. The circular stated that the All-India Satyagraha Council had met in Bombay on May 10/12th, 1944 and had resolved that, as the August resolution had put Gandhi in full charge, all aggressive programme carried on its own responsibility should stand suspended till such time as Gandhi made his mind clear on the present position. The circular added that it was further decided that the organisation should, in the meantime, be further strengthened and made more broadbased by establishing contact with workers recently released from prison and others. According to a report from the Poona C.I.D., dated 24/5/44, R.R. Divakar of the All India Satyagraha Council was for carrying on sabotage activities and was in Bombay keeping in touch with Gandhi and waiting for his instructions, on the receipt of which he would advise the Karnatak workers on their future course of action.

### **Activities in Provinces**

10. 'The activities of the All-India Satyagraha Council have so far come to notice in only four

provinces Bengal, Bihar, Bombay and Madras. The following Provincial and District Committees have so far come to notice:

Bihar Provincial Satyagraha Committee.

Bombay (1) Karnatak Satyagraha Samiti.

(2) Belgaum, Satyagraha Samiti.

Madras (1) Madras Satyagraha Committee.

(2) Madura-Ramnad Satyagraha Committee.

(3) Andhra Provincial Satyagraha Council.

10th June, 1944.

1. See Doc. 89 – Chapter I-A.

## 125: Govt. of India to the Govt. of Bombay Secondary organizations

File No. 4/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Urgent

Government of India

Home Department

From

Sir Richard Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal/Bihar/Madras/Bombay.  
New Delhi, the 16th June 1944.

Sir,

We are informed that a subversive body called the All India Satyagraha Council is operating in Bengal, Bihar, Bombay and Madras and in addition it has Provincial and district committees in Bihar, Bombay and Madras. A note on the origin and activities of the council has, we understand, been communicated by the Intelligence Bureau to your Special Branch.<sup>1</sup> These activities are already in furtherance of the August 1942 Resolution of the Congress Working Committee and we should be glad to know, as early as possible, whether you consider there would be advantage in declaring its council and its committees to be unlawful associations. In any case there should be no hesitation in taking preventive action under Ordinance III of 1944 against its known workers.

2. (In this connection will you please refer to Mr Southern's fortnightly report for the first

half of May 1944 which states that G. Ramachandran Joint Editor 'Indian Express' has joined a Madras Committee of the All Indian Satyagraha Council as its president. Have you considered action against this man?)

I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant,  
R. Tottenham,

Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

1. Ref. to Doc. 124.

## 126: Government of Bengal to the Govt. of India

File No. 4/4/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of Bengal  
Home Department  
Political

From  
E.B.H. Baker, Esq., O.B.E., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal

To  
Vishnu Sahay, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Jt. Secy. to the Govt. of India  
Home Department, New Delhi

No. 709-P.S.

*dated Calcutta, the 5th July 1944*

Sub: Enquiry as to whether there would be advantage in declaring the All India Satyagraha Council and its Committees to be unlawful association.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to Home Department secret letter No. 4/4/46 - Poll (I), dated the 16th June 1944,<sup>1</sup> on the above subject. The activities of the Council in this province were first noticed in November, 1943, in the district of Midnapore, where some groups of Satyagrahis attempted to carry on an agitation against Government's rice procurement scheme. Several of these Satyagrahis were arrested, and other adherents of the Council are being arrested as soon as they give evidence of any overt unlawful activity. The Council has not gained any influence outside the district of Midnapore and is still a secret organisation. A watch has been

kept on it, but it is felt that it would be a mistake to declare it an unlawful association at this stage. Such an open declaration is likely to give it far wider publicity than it has so far been able to obtain by its own efforts.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant  
Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal

1. Doc. 125.

## 127: Government of India to CP & Berar — H.V. Kamath's case

File No. 44/54/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of India  
Home Department

### **Express Letter**

*Dated. 8.7.44.*

From  
Home, New Delhi

To  
The Chief Secretary,  
Central Province

No. 44/54/44 – Poll (I), New Delhi, the 8th July 1944.

Continuation our letter No. 44/54/44 – Poll (I) dated 27th April 1944<sup>1</sup> regarding security prisoner H.V. Kamath. After a full consideration of all the aspects of the case we have decided that he shall continue in detention. Two copies of an order extending his detention order which would otherwise expire on the 15th July are enclosed. One copy should be served on him *before or on the 15th July* and retained by you for record, while the other copy may be handed over to him.

(S.J.L. Olver)  
Deputy Secretary to the  
Government of India

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1. Not printed.

# 128: Government of Bombay to the Government of India (Reg. All India Satyagraha Council)

File No. 4/4/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

## Express Letter

No. S.D.V./-88,

*dated, 18th July 1944*

Govt. of Bombay to Govt. of India

To  
The Joint Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home department.

Reference Sir Richard Tottenham's letter No. 4/4/44 – Poll (I), dated 16th June 1944,<sup>1</sup> regarding the All-India Satyagraha Council.

2. The Government of Bombay considers that there would be no advantage, at any rate for the present, in declaring the council and its committees to be unlawful association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. The object of such a declaration usually is to enable Government to seize the premises from which the association is functioning, to freeze and subsequently to forfeit its funds and thereby to prevent it from functioning in an effective manner. No such advantage accrues in declaring as unlawful an association which is working underground. This Government considers that the only action which will cripple the underground organisation in this Province is the arrest of its two important leaders, viz., Achut Patwardhan and R.R. Diwakar. Rewards amounting to Rs 5,000 have been offered for information leading to the arrest of each of them and vigorous Police action, unfortunately unsuccessful so far, is being continued towards this end.

3. The suggestion of the Government of India that there should be no hesitation in taking preventive action against the known workers of the Council under the Restriction and Detention Ordinance has been acted on since the beginning of the civil disobedience movement. Every person against whom there is proof of connection with any underground organisation is arrested and detained.

<sup>1</sup> Doc 125.



# 129: Copy of the All India Satyagraha Council programme for August 9th 1944 recovered from the residence of Annada Prasad Choudhuri in Midnapore on 12.7.1944

File No. 3/28/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Calcutta 7-7-44*

The second anniversary of our struggle for emancipation by the nation on the 9th August, 1942, will be soon on us. It is needless to say that it is our bounden duty to celebrate it in a fitting manner.

All that has happened since the 9th August, 1942 has created history. The resolution passed on the 8th of August has a significance of its own. But it irritated the Government. They are insisting on the withdrawal of the resolution. The Government of Bihar has gone so far as to serve notices on security prisoners when they are released advising them to try to get the 1942 August resolution withdrawn. Gandhiji, on the other hand, feels that there is no flaw in the resolution and he cannot withdraw it.

It is now up to us prove and demonstrate to the world that not only Gandhiji but the whole nation stands by that historic resolution and is behind Gandhiji. It has been written with the blood of the nation. Our manhood demands that we should declare with all the strength in us that we stand by it and Gandhiji is voicing only the unexpressed will of the Indian people. (On that day (9th of August), therefore, in addition to having Flag-hoisting ceremonies, Prabhat Pheris, spinning demonstrations etc., arrangement should be made to hold as many meetings as possible where the 1942 August resolution should be reiterated by as large assemblages as possible. No price should be considered too great and we trust each other and every worker will exert his utmost to make this day a unique success. There is very little time before us and we should make all possible efforts without any loss of time.

Signed Annada Prasad Choudhary.

Forwarded to Home Department (Mr Olver) with reference to our telephone conversation today.

(E.J. Beveridge)

Assistant Director(s)

Home Deptt. (Mr Olver)

D.I.B. U.O. No. 8/Cong/44-(1), dated July 26, 1944  
3/28/44 – Poll (I)



# 130: D.C., S.B. to the Superintendent, Presidency Jail

Govt. of Bengal I.B. File, File No. C85/276/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Government of Bengal

No. 11/637/A/44

*dated: 31/7/44.*

Office of D.C.S.B.

To

The Superintendent, Presidency Jail.

Sir,

I have the honour to bring to your notice the following points for your immediate consideration.

As per the interview fixtures sent to this office and the recent inspection report of an Asst. Commissioner of Police of this Department, it is found that interviews of the prisoners in the Presidency jail are not held in strict adherence of the Govt. of Bengal Home Department (jails) memo No. . . . dated 15.11.41.

It is noticed at present, in most cases 3 interviews are fixed at one and the same time. As the accommodation and arrangement for conducting as many as 3 interviews at a time are not adequate, the usual distance essential to maintain in between the prisoners and the relations from the security point of view can not be regulated and they invariably come into closer contact.

It is therefore suggested that interviews may be arranged uniformly from 2 p.m. on week days instead of from 3 p.m. or 4 p.m. as is done on some days at present, as by this, the number of interviews at a time will automatically be lesser as also the risk of undesirable contact between the security prisoners and the interviews.

# 131: Notes in the Home Dept. regarding the All India Satyagraha Council — dt 3.8.1944 (extracts)

File No. 4/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

We may perhaps show the summary<sup>1</sup> to the D.I.B. and seek his advice. It will be seen that of the four Governments mainly concerned, only Madras have recommended that the organisation should be declared unlawful, while the other three are opposed to this. Perhaps we may let matters rest for a while and be content either such action against individuals as the Provincial Government are already taking.

2/8/44/3.8.44

4/4/44

The recent arrest of Annada Prasad Chowdhary will, I imagine, have resulted in the more or less complete disorganization of this body. Activity to date, except in Madras and Bengal, seems to have consisted in little or more than issuing occasional programmes, and even this degree of activity may not be maintained in future. I should say that there was certainly no case for our asking Provinces to declare it an unlawful association throughout India. I would see, on the other hand, no particular harm in individual provinces declaring it unlawful if they considered it necessary, nor do I see any reason why unilateral action of this sort should embarrass either us or other provincial Governments.

2. Before deciding on any further reference to Provinces. However, I agree we should ask for D.I.B.'s comments and the file may be referred to him in the first instance. He may think it worthwhile waiting until the results of such August 9th celebrations as take place are received, since these should give an indication of whether this organisation is capable of putting any programme into action.

3.8.44

(S.J.L. Olver)

D.I.B.

H.A. u/o No. F.4/4/44 - Poll (I) dated 4.8.44.

1 Not printed

## 132: Govt. of Bombay to the Govt. of India — Observance of second anniversary of the arrest of Congress leaders

File No. 3/28/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

No. S.D.V./P.S  
Home Department (Political)  
Poona, 11th August 1944

From  
H.V.R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department

To  
The Additional Secretary to the Government of India  
Home Department

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. S.D.V./1603 dated the 28th January 1944,<sup>1</sup> I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of the Government of India, reports from the



Commissioner of Police, Bombay, Nos 6437/A-320 and 6476/A-320 dated the 9th and 10th August 1944, respectively regarding the observance of the second anniversary of the arrest of Congress leaders.

Yours obedient servant,

for Secretary to the Government of Bombay  
Home Department

*Enclosure 1*

Secret

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.,

No. 6437/A-320

*Bombay, 9th August, 1944*

To  
The Secretary to the Government of Bombay  
Home Department (Special)  
Council Hall, Poona

Subject: 9th August observance

In connection with observance of the second anniversary of the arrest of Congress leaders, I have the honour to report as follows:

2. On the 5th August 1944, 20 applications (copy attached and marked 'A') were received from Congress workers and sympathizers asking for permission to march in batches of five each to Chowpatty and to Napoo Gardens to hold flag salutations and to read the 'August Resolution'. In view of the objectionable nature of the resolution proposed to be read, permission was refused. On the 8th August, 5 more applications similarly worded were received, which were also refused. Abid Ali Jafferbhoy gave oral notice by telephone on the night of the 8th instant to the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch (I), of his intention to join the demonstrators.

3. I attached a cutting from the 'Time of India' dated 9th August 1944 (marked 'B'), containing Dr M.K. Gandhi's statement on the demonstrations to be made in Bombay. It may be pointed out that this omits any mention of the intention to read the 'August Resolution'. Dr Nagindas T. Master, who saw Mr Gandhi at Wardha, returned to Bombay on the evening of the 8th August and issued a statement to the Press (copy attached and marked 'C'), appealing to the public not to participate in the demonstrations, which were to be confined to such Congressmen as had notified their intention to the Commissioner of Police.

4. Necessary Police arrangements were made to prevent demonstrations.

5. Exactly at 5.30 a.m. on 9-8-44, 3 batches of five persons each were noticed (1) at Marine Drive (2) at the junction of Sandhurat Bridge and Chowpatty and (3) near Powells Ltd., on Sandhrat Road proceeding towards Chowpatty. Some of them had Congress flags in their hands. They were, however, arrested before they could reach their destination. At Chowpatty, there were only about a dozen spectators present, including Mr S. Sadanand of the 'Free Press Journal', Mr Omrigar of the 'Times of India' and Dr S.K. Vaidya, ex-Congressman. Simultaneously a batch of 5 persons at Napoo Gardens and a batch of 4 at Bhoiwada were arrested. An hour later, one person was arrested at Nappoo gardens and 3

persons (these latter had not given any notice) were arrested at Nawasb Tani Road in the jurisdiction of Byculla Police Station. In all 28 persons were arrested as shown below:

<i>Police Station</i>	<i>Persons</i>
Gamdevi	5
Lamington Road	10
Bhoiwada	4
Kingsway	6
Byculla	3
	28

I attach a list of persons arrested, marked 'D'.

6. All cloth markets, the Stock Exchange, Bullion Exchange, cotton Exchange, most chemist shops, Jhaveri Bazaar and a few shops in Girgaon, Sandhurst Road, Bhuleshwar, Mandvi, Lalbaug and Parrel, are closed. Municipal Schools are closed in accordance with a resolution of the Municipal Schools Committee passed on August 2nd. The Ramnarain Ruia and Khalsa Colleges are closed for the midterm holiday and the St Xavier's College is working normally. Other colleges remain open but are thinly attended.

7. The following mills are closed:

*Textile Mills*

- |             |                     |
|-------------|---------------------|
| 1. Phoenix  | 6. Ruby             |
| 2. Western  | 7. Jam No. 1        |
| 3. Victoria | 8. Shri Ram         |
| 4. Podar    | 9. Indian Bleaching |
| 5. Standard | 10. Khatau Makanji  |
|             | 11. Crown           |

*Woollen Mills*

1. Indian Woollen
2. Usha Woollen

*Silk Mills*

- |                    |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Shri Shakti     | 6. Abdul Karim  |
| 2. New India Rayon | 7. Saraswati    |
| 3. Bipin           | 8. National Art |
| 4. Jasmine         | 9. Bajaj        |

9. Small factories are also closed.

In the afternoon, 3 mills (1) Turkey Red Dye Works, (2) Digvijay and (3) Dhanraj closed down. 6 Small factories were also closed.

8. The situation is peaceful

9. I propose to release the arrested persons this evening if the situation remains quiet.

Commissioner of Police  
Bombay

Copy with compliments to:

1. The secretary to H.E. the Governor of Bombay
2. The Director of Information, Bombay
3. The Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department (Special), Poona.
4. The Under Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay, H.D., Bombay
5. The Central Intelligence Officer, Bombay
6. The Officer Commanding, 'C' Branch (Special), 167, L. of C. Sub-Area, C/O ABPO, No. 13, India.

*Enclosure 2*

**'A'**

COPY

Address:

To  
The Commissioner of Police  
Bombay

Sir,

For many of us the 9th of August 1942 is a red-letter day. Of the resolution of the 8th August we are proud. It is a declaration of India's hope. Though roughly national, it is International in outlook. True, it has a sanction clause which too the Congress has nothing to be ashamed of. It replaces for its sanction armed force by moral force of self-suffering in the shape of mass Civil Disobedience. If some Congressmen and others went astray during the days following the 8th August 1942, they did so contrary to the resolution. Mahatma Gandhi, the authority appointed by the A.I.C.C. to enforce the sanction, never got the chance of enforcing it. He says that the authority lapsed with his imprisonment and was not revived by his release. He says further that, even if it has not lapsed he thinks that under the altered circumstances it would be improper to revive the sanction clause. I confess that none of us has any knowledge of the technique of mass Civil Disobedience. Therefore there is no question of enforcing the sanction. Hence any act that I and my fellow workers not exceeding twenty-five in the aggregate including me wish to do on the 9th August next must not be confused with the sanction clause. This letter would be unnecessary but for the extraordinary power given to you. Under ordinance rule no procession or public meeting can be held without your previous permission. This is an encroachment upon an ordinary civil right. Now on the 9th, as a symbol and token, I and my aforesaid fellow workers, twenty five in all, propose to organise in all five parties of five persons each with tri-colour flags. they will march in order to avoid crowds gather, without notice, in two sections, one section marching towards the Chowpatty sands reaching the Lokmanya Statue and the other marching to Napoo Gardens both at 5.30 am and stand for five minutes in silent prayer, then recite the resolution in Hindustani and sing the Jhanda Vandan song and disperse. I do sincerely hope that you have no objection to this simple ceremonial. I shall thank you to let us have your permission. I may mention that I am one of these that will march to Chowpatty Sands or Nappoo Gardens.

Yours truly,  
Signed

[No name was given in the original - Ed.]

*Enclosure 3*

**'B'**

*'Times of India'* dated 9/8/44

Observance of August 9

Mr Gandhi Explains Bombay Programme

*Wardha, August 8*

'The statement asserts a universal right which becomes a duty when there is an attack upon its ordinary exercise. It, therefore, contemplates Civil Disobedience only if the Government want it. said Mr Gandhi replying to a question whether his statement about August 9 contemplated Civil Disobedience or its avoidance.

Mr Gandhi added: Twenty-five citizens of Bombay sent notice on the third instant to the Police Commissioner of their intention to march in batches of five and offer silent prayer and sing 'Jhanda Vandan' and 'Vande Mataram' at a common gathering place and have asked for permission to perform the ceremony. If permission is not granted, there will certainly be disobedience. In order that the public may not know the time or place the Police Commissioner has been fully informed, while the public has not been. If this extraordinary forbearance and precaution are not appreciated, and the authorities withhold permission and interfere with the simple symbolic exercise of public right, the fault would be of the authorities. The press and the public have to judge whether under the circumstances such as these civil disobedience does not become a duty' — United Press.

*Enclosure 4*

**'C'**

*'Times of India'* dated 9-8-44

no demonstrations by public

**Mayor's Appeal**

Mr Nagindas T. Das, Mayor of Bombay, who returned to Bombay on Tuesday afternoon from Sevagram in a statement the same evening says that his earlier statement to the press was not fully reported. 'I did not find therein my appeal to the people, to the students and all concerned religiously and scrupulously to avoid any demonstrations whatever and do nothing to mar the serenity of August 9. I, therefore, again emphasize and draw the attention of the public to the fact that Gandhiji had advised this observance of the 9th August as a mere symbol and token.

I further emphasize and draw the attention of the people that it has not to be mixed up with the mass civil disobedience, nor is to be an act in pursuance of the sanction clause of the resolution of August 8, 1942.

Gandhiji has himself, on several occasions, referred to it and stressed the difference between mass Civil Disobedience and disobedience of laws in defence of one's self-respect and civil liberties, when such disobedience becomes inevitable by reason of the fact that such laws offend against the elementary civil rights of the people Gandhiji's advice to me for the observance of tomorrow is that it should be not by way of any mass Civil Disobedience but only in pursuance of a desire for recognition of one's individual self-respect and civil liberties.

'Gandhiji' in order that it may be a real and simple token and symbol, has advised that a

fixed small number of Congressmen should observe a simple ceremonial and to write to the Police Commissioner inter alia informing him of their intention. This symbolic observance will be performed by those Congressmen in the early morning of August 9. The public are not to participate in it in any way, and no demonstrations whatever are to be held, nor any processions or meetings. This observance is confined and restricted to those Congressmen.

### **Auspicious Day**

'August 9 is considered by Gandhiji as an auspicious day. The public are, therefore, earnestly requested not to do anything else whatever in observance of August 9 as a token as aforesaid. Gandhiji has said that people may pray, they may spin and observe constructive programme and this the people can do in a peaceful manner.

Mr Nagindas Master adds that those who do not want to do any business or work of their own free will could act as they liked. Referring to certain letters which are reported to have advocated strike in mills Mr Nagindas says they were unauthorized and that neither he nor any responsible Congressmen had anything to do with them. There shall be no compulsion by any one on any other to do anything against his will, he concluded.

*Enclosure 5*

3/28/44 - Poll (I)

### **'D'**

#### **List of Persons Arrested on 9th August 1944**

1. Kanaiyalal Gulai
2. Waman M. Deshpande
3. Raghunath Sukharam Bidaye
4. D.J. Athalye
5. S.K. Pwawar
6. S.B. Parab
7. Y.D. Babre
8. Swami Ramanand Bharati
9. Waman Mukund Patil
10. M.R. Jayawant
11. Ratansi Gampsi
12. Purshottam S. Thakkar
13. Ambram Talakchand
14. S.D. Dongre
15. Bimal Sharma
16. R.K. Patil
17. M.D. Dandekar
18. M. Padmanabha Row
19. Bhanushankar M. Yagnik
20. Vithai S. Javeri
21. Rajaram Gopal Trivedi
22. Navnitlal C. Dalal
23. C.V. Varad

24. M.H. Siddique
25. Abid Ali Jafferbhai
26. A.V. Jadav
27. K.C. Mandvikar
28. G.S. Gavde

1 Not printed.

# 133

## District Magistrate, Chilakalapudi to the Government of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files, File No. 109/44  
[TNA]

Secret  
D.O.

Kistna Dt. Magistrate's Office  
Chilakalapudi, d/12-8-1944

Dear Mr Govindan Nair,  
Your D.O. No. S/1942-2-44 dated 9th August 1944<sup>1</sup>

On 5-8-1944 the District Superintendent of Police reported to me that the Congress workers of the District are going to hold a meeting at Bezwada on the 6th in contravention of the orders passed already under Rule 56(i) of Defence of India Rules and now in force, that the same day the Working Committee of the Youth and Students Congress the object of their meeting being to help the objects of the Indian National Congress. He requested therefore that 5 persons mainly concerned in this may be warned by a notice in the interest of the public peace.

Accordingly notices were issued drawing their attention to the fact that order under Rule 56(i) of Defence of India Rules prohibiting such meetings is still in force and that they are liable to be prosecuted if they hold such meetings. No meetings at Bezwada were therefore held.

Yours sincerely,  
Signed  
D.M.

To  
P. Govindan Nair, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Under Secretary, Public Department,  
Government of Madras  
Fort saint George, Madras

1. Not printed.

# 134: Correspondence between C.P. Govt. and Govt. of India regarding releasing H.V. Kamath (S.P.) (dt 31.8.44-2.9.44)

File No. 44/88/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

TELEGRAM R.

Confidential 7340

From . . . C.P. Nagpur

To . . . Home Deptt., New Delhi

No. 772/CON T.O.C. 1805

Dated (& read) 30th August 1944 T.O.R. 2315

## **Important**

H.S. Kamath, brother of H.V. Kamath, who is a central Government Security prisoner under Home Department order No. 44/51/44 - Poll (I) dated July 8th 1944 applies that brother H.V. Kamath may be let out on parole for about month to see their father who is lying seriously ill at MANGALORE. P. S. Kamath who belongs to Indian Civil Service in this Province has been granted leave by Provincial Government for this purpose. Provincial Government has no objection to grant of parole to H.V. Kamath for any period considered admissible by Government of India on usual conditions that he refrains from taking part in any public or political affairs during parole and surrenders at Seoni on expiry of period of parole.

Secy. & Dept. (2)

Confidential 11489

Telegram 'R' No. 11489 dated 2nd September 1944

From . . . Home Department, New Delhi

To . . . C.P. Nagpur

## **Important**

Your telegram No. 772/CON 30th August. We cannot agree to H.V. Kamath being released on parole.

Secretary and Department (2)

Notes in the Home Dept.

File No. 44/88/44 - Poll (I)

Decision not to release on parole of security prisoner H.V. Kamath, formerly secretary of the Forward Bloc, to see his father reported to be lying ill at Mangalore.

Serial No. 1 — Telegram R from C.P. Nagpur, No. 772/CON  
dated the 30th August, 1944

Please ask D.I.B. for his views very urgently.

S.J.L. Olver, 1-9 44

D.I.B.

D.H.D. u/o No. 44/88/44 – Poll (I) d/1-9-44

(Intelligence Bureau)

The Bureau is thoroughly opposed to the release of H.V. Kamath on parole. In this connection attention is drawn to are u/o 13/P.F. (D)/42 dated 24-4-1944.

2-9-44

(E.J. Beveridge)

Deputy Director (A)

H.D. (Mr Olver)

D.I.B u/o No. 13/P.F. (D)/42 dated 2nd Sept. 1944

The above has just been received from D.I.B and is added to the file. Genuine release on parole, i.e. on an undertaking as suggested by the C.P., is clearly out of the question. Even temporary release under escort and guard would be difficult to arrange. A similar proposal in the case of Sarat Bose was considered and turned down. I think we must refuse to allow him to be released and I put up a draft accordingly

2-9-44

(S.J.L. Olver)

Secy.

I agree, issue.

R. Tottenham

Not printed

## 135: Statement showing the number of persons undergoing imprisonment

Govt. of C.P. & Berar – Pol. & Mil. Dept. File No. 188  
(Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records)

### Statement III

10.11.44

Statement showing the No. of persons undergoing imprisonment or detention in connection with the Congress movement on the 1st November, 1944.



<i>Province</i>	<i>Imprisonment</i>	<i>Detention</i>
Madras	606	273
Bombay	429	242
Bengal	253	55
U.P.	3438	587
Punjab	49	74
Bihar	4112	283
C.P. & Berar	450	135
Assam	114	155
NWFP	25	42
Orissa	456	136
Sind	11	27
Coorg	—	—
Delhi	234	230
Ajmer-Marwara	4	6
Baluchistan	—	—
Centre	—	3
Total	10181	2038

# 136: Meetings of the BPCC — A Report

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 561/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Government of Bengal  
Home Department  
Poll Branch

C.S./I.G.

20-11-44

Kiran Sankar Ray' called an informal meeting of the leading Congressmen in Calcutta at his house on 3rd November and the following persons besides Kiran Sankar Ray and others were present:

Jananjan Neogi' (ex-detenu — BPCC)  
Amar Krishna Ghosh' (ex-detenu — AICC)  
Monmohan Bhattacharji (ex-security prisoner — BPCC)  
Narendra Nath Sen (BPCC)  
Krishnapada Banarji

Kiran Sankar Ray stated that all other Provinces were holding conferences to give effect

to Gandhi's constructive programmes and Bengal Congressmen should do likewise. The urgency of such a course was stressed, in view of Gandhi's proposal to undertake another fast if he does not find Congressmen all over the country doing constructive work. The outcome of the meeting was a decision to call a conference in Calcutta on the 26th and 27th November but as the holding of such a meeting in Calcutta would mean applying for previous permission, it was later decided to hold the meeting at the Town Hall in Howrah where no general order requiring prior permission for the holding of meeting is in force.

On 11th November the '*Hindustan Standard*' announced that 'Sjta, Labanya Prabha Datta' President, BPCC is going to invite representative Congressmen of the Province to discuss country'. According to this announcement the dates for the conference were provisionally fixed for 27th and 28th November and admission will be restricted to only those who would be invited. This restriction has doubtless been added to evade action under D.I.R. 56(2) but secret information is that others including members of the Forward Bloc will be admitted to the meeting though Communists will be excluded.

From a list of persons to be invited which has been produced by a reliable source, it is observed that 63 names out of 175 (this latter figure is only approximate) are members of the BPCC which association was declared unlawful, vide Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary, Notification N. X 1877 dated 9-8-42. It is also reliably learnt (16/11/44) that the main object of holding the conference is to reorganise the whole provincial Congress organisation with a view to carrying out Gandhi's constructive programme. It is proposed to form an executive body and this body will in turn form sub-committees to deal with the different forms of activity. The constructive programmes includes work amongst industrial labour, peasants and students.

The Calcutta Special Branch has just intercepted 63 invitations to Congress members to attend the Meeting at Howrah Town Hall on the 27th and 28th instant. These invitations are in the name of Mrs Labanya Prabha Datta who is the President of the Bengal Provincial Congress but she did not put this title under her name as she had been warned on a previous occasion that the issue of circulars by her in her capacity as President of an unlawful Association was liable to lead to her prosecution. Mrs Labanya Prabha Datta has, however, been described in the newspaper openly as the President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

From the fact that this meeting of Congress Members has been convened by the person who is the President of the BPCC it must be taken that the meeting is in fact that of an unlawful Association and therefore illegal. As no general order requiring permission to be taken for the holding of meetings is in force in Howrah, it is strongly recommended that an order requiring such permission should be issued forthwith having a limited application of one month. If the convenors of this Congress meeting apply for permission to hold it, it should, in my opinion, be refused. If an attempt is made to hold the meeting in defiance of the orders, the meeting should either be dispersed or the convenors and principal members attending should be prosecuted under section 17 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.

In deciding on the most appropriate method of dealing with such a situation it should be considered whether the dispersal of the meeting in Howrah would create a reaction favourable to the Congress particularly in view of the fact that Gandhi is reported in the press to be considering paying a visit to this Province. An incident of this sort might provide him with grounds for starting an agitation which would place the Congress in Bengal prominently in the public eye again and so arouse enthusiasm for Gandhi's constructive programme.

While this may be one result it is also possible that the Congress may recognize that Government is determined not to allow the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to function

under a different name so long as the order declaring it unlawful remains in force and in the present disorganized state of the Congress it may not be prepared to start immediate trouble.

The second alternative, of prosecuting the convenors and principal members under Section 17 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, is one which might well be examined by the Legal Remembrancer in view of the fact that the BPCC which was declared unlawful was elected by the Bengal Congress 4 years ago and ordinarily such provincial committee only hold office for a year.

As the matter is an urgent one on which a decision as to policy is necessary, I am submitting this through the Inspector General of Police for orders.

20-11-44  
Signed  
D.I.G., I.B.

# 137: Police report on political situation in the Province (agenda for Commissioner's conference) (dt 18.12.44)

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. 533/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Note for H.C.M. re. the political situation, item 1 on the Agenda for Commissioners' Conference to be held on 20-12-44 at 10.30 a.m. in Government House.

A note by the D.I.G., I.B., on the general political situation has been circulated and a copy is placed below.

Our recent summary of the situation is as follows:

1. Terrorist and subversive groups – Forward Bloc, Congress Socialist Party, Bengal Volunteer Group, Communist League of India etc.
  - i) Appreciation – Future activities will continue to be directed to assist the enemy, fifth column work, sabotage etc., and attempts to secure control over students, labour and peasants.
  - ii) Policy – Keep them paralyzed until the reoccupation of Burma by keeping leaders and active members in detention, and pulling in second and third-string leaders if and when their activity increases.
2. C.P.I.
  - i) Present and future activities – While ostensibly supporting the war effort, will be directed to secure control over labour, peasants and students.
  - ii) Policy – To keep constant watch and be prepared to step in as soon as they show signs of going away from the war effort and directly against Government.
3. Congress
  - i) Present and future policy: Reorganization and privatization in the guise of constructive programme.

- ii) Policy in Bengal: To refuse to release those Congress prisoners now detained who are believed to have been in favour of the August Resolution or who could be counted upon to have an effective influence on the political situation if they were free. The question of dealing with Congress meetings called in connection with the constructive programme has not become a major issue at present.

4. Hindu Mahasabha and other organisations: Activities comparatively negligible and not such as to give Govt. trouble.

It is suggested that no reference to the situation in the Province at present could properly be made without referring to the question of corruption. I took the opportunity of obtaining an unofficial note from a responsible Assistant Secy. who had recently been on a month's leave in his native village, and I reproduce it below. Discussion in this general question might be particularly invited:

The blackest spot that I noticed and that was the subject of common talk among villagers was the difficulty in obtaining such essential articles as sugar, kerosene oil, salt, quinine and other medicines, paper etc. It is difficult for the villager to get these things. The shortage in supply is not the only thing that strikes the villagers. He alleged that his difficulty is increased by the corruption that prevails — that any controlled article can be obtained in any quantity provided the officials and non-officials connected with the supply get illegal gratifications, the real sufferer being the poor man who cannot pay the black market rates, the man who (as most villagers say) is too timid to approach the right man for the wrong assistance or the man who belongs to a faction opposed to the party in power in the local food committees etc. Several such cases were mentioned to me. Another difficulty about rationed articles that was mentioned to me was that the stock often fell short of the quantity allotted for distribution. The villagers suspected that shortage was in most cases due to the diversion of the regular supply to unlawful channels. It was not possible for me to scrutinize this allegation. But the difficulty of the villagers in obtaining these articles upto the quantities allotted by Government appeared to be genuine and the allegation of corrupt practices appeared in most cases to be correct in broad outlines.'

H.C.M. might like to enquire to what extent Commissioners take every opportunity of obtaining first hand reports from officials on leave or responsible non-officials of the situation in villages and to what extent they were able to follow them up.

A.R.P. is being disbanded in 'White' areas and one of the main sources of employment that has been suggested is recruitment to the armed force. H.C.M. might like to emphasize the vital importance of stimulating recruitment and refer to the Pre-Cadet Training School which is now running.

P.D. Martyn'

18-12-44



## SECTION C – REPRESSION WITH A HUMAN FACE

### 1. Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar to all Commissioners of Division, Bihar regarding release of prisoners

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 21/1943  
[Bihar State Archives]

No. 215 C.E.I. / 42  
Government of Bihar

From  
Y.A. Godbole, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government of Bihar,

To  
All Commissioners of Division, Bihar,  
Patna, The 25th January 1943

Sir,

I am directed to invite a reference to my letter No. 54516 dated the 8th December 1942 in which instructions were communicated to you on the question of premature release of prisoners convicted of or charged with minor offences, for the purpose of relieving the congestion in our jails. A number of proposals for release have been received, but Government have found it difficult in some cases to pass orders, as the response for which release is recommended were not clearly or adequately stated.

2. Some of the important considerations on which recommendations for the release of Political prisoners may be based are as follows:

- a) Trivial nature of the case and the sentence already served being sufficient;
- b) tender age; or extreme old age;
- c) bad health
- d) expression of apology and an undertaking;
- e) expression of apology and giving security;
- f) some obvious illegality in the case and the time for appeal being over;
- g) an obvious error of judgement on the part of the court
- h) information received by the local authorities which leaves little doubt that the convicts were really innocent etc.

In the cases recommend under (a) (b) or (c) of course the District Magistrate should satisfy himself that the prisoner can safely be released.

In submitting your proposals in future you should furnish Government with the full reasons on which you base your recommendation.

3. Government in the Judicial Department's letter No. 110 of the 14th August 1942 addressed to the Inspector General of Prisons have already issued jail delivery orders in respect of ordinary prisoners.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
Y.A. Godbole,  
Chief Secretary to Govt.

Memo No. 215 C.21/42 Patna, the 25th January, 1943

Copy forwarded to  
The Judicial Department  
Inspector General of Police,  
Bihar for information

By order of the Governor of Bihar  
Chief Secretary to Government

1 Not printed

## 2: Governor of Bengal to the Chief Minister, Bengal

Linlithgow Collection  
[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

*February 15, 1943*

My dear Chief Minister,

I have received information which I have difficulty in crediting in view of your report on Midnapore at your last interview, that you have given today in the Legislature an undertaking for an inquiry into the conduct of officials in that District. You are well aware that this subject attracts special responsibilities and you are also well aware of my views on the undesirability of enquiries of this nature. If my information is correct, I shall expect an explanation from you at your interview tomorrow morning of your conduct in failing to consult me before announcing what purports to be the decision of Government.

Yours sincerely,  
J.A. Herbert

To  
The Hon'ble Mr A.K. Fazlul Huq,

N.B. Docs 2 and 3 are enclosures to the letter of Sir John Herbert to Lord Linlithgow dt 21-7-43 which is in chapter XVIII – Doc. 46

### 3: Chief Minister, Bengal to the Governor of Bengal

Linlithgow Collection  
[NAI - Acc. No. 2336]

*114-A, Park Street  
Calcutta,  
February 16th, 1943*

Dear Sir John,

In reply to your letter of the 15th February 1943, I write to say that I owe you no explanation whatever in respect of my 'conduct' in failing to consult you before announcing what according to you is the decision of Government but I certainly owe you a duty to tell you that indecorous language such as has been used in your letter under reply should, in future, be avoided in any correspondence between the Governor and his Chief Minister.

During my last interview I certainly did not convey any impression that the affairs of Midnapore did not call for an enquiry. That interview only lasted for 15 to 20 minutes, and reference to Midnapore in the course of the discussion did not take up more than 5 minutes. It was for the first time during the last 5 months that I had been to Midnapore and even that for only 6 hours. I could only visit 2 or 3 village which are alleged to have been the scene of some outrages on women. All that I told you was that there had been no regular enquiry and it was difficult to say whether there were exaggerations or whether these allegations were true. It was obviously impossible for me to give you anything like a report about Midnapore. As a matter of fact, I had been asking the Home Department officials to let me have Government version about Midnapore. But they utterly failed to do so, at any rate, could not supply me with any report, except a scrappy note which was handed over to me by Mr Porter in the Legislative Assembly House during the course of the debate yesterday. Even these notes do not, in the least, pretend to touch even the fringe of the various serious allegations that were made yesterday on the various serious allegations that were made yesterday on the floor of the House. It is therefore, incorrect to say that I had given you any report about Midnapore. I do not know what you mean by this remark but may I tell you that I know nothing except some representations made to us, about what has actually happened in Midnapore, nor did I actually give you any report about the happenings in the district.

Permit me to tell you that the adjournment motion was tabled on Friday and the whole of the Home Department knew, and I am absolutely certain that you yourself knew, that very serious allegations were going to be made about the happenings at Midnapore. In the course of the speech made by Dr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee on the opening day, he gave sufficient indications of the kind of the speeches that would be made on the floor of the House in the course of the Debate. It is impossible for me to believe that you did not feel that there would be an insistent and almost irresistible demand for an enquiry from all sides of the House. If your feelings have been that no enquiry should be constituted, you could have sent for me and told me that whatever the demand might be and from whatever side it might come, I was to have told the House that you were opposed to such an enquiry and therefore, no enquiry

could be promised by Government. Let me add also that since Saturday, we have been closeted together with the highest officials of the Home Department, who knew that we were in favour of an enquiry. How could I think after this that you knew nothing about a very certain demand that would be made for an enquiry? When I was in the House, I found that not only were the most serious charges brought by responsible members of the House, but that the demand for an enquiry was not opposed by a single member. Even the European Group kept silent and the Opposition were loudest in condemning us for not having made enquiries before. In the circumstances, I felt, in consultation with my colleagues, that it was impossible to resist the demand for the enquiry that had been made.

I enclose herewith a copy of the concluding portion of my speech which I delivered yesterday on the floor of the House. Contrary to my usual practice, I read out from a manuscript the last portion of my speech. A perusal of the speech will convince you that what I said was that the Council of Ministers, as distinguished from Government, were agreed if only with a view to exculpating the public servants from the very grave charges such as had been levelled against them. You will thus see that the question, whether or not the Council of Ministers should tender to you any particular advice, does not come within the purview of your special responsibility, even if it be conceded that the acceptance of such advice would involve the exercise of your special responsibility. In these circumstances, I do not think that in so far as my statement in the Assembly is concerned, any of your special responsibilities are attracted. If and when the Council of Ministers tenders to you the advice contemplated in the penultimate sentence of my speech (copy enclosed) it will then be for you to consider whether in accepting this advice your special responsibilities are attracted.

It appears from your letters that you are not prepared to give your consent to an enquiry. If so, the only course left open to me is to make a statement in the House in which I shall endeavour to explain that statements made yesterday should not be taken as a commitment on the part Government to hold an enquiry, and that I propose to read out to the House your letter under reply so as to explain my position. I shall not, however, do so without giving you previous notice. My colleagues and I are responsible to the Legislature, and the Legislature has a right to expect a sufficient explanation as to why an enquiry cannot be held. The only explanation which I can offer is the letter I have received from you.

I was due for an interview with you at 10 this morning. I have already verbally indicated to your Private Secretary that it will not be possible for me to go and see you, because I consider that no useful purpose would be served by an interview which would admittedly have been carried on in a spirit of anger.

Yours sincerely,

A.K. Fazlul Huq

To

His Excellency Sir John Herbert G.C.I.E.  
Governor of Bengal

*Enclosure to Doc. 3 – A part of Fazlul Huq's statement in the Bengal Legislature.*

I have placed before the House a brief review of the state of affairs in the district of Midnapore as supplied to me by the local officers. The House will realise that whatever might have been the motives that impelled the conduct of a large number of people in the district of Midnapore,



there was a direct challenge to Governmental authority which was conducted on an organised basis unknown at any rate in this Province. There may be difference of opinion as to whether the alleged activities on the part of the organisers of the movements actually took place, but there is no doubt that their object was to paralyse civil administration and they did succeed in doing so in some areas at any rate. The local officers had to take the assistance of the armed forces to suppress this movement and it was inevitable that force had to be used in order to re-establish the authority of Government. The allegations made by the speakers and others outside the Assembly as regards the repression carried on before the cyclone have been denied.

While on the one side, it is my duty as Home Minister to place before the House and the public the official version, I also do feel impressed by the narration of events made by the representatives of the people as regards alleged excesses committed by or under direction of some of the local officers. I have been particularly distressed to hear of ghastly tales of raid and repression occurring after the cyclone. There is no doubt that public feelings have been deeply stirred by these reports which have emanated from various sources. Let me assure the House that it has never been the policy of Government as such either to indulge in excessive use of force for putting down acts of disobedience of law and order or to encourage in any manner whatsoever acts of lawlessness on the part of public servants. Let me assure you further that although some suggestion was made by the local officers that relief of the sufferers might be restricted in view of the political situation in the district, Government declared its policy unequivocally that relief should be granted to all persons irrespective of politics or any considerations. It is however true that attempts were made by the local officers to secure the arrest of absconders after the cyclone and such activities might have led to searches and raids in respect of some villages within affected area. The local officers however denied the serious allegations regarding loot and arson made on the floor of the house.

I cannot as Home Minister condemn the activities of the local officers whose version I have placed before the House for its consideration, I however, agree that justice demands and in fact the very interests of the officers demand that there should be an impartial enquiry into very serious allegations made regarding the affairs of Midnapore. Government can have no desire to shield anybody in case of any violation of elementary cannons of civil administration. But it will be prepared to give the fullest protection to officials and non-officials alike who have courageously stood by Government during a period of acute stress and strain. As Chief Minister of Bengal, I am as anxious to protect all legitimate activities of the officers as to protect them from allegations which may on enquiry turn out to be unfounded. I am also keen to satisfy the public mind that the rights of the people have not been unduly violated in the course of the administration of the district. The Ministry therefore agree that there should be an impartial and independent enquiry conducted by a person or persons enjoying the status of a High Court Judge. We are anxious that truth should be ascertained no matter who is affected thereby.



## 4. Judicial Department's Notification to reduce overcrowding of prisoners

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 21/1943  
[Bihar State Archives]

Government of Bihar  
Judicial Department

Order No. 1210 J

Confidential  
JI. 176/42

*Patna, the 8th March 1943.*

In order to reduce further the overcrowding in jails, Government have decided to release all persons convicted under the Bihar and Orissa Excise Act and the following provisions of the Indian Penal Code, who have been sentenced to imprisonment for one year or less and have completed half the sentence excluding remission on the 15th march 1943 (i.e. if a prisoner has been sentenced to 9 month's imprisonment he must have served 4 1/2 months in jails to be eligible for release under this scheme):

Indian Penal Code, Chapter VIII, IX, IXA, X, XI, XIV section 277 to 294 A only, XV, XVI sections 309, 312 to 326, 334 to 348 only, XVII sections 379-381, 403, 404, 417, 420, 426, 447-462 only, XVIII sections 482 to 489, XX, XXI, XXII: and abetment of attempts to commit the offences.

2. The following classes of prisoners will not be released under this scheme:

- (a) Prisoners convicted for offences connected with the present political agitation, satyagraha offenders, and persons convicted under the Defence of India Rules for offences not connected with satyagraha;
- (b) Convicts convicted by Courts in Indian States or other Provinces;
- (c) State prisoners or internes;
- (d) Convicts on prosecution ordered by the Government of India.
- (e) Military convicts who are still subject to the Indian Army Act;
- (f) Civil prisoners.

3. Prisoners who, on completion of their term in a Bihar jail, are due to be sent to an Indian State or other Province and who are due for release under this scheme, should be sent forthwith to serve their sentences in such Province or state.

4. If the conduct of any prisoner eligible for release under this scheme release has been so bad that the Superintendent considers that his premature release would be subversive of jail discipline, the Superintendent should defer his release and submit a special report on the case to Government through the Inspector General of Prisons.

5. The Government are pleased to authorise Superintendents of jails to release prisoners under this scheme in anticipation of Government formal orders. Superintendents should submit to the Government through the Inspector General of Prisons particulars in the appended form<sup>1</sup>

of all prisoners released, whereupon formal orders of release will be issued under section 401 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

By order of the Governor of Bihar,

S.K. Das.

Secretary to Government.

Memo No. 1210 J Patna, the 8th March 1943

Copy forwarded to the

Inspector General of Prisons, Political Department

Inspector General of Police

Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D.

Deputy Inspector General of Police Southern Range.

Local Self Government Department

All Superintendents of Police.

All Commissioners of Divisions.

All District magistrates (including the Additional Deputy Commissioner, Dhanbad.)  
for information (and communication to all Superintendents of jails and subjails)

By order of the Governor of Bihar,

to I G. Prisons

Secretary to Government.

1 Not printed

## 5. Government of Bihar to all Commissioners and all District Officers — Release of prisoners

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 21/1943

[Bihar State Archives]

Government of Bihar Judicial Department

No. 1419 J

Jl. 11/43.

From S.K. Das, Esqr., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to Government.

To All District Officers including the  
Additional Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad.

Sub: Release of the Political Prisoners.

Sir,

I am directed to invite a reference to the correspondence resting with letter No. 215-C/3/21/42 dated the 25th January 1943 from Political Department (Special Section) of the Government of

Bihar and to say that several instances have since come to the notice of the provincial Government in which prisoners whose sentences have been remitted under section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code on the recommendations of local officers have either failed or refused to give an understanding to furnish surety for future good behaviour. Government are also receiving proposals of the cases viz., the nature of the offence committed by the prisoners, the circumstances under which such offences were committed etc. and it becomes difficult for Government to pass orders in such cases unless copies of judgement are received. This causes unnecessary delay in the disposal of the cases. I would, therefore, request you to make sure whether the prisoner is willing to execute a bond for good behaviors with sureties, if required, before any recommendation is made by you. While recommending such cases for orders of Government a copy of the Judgement in the case in which the prisoner was convicted should also be sent. If a copy of the judgement is not available, then full particulars of the offence or offences committed and the circumstances in which they were committed should be given.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
S.K. Das,  
Secretary to Government.

Doc 1.

## 6: Secretary to Govt. of Bihar to the I.G. of prisons

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 21/1943  
[Bihar State Archives]

Government of Bihar  
Judicial Department

Confidential  
No. 1775 J  
Jl. 176/42

*Patna, the 6th April 1943*

From  
S.K. Das, Esqr., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to Government.

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bihar, Patna.

Subject: Release of Prisoners Order, 1943.

Sir,

I am directed to invite a reference to your letter No. 9381 dated the 31st March 1943<sup>1</sup> on the

above subject and to say that prisoners sentenced to imprisonment in default of payment of fine should also have their sentences reduced under Government Order No. 1210 J dated the 8th March 1943<sup>2</sup> on the above subject, provided they are not prisoners of the categories mentioned in paragraph 2 of the order.

2. Superintendents of jails and subjects should be informed accordingly at an early date.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

S.K. Das,  
Secretary to Government.

Memo No. 1775 J,

Copy forwarded to the

Political Department

Inspector General of Police

Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.S.

Copy forwarded to the

Deputy Inspector General of Police Northern

Range Southern

Local Self Government Department

All Superintendents of Police

All Commissioners of Divisions

All District Officers (including the Addl. Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad).

For information in continuation of Memo No. 1210 J dated the 8th March 1943.

By order of the Governor of Bihar,  
Secretary to Government.

1 Not printed.

2 Doc 4.

## 7. Official Noting regarding the case of Audikesavulu Naicker, a detenu in Central Jail, Vellore (extracts)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 1278

[TNA]

. . . The deputation met me. I told them that the doctor in charge of the jail did not consider that detenu (Audikesavulu Naicker) was too ill for treatment in jail. They asked me whether there were conditions under which a detenu might be released, I said that if a detenu applied for release with an understanding that he would not take part in the subversive activities, Govt.

would consider the application. I also said that if an interview was applied for to persuade a detenu in this direction, such an application would be likely to be allowed. The deputation said that so far as they know the detenu was not taking part in subversive activities.

*Enclosure*

**Request for the Release of the Detenu**

Krishna Nilayam,  
Korukupet,  
Madras.

Dated: 12th April, 1943.

From  
P.M. Garudapathy Nayagar,  
P.W.D. Contractor & Shell-Lime Merchant.

To  
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,  
Secretariat, Chetput, Madras.

Sir,

Re: Release of Sri P.M. Audikasavalu Naicker, Detenu, Central Jail, Vellore.

I am informed by the deputationists who waited on you this morning to apply to you for permission to interview my brother Sri P.M. Audikasavalu Naicker, M.L.A., who is a detenu in the Central Jail, Vellore, in order to persuade him to give an undertaking that he will not participate in any subversive activities and thereby secure his release.

I therefore beg to request you to send me to permit to interview my brother at an early date.

Thanking you sir, In anticipation,  
I beg to remain,  
Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

*Official Notings on the petition received from the prisoner's brother. – Ed.*

A petition received from the brother of the detenu for interview is submitted for perusal at p. 5 ante. A reply may be sent on receipt of the C.I.D. reply.

Draft has been revised. We may await C.I.D.'s references before granting the interview asked for on p. 5 ante.

W – 15/4/43,

The interview applied for may be granted. If the detenu applied for release offering an undertaking it will be open to the Government to grant it or not, in the light of the C.I.D. report which is being called for.



## 8. Secretary, Govt. of Bihar to all Commissioners and District Officers – Remission of sentences

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 21/1943

[Bihar State Archives]

Government of Bihar,  
Judicial Department

No. 2004 J

Jl. 242/43

*Patna, the 17th April 1943.*

From  
S.K. Das, Esqr., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to Government.

To  
All Commissioners of Divisions  
All District Officers including the Additional  
Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad & Singhbhum.

Subject: Remission of sentences of political prisoners.

Sir,

In continuation my Letter No. 1419 J dated the 18th March 1943,<sup>1</sup> I am directed to say that in cases where a prisoner is sentenced to imprisonment as well as a fine, a statement should be included to show if the fine has been paid or not when sending up the case for remission of the unexpired portion of the sentence.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
Secretary to Government

Memo No. 2004 J.

Patna, the 17th April 1943.

Copy forwarded to the

Political Department  
Inspector General of Prisons, Bihar.

For information in continuation of this Department memo. No. 1419 J dated the 18th March 1943.

By order of the Governor of Bihar.  
Secretary to Government.

## 9. Political agitation in Madura Case of K. Bhashyam\*

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 1192  
[TNA]

'Haridwar',  
Lloyds Road,  
Royapettah, Madras.  
22nd April 1943

The Government of Madras,  
Madras.

Through the courtesy of the Government, I, in my capacity as legal adviser, had an interview with Sri K. Bhashyam, Advocate, High Court, Madras (now undergoing detention in Central Jail, Vellore), on Saturday the 17th instant and he has instructed me to make the following representations to the Government in the fervent hope and confidence that they receive sympathetic and favourable consideration.

Mr Bhashyam's health, which was even then indifferent, has undergone serious deterioration as the result of his detention in jail, and the increasing heat of Vellore is accentuating the trouble. He feels giddy and dizzy particularly when he moves about and the trouble has been diagnosed as being due to blood pressure. The worst months of the summer seasons, in a particularly trying place like Vellore, are yet ahead and he fears that as the days progress he may be unable to stand the strain and a serious breakdown may result.

He submits that he is still entirely in the dark as to the reasons which have compelled the Government to take such drastic action against him. He wishes to assure the Government that he has never supported directly or indirectly any movement subversive of law and order. The Government will appreciate the fact that both before and after the 9th of August 1942 he was engaged almost continuously in a heavy case proceeding in the District Court, Bangalore Cantonment and could not therefore have been possibly associated with any of the Congress activities at Madras at all. In fact, he was not holding any office in the Congress organisation. He had come to Madras from Bangalore for the celebration of his 61st birth day and on the day of his arrival he was arrested. He made an appeal to the Commissioner of Police soliciting the favour of an interview in order to explain himself, but it was not granted.

Mr Bhashyam stated that he has no objection to subscribe himself to a declaration that he has no sympathy whatsoever with any of the acts of violence, lawlessness, sabotage and the like and that he dissociates himself from them. And if the above declaration should in any manner be deemed inadequate, he would like to know what further declaration or statement or undertaking may be required of him to assure the Government about his bonafide.

Mr Bhashyam desires to make three alternative requests of the Government (1) That he may be released in view of the above representations, (2) that he may be kept confined in a place like Bangalore or Coimbatore on such conditions and restrictions as the Government may consider necessary (3) that, in any event, he may be released on parole for a period of



at least four months to enable him to seek proper medical assistance outside jail and to get himself, restored to health.

In conclusion, Mr Bhashyam is ready and willing to abide in the matter of giving any undertaking by any reasonable requirement of the authorities.

*Enclosure*

Brief Medical case sheet of detainee K. Bhashyam

Family History. Brother died of apoplexy at the age of 60 years.

Previous History – In 1912 to 1913, he had an attack of Pulmonary Tuberculosis for which he was treated by Dr Kesava Pai – at Pallavaram in 1927 & 1929. He underwent operation for piles with no relief. In 1937 at General Hospital, Madras he was operated for hernia (L side) but it reoccurred. He had bleeding piles. His bowels were always constipated and he was taking enema often.

Present History – The patient is an old emaciated drooping man of 61 years. On March 31st 1943 he had an attack of heat exhaustion. He recovered after treatment but the vertigo persisted. He has fallen down three times in this period and sustained some injuries in his body. He feels nagging pain in the region of hernia. He has bleeding piles.

He was detained in this Hospital on 10-4-43 for vertigo Hypertension and extreme debility. Blood pressure 170/110 Pulse 92. As there was no improvement in spite of treatment he was admitted, in-patient on 20-4-43, General conditions – old debilitated man of 61 years. With double Hernia, bleeding piles, digestive trouble, high blood pressure. I am of opinion that further detention may be dangerous to life. Hence I recommend that he may be released at an early date.

Central Jail.

Vellore.

29-4-43.

Poll agitation – C.D.M. – Security prisoner – Bhashyam, K. release on medical grounds -- Ref. G.O. No. 1192, Public (Genl), dated 30-4-1943.<sup>1</sup>

The Government observes that the first intimation they had of K. Bhashyam's illness being really serious was by a telegram from the Superintendent, C.J., Vellore dated 29-4-1943 recommending his immediate release. From the medical report enclosed with the letter from the Supt., No D.B.1524/43 dated 29-4-1943 it is seen that Sri K. Bhashyam had not been keeping good health for some time prior to the 29th April and that no report of this was made to the Govt. in time. In the health report for the first half of April 1943 he was reported to be suffering from Hyperpyrexia and that his health was 'fair'. It is only in the report for the 2nd half of April (received by Govt. on 11-5-43) his health was reported to be 'bad'. The attention of the I.G. of Prisons is invited to the instructions contained in Memo No. 14011 Public (Genl.), dated 3-4-1943 and he is requested to issue instructions to the Superintendents of the jails concerned where detenus are confined that fuller reports on the health of the detenus who are confined be sent to Govt. promptly in time in future with reference to the Memo referred to above.

The I.G. of Prisons.

7-6-43

# 10: Govt. of Central Provinces and Berar to the Government of India

File No. 3/39/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Home Political Department

Sub: Inter-Provincial transfers of *Congress* Security Prisoners. Cases of S. Satyamurti and V.V. Giri.\* – Mr Joshi's representation.

Secret

Jail Department

D.O. No. C/167-916-11

*dated, the 25th April, 1943.*

My dear Tottenham,

Please refer to my D.O. letter No. C/126-956-III, dated the 21st April 1943,<sup>1</sup> about the Madras security prisoners who were detained in the jails in this province. The question of Mr Joshi's visit to the Amraoti jail has been dealt with in my letter referred to above. The following matters-referred to in your D.O. letters No. 3/39/43 – Poll (I), dated the 2nd<sup>2</sup> and 16th April 1943<sup>3</sup> remain to be dealt with:

- (a) The Consequences of Mr Satyamurti's transfer to this Province;
- (b) Mr Giri's health;
- (c) An appreciation of the benefits or otherwise of Inter-Provincial transfer of Congress security prisoners.

2. In regard to (a) the following papers are enclosed for the information of the Government of India:

- (1) Report from the Inspector General of Prisons,<sup>4</sup>
- (2) Medical certificate<sup>5</sup> from the Civil Surgeon asked for in paragraph 2 (1) of your D.O. letter dated the 2nd April.

3. Mr Satyamurti arrived in this province with other congress security prisoners from Madras on the 2nd of September 1942. This batch of prisoners numbering thirty was sent to the District jail at Amraoti. On the 12th of September the Inspector General of Prisons forwarded a medical report on Mr Satyamurti which stated that he was suffering from diabetes, heart trouble and eye trouble, and suggesting his transfer to one of the Central Jails in the Province. A fuller medical report on Mr Satyamurti was received from the Civil Surgeon, Amraoti, on the 17th of September 1942. A copy of the report was forwarded to the Madras Government who were informed that Mr Satyamurti himself had made no request to be retransferred to Madras. The Government of Madras was informed that the best arrangement possible in this province for Mr Satyamurti's medical treatment would be made. Mr Satyamurti sent an application, dated the 22nd of September (copy enclosed)<sup>6</sup> asking to be transferred to hospital for treatment. A further application, dated the 30th October<sup>7</sup> (copy enclosed) was received from him and the Superintendent of the jail reported that Mr Satyamurti had been moved to the Irwin Hospital, Amraoti, under instruction from the Medical Officer. In the

meantime, consultations were held between the Inspector General of Prisons, Civil Surgeon, Amraoti and Civil Surgeon, Nagpur with a view to the transfer of Mr Satyamurti to the Mayo Hospital, Nagpur for examination.

4. After removal to the Irwin Hospital at Amraoti, Mr Satyamurti sent a further petition on the 9th of November (copy enclosed)<sup>8</sup> in which he stated that he did not desire to be transferred to his own province on account of his unfitness to travel and also because he felt that his stay and treatment at the Irwin Hospital for some months will gradually cure him. The Madras Government was however addressed on the 13th of November and further medical reports on Mr Satyamurti were supplied to them. It was decided that Mr Satyamurti should be retransferred to Madras and he was accordingly retransferred in the first week of January 1943, the delay being due to the fact that he was not certified fit to travel by the Civil Surgeon, Amraoti.

5. The Provincial Government considers that Mr Satyamurti's transfer to the province and the conditions under which he was detained could not in any way have aggravated his illness.

It considers, however that inter-Provincial transfer of invalid prisoners cause difficulties which could be more satisfactorily met in the Prisoner's own home province. Two invalid prisoners received from Madras are being retransferred there, as soon as arrangements can be made for an escort, they will be accompanied by a third Madras prisoners who is reported to be very sensitive to.<sup>9</sup>

6. As regards Mr Giri, it will be seen from paragraph 5 of the Inspector General of Prison's report that Mr Giri's health is satisfactory. A copy of the latest medical report on him, dated the 12th April 1943,<sup>10</sup> is enclosed for your information. These reports show that Mr Giri does not require any medical treatment at all now and the only medical treatment he received in this province was for a minor complaint.

7. As regards the general question, the Provincial Government is of opinion that the transfer of the more prominent Congress security prisoners from this province to Madras has undoubtedly assisted in the better maintenance of discipline in the jails in this province. Between the date of arrest of these prisoners and the date of their transfer from this province there was much indiscipline in the Nagpur and Jubbulpore Central Jails where these prisoners were confined. Hunger strikes, mass demonstrations and ventilation of imaginary grievances were rampant and the Provincial Government had every reason to believe that all these were instigated by these influential prisoners. Owing to overcrowding in jails it was not possible to segregate them. The Provincial Government therefore, considers that for some time longer the Central Provinces prisoners should be retained in the Vellore jail, provided the Government of Madras agree to keep them there.

Yours sincerely,

T.C.S. Jayaratnam  
Sir Richard Tottenham.

1 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Not printed.

7, 8 & 10. Not printed.

9 Words missing in the original.



# 11: Order of the Govt. of Bihar reg. release of prisoners

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 21/1943

[Bihar State archives]

Government of Bihar  
Political Department  
(Special Section)

## Order

*Ranchi, the 29th April 1943.*

No. 1041 C. 21/43. In order to reduce the serious overcrowding in the jails in Bihar, Government have decided that persons who have been convicted for the less serious offences should be released prematurely according to the scheme outlined below:

2. Subject to the exceptions stated in paragraph 3 below, all prisoners who are in jail on the 15th of May 1943 and who have been sentenced to a term of imprisonment or penal servitude for six months and more will be released if or before that date they have served for a term of one half of their total sentence excluding remissions, or for five years including remissions, whichever is less. Those who are serving sentences ranging between three and less than six months should be released after they have served for a period of three months excluding remission.

Though the determining date for release will be the 15th May 1943, the release may be spread over several days and a large number of prisoners should not be released from the same jail at the same time. Information of the dates on which releases will be made and the approximate number to be released on each day should be given in advance to the Superintendent of Police.

3. The following classes of prisoners will not be released under this scheme:

- (a) Convicts sentenced in connection, with the Civil Disobedience Movement or who have been classified as 'Political' in accordance with Jail Manual Rule 1022 and persons convicted under the Defence of India Act or Defence of India Rules.
- (b) Prisoners convicted by courts in Indian states or other Provinces.
- (c) State prisoners, internees, and detenus under rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules.
- (d) Military convicts who are still subject to the Indian Army Act.
- (f) Civil prisoners.
- (g) Persons convicted under the following sections of the Indian Penal Code.

131, 132	Army and Navy offences
194	Fabricating false evidence to procure conviction for capital offences
311	Thug
376	Rape
377	Un-natural Offences

400 & 401	Belonging to a gang of thieves or dacoits
402	Assembling for dacoity
231-263A	Counterfeiting coins etc.
489A-489B	Counterfeiting currency notes
120B, 121-130	Conspiracy and offences against the state.
216-A	Harbouring robbers
302, 304, 307	Murder and culpable homicide
328	Administering drug
364	Kidnapping for murder
392-399	Robbery and dacoity
379-389 and 403-462	Offences against property where the sentence exceeds two years
465-489	Forgery when the sentence exceeds two years.

Persons detained under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Prisoners convicted under Chapter V, Indian Penal Code, of abetment of the above offences and of attempts under section 511 Indian Penal Code (Subject to the remarks about sentence limits).

4. The release will be unconditional except in the cases referred to in paragraph 5 below.

5. When the unexpired portion of a sentence is a year or more, release will be conditional on the execution of a bond with two sureties to the satisfaction of the Subdivisional Magistrate having jurisdiction over the prisoners native place, to be of good behaviour for the unexpected period or for two years if the unexpired period is for more than two years, in the case of prisoners convicted under any of the following sections of the Indian Penal Code:

148, 150, 325-327, 329-331-333, 382, 384-389, 449-451 and 454-460.

6. Prisoners who, on completion of their term in a Bihar jail, are due to be sent to an Indian State or other Province, and who are due for release under this scheme, should be sent forthwith to serve their sentence in such Province or State.

7 In modification of paragraph 4 of Order No. 1210J dated the 8th March 1943, the Inspector General of Prisons is informed that the convicts conduct in the jail will not be a criterion or disqualification for release under this scheme.

8. There will be no detailed examination of the cases of prisoners who are to be prematurely released. Lists of convicts who come under this scheme of release should be prepared by the Superintendents of jails and submitted by the Inspector General of Prisons to Government for their formal orders with the least possible delay in the form shown in the annexure.<sup>1</sup> Only those persons who will complete the periods mentioned in column 7 or 8 of the form given in the annexure on or before the 1st June 1943, should be included in the lists.

9. The above orders supersede all previous orders of release; except that the orders for the reduction of sentences contained in paragraphs 9 and 10 order No. 2034J dated the 11th November 1940 and paragraph 8 and 9 of Order No. 1109J.R. dated the 14th August 1942 shall continue to be in force to the extent to which they are not modified by the present orders.

By order of the Governor of Bihar,  
Chief Secretary to Government

Memo No. 1041 C. 21/43

Ranchi, the 29th April 1943

Copy forwarded to the

The Inspector General of Prisons, Bihar

Copy forwarded to op.

The Judicial Department

The Inspector General of Police, Bihar

All Deputy Inspector General of Police

The Local Self-Government Department

All Superintendents of Police including the Addl.,

Superintendents of Police, Dhanbad and Jamshedpur

All Commissioners of Divisions.

All District Officers including the A.D.Cs.

for information [and communication to all Superintendents of jails and sub-jails] (Subdivisional Officers) to I.G. Prisons only.

to D.Ms only

By order of the Governor of Bihar

Chief Secretary to Government.

1 Not printed.

## 12: Political agitation in Madura

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. -- File G.O. No. 2/1943  
[TNA]

Palanichamy Goundan list 1/5/43 Proceedings of the Dt. Magistrate,  
Madura dated 6th May 1943

17-6-43

Present: J.L. Wood, Esq., I.C.S., Dt. Magte., Madura.

Political Agitation: Civil Disobedience Movement -- Prosecution under Defence of India Rules -- Palanichami Goundan -- sanctioned -- D.S.P. Madura North's Ref. dated 1-5-43.

Order: Ref. 1268-M-43-C.

Sanction is accorded for the prosecution of Palanichami Goundan s/o Mookaya Goundan of Melachinnanampatti village, Nilakottai Taluk under Rule 34, (6), C of the Defence of India Rules.

2. The result of the prosecution should be reported to Government and to me.

For Dt. Magte.

Copy to the Joint Magistrate Dindigul and City Magistrate, Madura.

Copy submitted to the Chief Secretary to Government, Madras with a copy of the F.I.R.

*Enclosure 1*

Copy of F.I.R. No. 29-43 dated 15-4-43 10.00 a.m.

Date and Hour when reported: 26-4-43 / 6.15 p.m.

Place of occurrence and distance and  
direction from Police Station West:

Kondayamapatti-5 miles

Date of Despatch from Police Station:

26-4-43

Name and residence of informant and Rex  
Inspector of Police, Nilakottai - complainant.

Name and residence of accused:

Palanichami Goundan, s/o Mookaya Goundan, Malachinnanampatti.

Brief description of offence with sec. and details  
of property carried off, if any

Rule 34(c) of DOI Rules the accused entered into the house of the Munisiff induced the headman of Sambakulam to resign his post after delivering two manuscript letters to him etc.

Steps taken regarding investigation explanation of  
delay in recording information

S Velusami, Inspector of Police, 26-4-43

*Enclosure 2.*

On 26-4-43 at 1 p.m. I met Kulandavel Kone, village Munisiff of Sambakulam in Alanganallur station limits and he produced two manuscript letters with a cover stating that the letters with the cover were delivered to him by Palanichami Goundan son of Mookaya Goundan and native of Melachinnanampatti and the said Palanichami induced him to resign his village Munsiff's post. When the letters were delivered to him on 15-4-43 at about 10 a.m. in his house he was talking with his Talayari Nainappan of Sambakulam. The letters were produced before me at Nilakottai and the contents are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

D. Dis 1268-M-43

Madura Dt. Magte's Office.  
31-5-43

From

J.L. Wood Esq., I.C.S.,  
Dt. Magte, Madura

To

The Chief Secretary to Government  
Public (General) Department  
Madras

Sir,

POLITICAL AGITATION - C.D. Movements - prosecution under D.O.I. Rules - Result reported.

My Ref. No. 1268-M-43-S/6-5-1943

Govt. Memo No. 8565-5/22-5-43

Palanichami Goundan, the accused has been convicted by the City I Class Magistrate, Madura for an offence punishable under Rule 38(5) of the D.O.I. Rules and sentenced to undergo R.I. for one year on 27-5-43.

For Dt. Magistrate.

1 Not printed – The letters are in Tamil – Ed.

## 13: Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar to all District Officers, Bihar – Release of political prisoners

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 21/1943

[Bihar State Archives]

### **Express Letter**

Government of Bihar  
Political Department  
(Special Section)

No. 1393 C.21.43

From

J.W. Houlton, Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government

To

All District Officers including the Additional  
Commissioners of Dhanbad and Singhbhum

*P.O. Hinoo, Ranchi, the 8th May 1943*

Sub: Release of Convicted Political Prisoners

Please refer to this Department Order No. 1041C/21/43 dated the 29th April 1943<sup>1</sup> conveying jail delivery orders in respect of certain categories of prisoners. To relieve further congestion in jails, Government are contemplating the release of prisoners who have been convicted to sentences of a year or less, especially genuine agriculturists, to let them go back to their lands in time for the cultivation season.

2. The Inspector General of Prisoners, is being asked to prepare lists of all such prisoners and Government orders will issue as soon as possible.

Chief Secretary to Government

Memo No. 1393C.21/43

Ranchi, the 8th May 1943



Copy forwarded to:

All Commissioners of Divisions

All Superintendents of Police including the Additional Superintendents of Police, Dhanbad and Jamshedpur and Superintendent, East Indian Railway Police, Patna.

All Deputy Inspectors General of Police, Bihar

Assistant Superintendent of Police, Oudh and Tirhut Railway, Samastipur

Inspector General of Police, Bihar, Prisons

Judicial Department

for information in continuation of Memo No. 1041-C 21/43 dated the 29th April 1943 (and necessary action with reference to paragraph 2 above)

to Judicial Deptt. only.

By order of the Governor of Bihar

Chief Secretary to Government

1 Doc. 11 above.

## 14: Official Notings regarding security prisoner Kalicharan Khanna — (dt 17.5.1943-3.6.1943) (extracts)

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 327/43

[Bengal State Archives]

... The order of externment of Kali Charan Khanna was issued from the Home (Jails) Deptt. files. That Department may be requested to put up the papers for dealing with this case.

Signed

17-5-43

Home (Jails) Department File 65/2903/42

Re: release and externment of Security prisoner Kali Charan Khanna is put up. It will appear from D.S. note dt 16-2-43 that the prisoner's release was sanctioned on condition that on release he was to proceed to the Punjab and reside there until further orders.

D.S. may see

Signed

31-5-43

A.S. may see the note in linked file. This prisoner was released at the request of the Maharajahdiraj Bahadur of Burdwan on a condition that he should leave Bengal. He is now asking for a revocation of the externment orders.

S.R. Bapat

3/6/43

Addl. Secretary

# 15: Sisir Roy to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar (Publication of a booklet entitled 'Sabotage Movement and the Indian Bolsheviks' by the Labour Party of India)

Government of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 221/1943  
[Bihar State Archives]

Labour Party Of India

64, Chittaranjan Avenue  
Calcutta, 27.5.43

President: Abdur Rahman Khan

General Secretary: Sisir Roy

Sir,

Sending herewith for your perusal a copy of 'Sabotage Movement and the Indian Bolsheviks', a recent publication of the Labour Party of India which contains the Political Report and the Political statement adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Party held in January, 1943.

The publication of the booklet was delayed for want of paper.

I shall be highly obliged if you will kindly send your criticism and remarks about the contents in the booklet.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

Sisir Roy,  
General Secretary

To  
The Chief Secretary  
Bihar Government  
Government Secretariat  
Patna, Bihar.

1. Not printed. (A pamphlet running into 46 pages.)



# 16: Political agitation in Madura case of Alagarsamy, Raju Pillai etc.

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2  
[TNA]

D Dis. 847-M-43-Confdl.

*Madura Dt. Magle's Office,*  
*30-6-43*

From  
J.L. Wood Esq., I.C.S.,  
District Magistrate  
Madura

To  
The Chief Secretary to Govt.,  
Public (General) Department.  
Madras

Sir,  
POLITICAL AGITATION – C.D. Movement – Madura District – Prosecution under Defence of India Rules – Result – Reported.

Govt. Memo No. 856-4 Public (General) Department, dated 31-3-43.

The accused Alagarsamy Naidu was convicted and sentenced to undergo R.I. for 3 months for an offence under section 143 I.P.C. and to 6 months R.I. under Rule 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules in C.C. No. 74/43 dated 1/4/43 on the file of the Additional First Class Magistrate, Dindigul. The sentence to run concurrently.

2. The case against Raju Pillai has ended in acquittal on 17-6-43 in C.C. No. 56/43 on the file of the Joint Magistrate, Dindigul.

Signed  
For Dt. Magistrate  
PP. 192-193 above.

Submitted for perusal

D.M. does not have any remarks to offer on the acquittal.

Signed  
5/7/43



# 17 Resolution regarding treatment of political prisoners and detenus

CLA Debates – Dt 27.7.1943 – Vol. III

[NMML]

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdul Rahim): The House will now proceed with the further discussion of the Resolution moved by Mr T.T. Krishnamachari on the 25th March, 1943.<sup>1</sup>

*Sardar Mangal Singh\** (East Punjab: Sikh): Before I deal with the points raised by the Honourable the Home Member in his speech when he spoke on this Resolution last time, I wish to make a short personal statement before the House, which incidentally concerns every elected member of this House. I mention this personal matter because I think it is connected with the fundamental rights and privileges of the Members of this House. When I was released in November last year on medical grounds, I was given a notice by the Punjab Government under which I was required not to join in a meeting or assembly of five or more than five persons. I will read only a few lines from the notice which are relevant to the issue. This was the order:

Whereas the Governor of the Punjab is satisfied with respect to the person known as Mangal Singh, M.L.A. . . . , with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the war it is necessary to make an order . . .

This is the order:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor of the Punjab is pleased to direct that the said Mangal Singh shall not,

- (i) without the permission previously obtained in writing from the District Magistrate, Ludhiana, join or take part in any procession or meeting of five or more persons other than a purely religious procession or meeting . . . '

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdul Rahim): Why does the Honourable Member think that it applies to this Assembly?

*Sardar Mangal Singh*: I am coming to that point shortly. Now, whenever I wanted to attend any meeting of the Board of Directors of a business concern, I always took the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. But when I wanted to come here to attend this House, I thought that it was not necessary to take the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. But I referred the matter to him just to know his re-actions.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdul Rahim):

I do not know why the Honourable Member should have referred the matter to anybody at all. The Honourable Member is a Member of this House and he has every right to speak here.

*Sardar Mangal Singh*. In reply to my letter the District Magistrate said that I could not attend this House unless I took previous permission from him in writing. I crave the indulgence of the Chair as well as of the House to read this short letter which is quite germane to the issue. He said:

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 21st January, 1943, wherein you have raised the question whether in view of the gagging order No. 17575-B.D.S.B., dated the 18th November, 1942, served on you by the Punjab Government under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules you can attend the meetings of the Central Assembly or those of the Committees at Delhi, without the permission of the District Magistrate, Ludhiana. I answer that question in the negative in so far as the order enjoys in clause (i) that you shall not without the permission previously obtained in writing from the District Magistrate, Ludhiana, join or take part in any procession or meeting of five or more persons other than a purely religious procession or meeting. The Central Assembly comprises of more than five members and probably the same remark holds true in respect of most of its committees also. Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules was framed under the Defence of India Act No. XXXV of 1939, which lays down in section 1(2) (a) that the Act extends to the whole of British India and it applies also to British subjects and servants of the Crown in any part of India. So the gagging order in your case holds good not only in the Punjab province but in the whole of India including Delhi and other Provinces and native States.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim):

The Honourable Member has read out a very interesting opinion, but the Honourable Member knows himself quite well that anyone who is a Member of this House and who wishes to speak and catches the eye of the Chair is entitled to speak. The Honourable Member can now go on to deal with the Resolution.

*Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan* (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): But, Sir, there is one point for the Chair to decide. If the Honourable Member had come to this House without obtaining the permission of the District Magistrate what protection would the Chair afford to him?

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim):

The Honourable Member surely knows very well that once he is in this Assembly and he catches the eye of the President, he is entitled to speak. That is sufficient protection for him and he had no business to consult anybody regarding that.

*Sardar Mangal Singh*: But I submit, Sir, that I am likely to be prosecuted by the Punjab Government when I go there. But I have come to this House today to assert my rights as an elected Member of this House. I think that except yourself, Sir, nobody can suspend me. . . .

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Certainly. The Honourable Member has every right to speak at the meetings of this house.

*Sardar Mangal Singh*: This, in a way, gives some idea as to how the Defence of India Rules are being worked out and this was the point which I wanted to submit to the Honourable the Home Member.

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell* (Home Member):

On a point of order, Sir. The object of this Resolution is not to discuss the general working of Rule 26 but to discuss the conditions of detention of prisoners.

*Mr Hooseinbhoj A. Lalljee* (Bombay Central Division: Muhammadan Rural): On a point of order, Sir. I submit that a Member who attends here to speak on a certain Resolution has a right to make it clear under what circumstances he is attending and so to what his position is in the House.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim):

He must speak to the terms of the Resolution.

*Sardar Mangal Singh*: Certainly. Why I decided to come here today, Sir, is due to the fact that when I read the speech of the Honourable the Home Member, I found there were certain inaccuracies in it. Probably he was not correctly informed.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member refers to the treatment of prisoners?

*Sardar Mangal Singh*: He was not correctly informed particularly about the detenus confined in my province. I have not gone to the Library to prepare my speech. But I am speaking from my personal knowledge. I have gone through this mill and I have been in the police lock-up and in the jails before the 9th August and, after the 9th August. On this point I wish to submit to the Honourable the Home Member whether he is prepared to go back to the position which was laid down by himself after the Deoli hunger-strike? It is clear from his speech that he is conscious of the weakness of his case. Sometimes he says that it is the responsibility of the responsible Ministries in the provinces. By this time, the country knows what is the hoax of this provincial responsibility and how the responsible Ministers and Ministries are functioning in the provinces. Sometimes he takes cover behind some of the Centrally Administered Areas. I will ask the Honourable the Home Member how he is treating the political prisoners from Delhi itself? When they were in the jail of Delhi they were given a different treatment and since the time they have been sent to the Punjab jails, all those privileges have been taken away and they are being treated like other prisoners in that province.

In his speech the Home Member says that these detenus are not ordinary detenus; they are rebels and they are the enemies of the Government. I make a present to the Honourable the Home Member and ask how he is treating his own enemies? How are the Germans and Italians being treated in the Camps in this country? If you want to treat those detenus as your enemies, by all means treat them as such and give them the same treatment as you are giving to Germans and Italians in this country. If you want to treat them as friends then treat them as friends and give them the same treatment as you were giving to other detenus before the 9th August. On the 9th August when we went in to jail, new rules were circulated to all the jails and a new class of prisoners was created called the civil disobedience prisoners, 1942, and we knew what that meant. Before the 9th August every detenu, irrespective of his social position and status, was given 12 annas in the jail; he was given Rs 17/8 as clothing allowance; he was allowed to supplement his food up to Rs 10 per mensem and he was allowed interviews. He was given papers and books and was also given charpais. He was provided with other facilities including games.

Now, what happened after the 9th August. A new class of prisoners was created — the civil disobedience prisoners, 1942, a new brand, a new model of 1942, was created. How were they treated? No newspapers or books were allowed to them. Although the Honourable the Home Member said that books were allowed, yet speaking from personal knowledge and speaking with responsibility, I can say that books are not allowed even today in the Punjab jails. Is the Honourable the Home Member prepared to contradict that statement that no interviews have been allowed today in the Punjab jails with the relations even if the prisoner is ill or his relations are dying. On this point the Honourable the Home Member says that while they allowed interviews in certain Provinces, there were cases of sabotage and all that. I say that is entirely incorrect. The first Province which permitted interviews was Sind. In the only Province where the Congress leaders were not arrested, some of them are still outside, I mean N.W.F.P. there is not a single case of sabotage, because the Congress leaders were suddenly removed and when there was no one to guide them in this matter than these cases occurred. So that the statement that these cases occurred because interviews were granted is entirely wrong. How were these people treated? We were given six annas a day. Before the 9th August a prisoner was given twelve annas a day and Rs 17-8-0 and you can supplement

your food upto Rs 10 a month, you can accept some eatables from your friends at the time of interview. All these were stopped. We were only given six annas a day, no charpais were allowed. All prominent Congress Workers were thrown in Shahpur jail where there was no structural accommodation only *chholdaris* were pitched and the place was wet. There was not even sufficient provision even according to the rules, there were no medical arrangements, the people suffered from malaria for a long time even without getting proper medical attention. I submit that the Government of India should not hesitate to accept this Resolution as amended by my Honourable friend Mr Joshi. His amendment is very important. I appeal to the Honourable the Mover to accept this amendment and I submit the amended Resolution should be accepted by the House and the Government also should have no hesitation in accepting it. It only asks the Government to revise their policy in respect of the treatment of prisoners. It does not go further. Does the honourable the Home Member require another hunger-strike to effect a revision of the Government policy? I hope the House will accept the Resolution as amended and I hope the Government also will implement it. Sir, I support.

*Mr N.M. Joshi* (Nominated: Non-Official) Sir, my Honourable friend Sardar Mangal Singh, by narrating his personal experiences, has made my work somewhat very easy. The Resolution is intended to secure humane treatment, a treatment consistent with human freedom, for the security and other political prisoners at present detained in jails in India. Sir, I have moved an amendment to that Resolution. My amendment is not in opposition to the Resolution at all. It is only intended to clarify the issues and put the question also in some greater detail. I am suggesting by my amendment that the Government of India, in consultations with the Provincial Governments and in consultations with the Committee of this Legislature, should revise the policy underlying the treatment of political prisoners at present prevailing in Indian jails should be revised so as to be consistent with the principles of humanity and as I said, consistent with the principles of human freedom.

Sir, The Honourable the Home Member in the speech which he made during the last Session said, in the first place that it is difficult for the Government of India to lay down the policy in this matter, as the policy is in the hands of the Provincial Governments. In this matter, Sir, I would like to point out to the Honourable the Home Member that in the case of a large number of political prisoners who are detained in Indian jails, the policy was the policy formulated by the Government of India. Therefore, if they were detained in accordance with the policy formulated by the Government of India, the Government of India should take upon themselves the responsibility of laying down the principles according to which these people should be detained in the jails in all the Provinces. Then, Sir, the Honourable the Home Member in his speech pointed out the difficulties which he feels in securing improvements in the conditions at present meted out in India jails. I would first state the last point mentioned in my amendment. I have suggested there that in India when people are detained without trial, there should be at least some method of reviewing the cases. For instance, in Great Britain, when people have provided for an Advisory Committee.<sup>2</sup> Any person detained without trial can approach that Advisory Committee. He is told what the charges are against him. He is also given an opportunity to disprove the charges against him. Sir, in India, the Government of India have made no such provision, neither have the Provincial Governments made any provision. I therefore suggest by my amendment that the Government should take immediate steps to appoint an Advisory Committee or appoint Advisory Committees in all the Provinces which will review the cases in the same manner in which these cases are reviewed or considered or examined in Great Britain. The Honourable the Home Member in his speech

made last Session had agreed that in the case of some political prisoners, some kind of review was desirable, that is those prisoners who were detained for their own activities. But, Sir, the method of reviewing followed by the Government of India and by the Provincial Governments was thoroughly unsatisfactory. The detenus were not told what exactly were the charges against them, and they had not full opportunities of disproving the charges against them. The Honourable the Home Member then says that in the case of those people who are detained on account of Congress movement, that kind of review was not practicable or desirable. I do not exactly remember now what he said. But even in the case of those people who are detained on account of the Congress movement in the first place there may be a number of people, who were detained not because they had done anything, but because they belonged to the Congress. It is true that in case of those people who are detained only for belonging to the Congress, the review is not likely to be much use, but will be of much use or some use at least as affecting the policy of the Government of India. In his speech, the Honourable the Home Member has said that the Congress movement, when he made that speech, was going on actively in the Provinces. I do not know whether the statement made by him at that time was correct or not. But today it is not correct. Today the Congress movement has practically died out, at least that part of the movement which included violence and sabotage. Therefore it is time now for the Government of India as well as the Provincial Governments to review their policy, not the cases of individuals, but review their whole policy and release all the political prisoners either detained after trial or without trial. I therefore feel that the time has come for reviewing not the individual case of political prisoners but reviewing the policy of detaining these people without trial. I hope, Sir, that the Government of India and the Provincial Governments will review this policy and release the political prisoners in all provinces as the movement on account of which they were detained does not now exist in a form of violence and sabotage.

Then, Sir, I would like to bring before the Legislature the cases of persons who are transferred from one province to another. A large number of security prisoners have been transferred from Madras to Amraoti, and in order that the Provincial Government should be able to square the account I am told that an equal number of political prisoners from the C.P. have been transferred to Madras. Sir, I have heard a large number of complaints about the prisoners at present detained in Amraoti. These people come from Madras and they are accustomed to a certain climate and food Madras and they are accustomed to a certain climate and food and certain other conditions; and in the Amraoti jail they are not only very uncomfortable on account of the extreme heat but a large number of them suffered in health. My friend, Mr Giri, who was a Member of this Assembly has suffered in health; he now gets rheumatic and other pains in his leg. The case of Mr Satyamurti is well known. Another gentleman, Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, was recently released on account of illness. But there are other persons in Amraoti jail who are not keeping good health either on account of the climate of the place or on account of the conditions in that jail. I suggest to the Government of India to recommend to the Madras and also the C.P. Government to transfer these detenus to their original provinces.

Then, Sir, as regards conditions in jails I do not wish to speak in detail on this occasion, but I should like to point out to the Government of India that in certain jails people have suffered on account of bad conditions. For instance, in Bombay in a prison at Belgaum people suffered on account of an epidemic disease like cholera. I do not suggest that the Government took no step after the epidemic arose: they did take steps to prevent the evil of that epidemic.



But I should like the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to maintain such conditions in these jails that people will not suffer. Not only were conditions bad in Belgaum when the people suffered but the curious thing is that it was found afterwards that the epidemic was due to bad bajree supplied in that jail. Some of the detenus wanted food to be ordered from outside but they were told not to do so although the real disease was due to bad food supplied in the jail itself.

Moreover, I would like to say a word about the facilities given to the detenus as regards communications with outside, specially as regards interviews allowed to them with their friends and relatives. The Honourable the Home Member in his speech made last Session said that it was not desirable to allow the detenus to have contact with their relatives or friends. In this connection I will draw attention to the fact that all interviews take place in the presence of the jail authorities and there is hardly any opportunity for either the detenu or his relatives to maintain secret communication with each other.

He has mentioned some case where a detenu tried to smuggle some information through his relatives. But he knows that the fact was made known. Therefore there is no possibility of the detenus and their relatives maintaining secret contact with each other if the facility for interviews is given to these detenus. I, therefore, feel that the Government of India should accept the suggestion which I have made. In the first place they should appoint a committee of this House to consider the whole question regarding the treatment given to the detenus in all provinces. I agree that improvement in the treatment of the detenus cannot be secured without the co-operation of the Provincial Governments. I have therefore, suggested in my amendment that the Government of India should secure the co-operation of the Provincial Governments in this matter. If a committee of this House is appointed I have no doubt that the Government of India will place this Committee the views and proposals of the Provincial Governments. These Governments can then appoint their representatives to co-operate with the committee of this Legislature. But I feel that the policy governing the treatment of the detenus in this country should be coordinated by the Government of India, whether the administration of the policy be left to the Provincial Governments or not. The Provincial Governments certainly may have a certain freedom but the policy underlying the treatment should be a policy formulated and approved by the Government of India and this Legislature in co-operation with the Provincial Governments. There must be co-ordination between the various provinces in this matter.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): the Honourable Member's time is up.

*Mr N.M. Joshi*: I shall not proceed very much further but say this that putting people in jail Government of India formulated the policy themselves, may be in consultation with the Provincial Governments. Therefore they should also take the responsibility of forming a coordinated policy in using the principles underlying the treatment given to the detenus and political prisoners in Indian jails.

*Pandit Nilakantha Das* (Orissa Division: Non-Mohammadan): Sir, at the outset I am reminded today of one name which was mentioned more than any other on the last occasion during the debate on this Resolution. It was the name of the late Mr Satyamurti. He was my friend and colleague and we worked together as Secretary of the Congress Party for several years. But he is now no more; the hand of death has intervened between him and me and his case has practically lost all importance so far as these mundane affairs are concerned.

Coming to my amendment, I must express my thankfulness to the Honourable the Home Member for taking the earliest opportunity to reply to the resolution as well as the amendments.

I have, therefore, got the advantage of the reaction of Government to the Resolution as well as to my amendment; but I must say I am disappointed. I expected a statesmanlike reply of some imagination of an administrator, especially in these bad times. But I am sorry to say that I find a trace of the same superannuated woodenness in his reply. What does he say? He puts forward the same plea that the Central Government or, for the matter of that, the Central Legislature can have nothing to do with provincial matters, be the province under the autocratic rule of a Governor or under a popular ministry. I was not prepared to hear such a reply. It is always said in this House that the Central Government will have nothing to do with matters concerning the provinces and this legal system of the Government of India I might have taken as true — for I am myself a layman — had it not been for the fact that very recently some of the decisions of the Government of India have been reversed by various courts in the country. I think when the British Parliament was enacting the Government of India Act, 1935, specially Section 102, it had before it the report of the committee on Australian Constitution, which said that during the last war on account of judicial decisions the Federal Government of Australia had become practically a unitary Government and under this provision, after the promulgation by the Governor General of a state of emergency in the country, I take it that this Government has turned into practically a unitary Government and, therefore, the Central Government and this House can control all the affairs in the country, either in the provinces or at the Centre. I am a layman and I do not know; there might still be some technical difficulties and legal obstacles, but I am sure it will not be difficult for the Government of India, especially the Legislative Department, to overcome such difficulties. I take this opportunity to extend my cordial welcome to my Honourable friend, Sir Ashoka Kumar Roy, to this House as the Law Member. He is now the head of the Law Department and if there is any defect in the organisation of the Department or if he wants any more assistance he will doubtless reorganise it, secure all the necessary assistance he requires, and I am sure he will repeat his legal victories in the provincial sphere at the Centre, and we shall never hear in future—especially in these bad times when the administration is under proclamation of emergency — that the Central Government and the Central Legislature are not competent to interfere in provincial matters, or even to advise them effectively.

The Honourable the Home Member has told us that members of the Central Legislature have no status to advise the Provincial Governments. I know that perfectly well. Whoever claimed that status, I did not claim it in my amendment. What I demand is that some members of the Legislature or public men in the country should, by arrangement of the Central Government, interview the detenus and political prisoners in the provinces in order to ascertain whether they have changed their views and are prepared to co-operate in the war measures, and if they are satisfied they should recommend their release. There is no question of status or anything of the sort. The Government of India ought to be able to select some of their non-official friends to help and co-operate with them in this matter in the way in which such co-operation should be offered and accepted.

Again, the Honourable Member asks why guarantee is there that those prisoners should be taken to have changed their views. I am simply sorry that he has uttered this counsel of despair. What is the policy behind this detention and imprisonment? I think the Government should always try with determination to rally round all opinions in the country for co-operation, and I am glad he has plainly said that these are precautionary measures and not measures of revenge, and I wish that he would look for all sorts of ways and means to see that those prisoners are released and are utilised in the improvement of the present situation.

I may here refer to the demand of the Mover of the Resolution as well as the other amendments. Before doing that I may tell my Honourable friend the Home Member—though the matter is very delicate—that, as far as I know, the circumstances in my province are such that if I go and interview the prisoners in jails I can ascertain their views and can recommend their release if they have changed their mind. I am quite sure that there will be many other Members in the House, as well as members of the public outside this House in this vast land of India to do the same thing as effectively or even more than effectively. Besides, the war situation has now changed and the policy of the Government should change accordingly. Mussolini had abdicated. He is now under arrest, and the Allies are at the gates of the Italian mainland. Germany on the Russian front is also in a tight corner. In the Far East Japan is shaky. I am appealing for those patriots who are in jail. I know many of them and I think that probably 99 per cent of them will be useful to you in present circumstances. They will help us; they will help the Government, they will help in the affairs of the war and in the business of the nation.

So now let me say one word to my friends, the Mover of the Resolution and the movers of the other amendments. They want release of these prisoners in a covert way: I want it openly. I prescribe and propose a practical method for their release. I never believe that my friends will be satisfied with these crumbs of concessions, as they have put it — a candle here, a letter there, or eight annas more a day to supplement food and things of this kind.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

*Pandit Nilakantha Das*: What they say in a covert way, I say openly that methods and means should be devised to release them and that these patriots should be used for the betterment of the present situation in the country.

*Mr R.R. Gupta* (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadian Urban): I stand to support the amendments which were moved by my friend, Mr Neogy, and myself. Sir, I come from the Province which is characterised as the most notorious province in the matter of dealing with the political prisoner, a province which has in no small measure contributed towards the political suffering in the country. I will be failing in my duty if I do not let the Government know what is going on in the United Provinces behind the prison bars under the name of law and order.

Sir, there are several concentration camps in several Central jails but I will confine my observations only with regard to one or two of these jails. There is a Fatehgarh Central Jail in the United Provinces, in which political detenus are confined. From 9th August all the privileges and rights were withdrawn from that jail also as from other jails. Neither letters, nor interviews nor even petitions to Government were allowed to the prisoners. Then, Sir, one more class of prisoners was added, namely, that class which was ordered to be kept aloof from all others prisoners who were concentrated there. Sir, that class was meant for such prisoners who were bad characters or goondas. In spite of the understanding of the Central Government with those detenus who were transferred back from Deoli, after the Deoli hunger-strike, as a result of the efforts of Sardar Mangal Singh, that there will be no differential classification of detenus, the classification system was again introduced after 9th August, even against those detenus. Then, Sir, the United Provinces Government itself framed rules for the prisoners who were in detention that they will not be punished by handcuffs and bar fetters, but that punishment has been awarded to the prisoners, among whom are included M.L.As. of the United Provinces.

As regards the health of the prisoners, one man from Cawnpore, who is perhaps still there,

weighs only 91 lbs. The same person, Sir, I have come to know from an unimpeachable authority, was given the work in the mill inside the jail. While he was doing that work one day he fainted and after that he was produced before the jailor. The jailor awarded him the punishment of beating. He was beaten. During that punishment he vomited blood and he was transferred to hospital. When he returned back from hospital, again he was awarded the same labour. Again he could not do that work. Again he was produced before the jailor. Again he was awarded the punishment of beating and again he vomited blood, and now he is in hospital again.

To give you another story. Two men were awarded the punishment of beating. In protest they went on hunger-strike. They fasted for 40 days. Afterwards they were tried before a Magistrate for breach of jail discipline. During the course of their examination they narrated the story of their beating and they also pointed out that they vomited blood. That blood has been sent in the Lucknow Hospital for examination.

Then there is the third case of one Mr Chandra Bhai Johni, who was a Member of the Honourable House. He was arrested in Benaras while he was on his sick bed. He was kept in Benares jail for a long time, inspite of his protests and his requests that this jail did not suit his health. After a long time he was transferred to the Lucknow Jail. Previously also when he had been interned his health was not good and he was kept in hospital. He was not removed from that jail to hospital till he was so bad that the authorities could not keep him any longer inside the jail. Then he was sent to Balrampur hospital. There he was lying ill. No intimation was given to his family members, nor were they allowed any interview with him. One day when he was in an unconscious condition his wife was intimated by telephone, 'Now you can come and see your husband'. She went there and found him unconscious. Immediately she ran up to the Secretary of Home Department of the United Provinces. Of course, it was a little late. The secretary first of all, refused an interview with her. But when she explained the position of her husband, she was told, 'All right. I will verify from the doctors, and if they will say that the condition of the man is such that he cannot survive, then I will order his release.' On this condition he telephoned the jail authorities and when he was assured that the man would not survive, his release was ordered. The gentleman was brought out of the hospital, he was lying unconscious for 4, 5 or 6 days and then he died. The other story is a story relating to the Bareilly Central Jail. In that jail many of those Congress Government of the United Province are imprisoned. The position in that jail is still worse. Very recently, perhaps on the 23rd July a statement was published in a local paper here, which shows that people are taken out in batches and beaten in the same batch by ex-convicts. Some of them vomited blood during the process of that beating and many of them were men who were highly placed in society in this country. Reports go to show that neither non-official nor official visitors have visited the jail for a long time with the result that prisoners are left at the mercy of the same over-zealous jail authorities who are always trying to notoriety because they think that it is by that notoriety that they will gain promotion and better appreciation from the Government. I wrote a letter to the Adviser of His Excellency pointing out these misbehaviours and requested 'If you permit me to visit the jail, I will give an assurance and my word of honour that not a word will be revealed. I will report the same in private to you, I will not publish it to the press'. But that opportunity also has been denied to me. It was only after my public appeal in the month of April that one letter in one month has been allowed to political prisoners in the United Provinces. Even that letter has to pass through so many censors that it seldom takes two or three months before it reaches its destination. I assure you, Sir, I am

a friend of your Government, but I feel that in your name a great mistake is committed by these over-zealous officers, and I have, therefore, thought it my duty to bring all these facts to your notice. After all, these prisoners who are confined in jails will come out one day. I do not suppose you think that every one of them will be killed inside, some of them will survive and they will come out. When they come out they will have to narrate these stories to the civilised world. When these stories are heard by other countries, what will they say? They will say that a Government which is supposedly fighting for democracy and humanity is practising the same methods inside jails which the Germans are practising in the concentration camps. I am sure that is not going to help in your war effort. Therefore, I appeal to your generosity—please consider these questions, not on any other ground, but purely on political as well as humanitarian grounds.

There is one more consideration. Many persons who have been arrested during that time were arrested purely on the report of the local police. They had never taken part in the movement and they could not expect that they were going to be arrested. They might have had several matters of importance however small these might be in other people's eyes, but for them they will be very important. They could not make any arrangements for attending to them. Now they have been sent to jail and have been cut off entirely from the outside world. They are not allowed any sort of communication from their nearest and dearest. Many of them might have got civil suits, income-tax cases, etc. Neither could they attend to them nor could they advise anybody else on their behalf. You can understand what an irrational agony they must be passing through, and that you can avoid by granting them a few interviews and better facilities for communication. I do not think the Government are going to lose anything by granting these facilities. After all so far as the sabotage movement is concerned, that has been crushed and finished. You are gaining victories after victories every day. If at all, I am sure the contact of these prisoners with the outside world will go to create a feeling of security and peace and reduce the anxiety of the people. Secondly it will result in reducing the brutality of those persons who are charged with authority of managing the jail administration and which are behaving in a manner, perhaps not according to your instructions, but of their own over-zealousness. Therefore, I hope my appeal will not go in vain.

*Mr Abdur Rasheed Choudhury* (Assam: Mohammadan):

This Resolution has got two parts. One is a recommendation that there should be drastic changes in the policy of the Government in regard to the treatment of political prisoners and detenus, and the other recommendation is that Members of the Central Legislature should be allowed to visit the jails in which these detenus are imprisoned and bring to the notice to proper authorities the inconveniences, any that the detenus are suffering from. . . .

*An Honourable Member*: Kindly speak up.

*Mr Govind V. Deshmukh* (Nagpur Division: Non-Mohammadan): The Honourable Member is ill. Can he come a little nearer?

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Yes

(The Honourable member then came nearer and occupied a seat in the second row.)

*Mr Abdur Rasheed Choudhury*: The speakers who have preceded me have given examples of personal tortures, personal sufferings and personal prisoners. Any civilised Government would take note of these things. For political differences one should not be tortured bodily and physically. I think that is the rule in the entire civilised world. After all political differences are only temporary. I understand that the number of detenus is very large and that it is not possible to give equal treatment to all the detenus. But if the officers who are entrusted with

these detenus do their duty, nobody has got anything to say. There are officers who are very dutiful. Nobody has got any complaint about them but there are zealous officers and over-zealous officers from whom the danger of ill-treatment comes in and the worst of it is that if any complaint is made against these over-zealous officers, the higher authorities do not pay any heed. It cannot be said that the eleven thousand and odd detenus are all enemies of the Government, far from it. Political differences are only temporary. Today one may be holding extremist views. Tomorrow he may be holding a moderate view. Today he may be a dear friend of the Government. Tomorrow he may not be so and vice versa. We have seen politicians changing their views so often that even today one of them holding very radical views is now adorning the Treasury Bench. What I mean to say is that on account of political views, torture should not be given to any political detenus. The man whom you consider to be your enemy of England and who thought that Americans would not be friends of Britain. Today you see America is something like a guiding force to Britain and with their help Britain is winning this war. Who knows the people who today hold independent views will come to the help of Britain in the same way in future.

Now, Sir, instances of ill-treatment of detenus have been given by my predecessors. I need not multiply them. Only I have got to speak about a similar case. I am speaking of a gentleman who was in prison before. As soon as he was released, he was again arrested and taken as a security prisoner. About him one weekly paper, Madina, brought out certain insinuations and this is the case I should like to bring to the notice of the authorities. For the information of the House, I shall read out only one or two lines from the issue for 17th June 1943:

*Khosusan jab se ap Moradabad se Naina Jail men muntaqil kiye gae ham 'A' class ke bujae and 'B' class men rakhe gae hain aur is men bhi nehayat sakht taklifon men apko muhtala kar deya gaya maslan rat ko ek aisi jagah men band kiya jata hai jahan is shadeed garmi ke zamane men intahai saaoobut ka samna karna parta hai.'*

You see the gentleman holds a very high position in society. He is a man of learning and education, a born leader and any country would have been proud of such a man. If he had been born in England, who knows he would not be rival of the Right Honourable Winston Churchill. If he had been born in the United States he would have been a rival of President Roosevelt. He is such a man. As a speaker, he is second to none in this country and other countries too. Such a man has been ill-treated. He has been changed from A class prisoner into B class prisoner and at night he is confined in a room which is not only unhealthy but ill-ventilated and in this hot weather one can easily understand what physical suffering in his room. When this was published in the paper, some of my friends came to me with the paper and asked me to preside over a meeting of theirs in this connection. I dissuaded them and told them that this is not the time for agitation as it is war time but I promised them that I would bring the matter to the notice of the authorities so that, if true, the gentleman might get some relief. I wrote a letter to the gentleman in charge (Home Member) here describing the suffering and requesting him personally that he should intervene if the complaints are true. I have been in the Assembly and I thought that as a matter of common courtesy a reply could come but unfortunately our executive authorities have not the honour of belonging to a responsible Government. They are therefore not only irresponsible but also irresponsible to all complaints. I then put a number of questions in this House, after waiting for 15 days, because I did not get a reply. Sir, I thought of heaving a sigh of relief by bringing the matter to the House and getting a reply from the authoritative quarters. What is the reason why I

have been compelled to speak on this Resolution. Otherwise, I had no intention of speaking. This is what is happening to a man of such eminence. Silence in these matters is a very dangerous thing. Many interpretations can be given to this sort of silence. It may be interpreted that the gentleman in question is not living. All sorts of conjecture are being made as no reply was given to me. Then again if the allegations published in the paper are not true, then it is doing a great harm to the jail authorities and the authorities who are in charge. So, it would have been right if a reply were forthcoming to my letter. It is not the correct way to deal with things in this fashion and the time has come, as the Resolution puts it, when drastic changes in the policy of the Government should be made to revise the treatment meted out to the political detenus and security prisoners. From this single example the House may come to the conclusion that everything is not going well with the detenus and even a most eminent man like the gentleman I have referred to Maulana Husain Ahmed Madani, is not free from ill-treatment. So the time has come when the Government should change their policy and make a drastic change in the treatment of their detenus. Sir, I support the Resolution.

*Mr Kailash Bihari Lall* (Bhagalpur, Purnea and the Santhal Parganas Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this Resolution today. Like my friend, Sardar Mangal Singh, I have also had some personal experience because I am also fresh from the jail from the province of Bihar. Before I narrate what the treatment of prisoners there is, which is the subject matter of this Resolution, I wish to begin with some personal story which is surely in connection with the point raised by the Home Member himself. While going through his speech I found that he said that the smallness of the number shows that persons were selected for detention with due discrimination and there was no policy of indiscriminate arrests. It is with regard to this statement that I respectfully beg to point out how indiscriminate arrests were also made. In my own case, it is a matter of public knowledge that I had left the Congress because of my difference with them on several matters, and it was long before the last movement was even started. I had attended even the Budget Session of 1942 and apparently the disturbances began in August of that year. So, there cannot be any reason for my arrest. I have repeatedly asked the Government of my province and the district officials if they have got anything to show against me and whether they had any apprehension so far as I was concerned. They turned deaf ear to all my requests. Having committed one wrong, they wanted to save their face by continuing the wrong by keeping me under detention. And whenever the suggestion was raised with the Central Government, the usual plea was that Provincial autonomy is a subject that cannot now be touched by the Central Government.

*Dr P.N. Banerjee* (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Mohammadan Urban): Provincial autonomy under section 93.

*Mr Kailash Bihari Lall*: It was left to the Provincial Governments. However, I must be thankful to His Excellency the Governor of Bihar for his intervention. When he visited the jail, I narrated my story to him. He took my case into consideration and I was then released. But the question of saving the prestige of the Government again came up and I was asked to sign the so called undertaking. Though His Excellency had intervened, the District Magistrate brought one day a typed draft of that undertaking to me which purported to have said that I have disassociated from the Congress subversive movement and that I solemnly undertake not to hold any communication with my brother Rash Behari Lall and other absconders. . . .

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can continue his speech after Lunch.



The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock.

Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Dutta) in the Chair.

*Mr Kailash Bihari Lall:* Sir, I was saying before lunch that the draft of the undertaking purported to have said that I have disassociated from the Congress subversive as movement and that I solemnly undertook not to hold any communication with my brother Rash Behari Lall and other absconders. Both these proposals were so absurd on the very face of them that I pointed out to the District Magistrate, who was very courteous and kind, and he made a note of and he said that, he would inform the Government. I pointed out to him that there was no proof that I associated myself with subversive movements, therefore, there was no ground for me to say that I have disassociated now. With regards holding communication with my brother, he was living with me in the same jail, in the same room for the last three months. I pointed out the absurdity of asking me to say that my brother is absconding and that I will not have any communication with him. He made note of this discrepancy and said he would inform the Government. But the beauty of the thing was that I read in the newspaper of 23rd April morning in the jail that His Excellency the Governor of Bihar has been pleased to release babu Kailash Bihar Lall as he began undertaking that he disassociated himself from the Congress subversive movement and that he would not hold communication with his brother and the absconders. In the evening I was released. So such absurd things are done. I do not know with what object.

Now, Sir with this background, I will give you a picture of how I was landed in the jail. On 9th September when I was just preparing to start for attending the Assembly, early morning two-sub-Inspectors came in a sedan car and put me to jail. I thought it was a mistake on the part of the police officer. Under that impression, I at once wrote out a petition to the Divisional Committees and sent a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Honourable Aney that when I was proceeding to attend the Assembly, I was detained requesting them to be kind to intervene. So far as my information goes, telegrams were suppressed. Subsequently my letter to the Honorable Aney and to Dr Sachidananda Sinha were also suppressed. They were not forwarded. In December I was offered a release. Seeing that those letters had no effect, I thought that after all the police was the final authority to decide the course of action. I was under the misapprehension that the District Magistrate had no hand in it, but the police officers were playing all this havoc. When the Government found that I was unnecessarily detained, they told me that I would be released provided I gave an undertaking. I protested and pleaded that I have told the authorities that I had nothing to do with any subversive movement, that I was not in the Congress organisation, but that still if the Government insisted on my giving an undertaking, it can only be with a view to humiliate me in the eyes of the public, as an undertaking sounds so much heinous and it seems they demand such an undertaking for that reason. The superintendent of the Jail told me that if I was not prepared to give such an undertaking, he would make a report to that effect. Then it was I remained rotting in jail till the Governor came and then I was released on 23rd April. There was no justification for my arrest. The Government simply to save their face got the undertaking from me that I would not join the Congress subversive movement and that I would not hold communication with my brother and other absconders, while as a matter of fact my brother was in the same room in the same jail with me. Even under the guise of saving their face, there was no justification to ask such absurd things.

So far as the treatment in the jail was concerned, I may say that I happen to be a non-official



visitor for the Central Jail also. I find in the speech of the Honourable the Home Member when he was asked 'what would happen when non-official visitors are themselves put in jail', he replied 'Then, they are there all the time'. I was a non-official visitor of the Bhagalpur Central jail and I was there all the time. This being my position, I can very well make a suggestion according to the wording of the Resolution which says: 'to allow members of the Central Legislature to visit prisons and interview political prisoners so that the attention of the Central and the respective Provincial Governments may be drawn to such restrictions and other inconveniences imposed on the prisoners with a view to the elimination of such restrictions.

So, Sir, under this very Resolution, perhaps my Honourable friend did not know that there were already two Members of the Central Legislature all the time in the jail and who therefore could make a report about the conditions prevailing in jails. Thus those two Members would fulfil the conditions laid down in the Resolution. Even from that point of view, I fulfil the condition.

Now, Sir, what is the position in jails? I will only mention one or two points. The trouble in the jail was with regard to the quality of food, the quality of cloth, interviews, letters, accommodation, lock-up, and so on. About all these points my Honourable friend has already said. At the rate of six annas per meal, twelve annas are being given. It can be easily imagined, how in these days the prisoners in jail would fare with such low rations and no wonder there is such a hue and cry over that. Then with regard to the quality of cloth the upper class prisoners can get clothing from home but third division prisoners were in difficulty and they were living practically in a naked condition. The state of things about letters has been described by previous speakers and conditions remain the same. In my own case for two months I was not allowed any interview or a letter and no District Magistrate or any other official visitor even visited the jail during the four months of my stay there. My mental condition can easily be imagined and it was a torture to me not to have an interview with anyone. Then about lock-up, in the case of third division prisoners I heard even recently when I came out of jail that there was some beating of the prisoners, although it was not a lathi charge. I once had occasion to see a lathi charge. Some political prisoners were caned in the centre of the jail and other political prisoners cried 'Bande Mataram', and for this offence indiscriminate lathi charge was made and hundreds of prisoners were injured. Such things really happen but they can be avoided by sympathetic handling. The worst part of it is that whatever happens in jail, attempts are always made not to allow information to leak out.

*Mr Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta):* The Honourable Member's time is up.

*Mr Kailash Bihari Lall:* Then there are pin-pricks and even ex-Parliamentary Secretaries get such treatment from ordinary warders that they feel humiliated. Such things too can surely be avoided.

Then as regards allowances, in my province I read somewhere in the papers that even men of the position of a High Court Advocate were given Rs 30 a month whereas people of lesser social standing were given Rs 50 a month. I do not mean to object to the payment of Rs 50 but some principle should be followed in giving these allowances and the status of a man should be taken into consideration without the element of punishment being introduced into it. In the matter of classification also, it should not be on the ground of punishment.

*Mr Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta):* The Honourable Member should bring his remarks to a close now.

*Mr Kailash Bihari Lall:* Sir, I support the Resolution.

*Mr Govind V. Deshmukh:* Sir, before I speak on the Resolution and the amendments I propose to move an amendment of which I have given notice.

*Mr Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta):* When was the notice given and to whom?

*Mr Govind V. Deshmukh:* I gave notice at about 2 o'clock today but it makes no difference.

*Mr Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta):* At this late stage I should not be justified in admitting any amendment without the consent of the House, but let us know what the amendment is.

*Mr Govind V. Deshmukh:* My amendment is that in line 2 and 3 the following words be deleted: in general and those convicted for political offences since August 1942, in particular'.

*Mr Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta):* Is there any objection to this amendment being moved?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* Sir, it does not seem to be a very material amendment and I have no objection.

*Mr Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta):* The Honourable Member may move it.

*Mr Govind V. Deshmukh:* Sir, I move:

'That in line 2 and 3 of the Resolution the following be deleted:

In general and those convicted for political offences since August 1942, in particular'. The question about political prisoners and detenus has two aspects, One is the statesmanlike aspect which you will find has been taken in a meeting of the Liberals in London which demanded the release of political prisoners in India. These Liberals were looking at this question from a broader aspect of bringing about a fresh outlook on the present political situation in the country. They never had the fears raised here by the Home Member who has been referred by the Mover of the Resolution not as a diehard but as an honest die-hard. These bogeys were not before them. But here we urge the humanitarian point of view with regard to these detenus and political prisoners, and the Resolution asks that the present rules may be revised so that they may be given humane treatment, the sort of treatment which existed and which should have been improved upon before the movement of 1942 started. I have read and those who have listened to the speech of the Honourable the Home Member would be surprised to find that there is nothing which has been showed against the amendment of Mr Joshi which stood on a sounder basis, and there again nothing has been showed against that particular amendment except reviewing the cases. We were told, Sir, that the Members of the Central Legislature have got no powers. We knew it, of course, otherwise we would not have come before this House; we would have exercised our rights. The very fact that we come here and ask that there should be consultations between the members of this Legislature, the Provincial Govts and the prisoners shows that we have got no powers; we desire that such consultations should take place which would be a very desirable thing for those who wish to bring about a better state of affairs in so far as the treatment of political prisoners is concerned.

I would like to refer to one or two remarks made by the Honourable the Home Member in his speech. In regard to the question of destitution of the families of some of the detenus, he said that no instance had come to his notice either from the persons who were detained under the orders of the Central Government or from those who were detained under the orders of the Provincial Governments. I can cite a very pathetic case which was reported in some of the newspapers, and I hope the Honourable Home Member will do something in this case if nothing has been done up till now. It is a case from Lahore. One Abenash Chandar, a boy of 11, has made an appeal to the public. His brother is a detenu. His other brother, who was earning about Rs 21 and was maintaining his mother and was looking after the

education of this boy, is affected by tuberculosis. His mother is ill. This lad has appealed to the public in general. Why? Because it is a case of destitution. The boy does not know how to maintain the members of his family, to keep their bodies and souls together. Sir, it will be observed from other instances which have been narrated in this House from the personal experience of speakers regarding the sort of treatment about their food, their clothing and allowance, that these are pathetic instances. I do not want to add to that list, but I should like to mention certain cases from my province. There are two ladies in Jubbulpur Central Jail. None of them was an active member of the Congress, none of them had done any propaganda work, or anything of the kind. One of them happens to be the daughter-in-law of a person who was very much associated with the Congress — the late Jamnalal Bajaj.\* The crime of this lady appears to be that she is the daughter-in-law of this gentleman; because so far as my knowledge goes she never associated herself with any Congress Propaganda or had taken any active part in this organisation. She is ill. That such ladies, who have taken no part in the Congress movement and whose antecedents can be gathered, should be put in the jail simply because they happened to be related to some persons who took part in the Congress movement seems to be a queer logic and a queer justification for Government's action. Another lady, Prabavati Jakatdar,\* who is detained, was a nominal President of the Provincial Congress Committee. She did not take any prominent part in the movement; she was a president just for a short time. It can be verified by the Provincial Government or anybody else that this lady did not take prominent part and she did not commit such acts to which the Government could have any objections. The fact that she was the President of the Provincial Congress Committee for a short time by itself is no justification, from my point of view, to condemn this lady to jail. She is suffering from several ailments. When one comes across such case in which there cannot be the slightest justification for punishment, one is really thunderstruck at the policy which the Government is following:

Now I come to the question about interviews. One of the grounds put before this House was that the relatives of detenus cannot be allowed to have interviews with them because the Members are reminded of what was going to happen in the case of Jai Prakash Narain whose wife was allowed to have an interview with him. He said that it was good for the country that the Government stepped in and prevented the mischief. To put forward one solitary instance as a ground for preventing interviews of other persons with these detenus, persons who are closely related to them can be hardly justified. And if things were to proceed on these lines that one instance justifies a particular line of action, then I wish the Railway Member would learn a lesson from the Honourable the Home Member. What I mean is that if there is one major accident on one section of the Railways he should conclude that there would be a major accident with every train and he should take all necessary precautions. There is a kind of bird called swallow which migrates about the summertime from England.

*Mr Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta):* Your time is up.

*Mr Govind V. Deshmukh:* Just a few words more. If this swallow runs away from England it does not mean that summer has come: One swallow does not make a summer. Therefore to put forward this one particular instance about Jai Prakash Narain's wife is a very lame excuse to prevent interviews in future between the detenus and their wives. Sir, I support the Resolution with this present amendment and my amendment.

*Mr Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta):* Amendment moved:

'That in lines 2 and 4 of the Resolution the following be deleted: in general and those convicted for political offences since August 1942, in particular'.

*Mr Lalchand Navalrai* (Sind: Non-Muhammadan Rural): The Resolution will appear to the whole House to be very reasonable and a very humane one. It asks that better treatment should be given to the detenu and the political prisoners. When we know who these prisoners are, we cannot but say that is very necessary that better and more human treatment should be given to them. From time to time since 1942, and even before that there have been complaints that instead of the treatment getting better it has become worse. Today this House has been informed of actual instances to show how that treatment is being meted out to them, and I am very glad that each Province has given some instances. When I have put questions on this matter, the Honourable the Home Member has always said: 'Give us individual cases and I will enquire into them'. Well, Sir, here today we are giving you individual cases of a nature in which your interference is very necessary.

Now the Resolution itself asked that better treatment should be given to these prisoners, or that they should be released. In the second part, the methods by which the better treatment may be given to them is that the Members of the Legislature should be allowed to visit these prisoners and find out their condition and then do something. But I feel that there is some defect in the Resolution dealing with the method that is called for. Whenever we come before this House and say that we personally know that the treatment is not good, the other side either contradicts it or puts us to proof. Now, if we go and visit the jails, find out those difficulties and present them to the House, on the other side the Home Member will get up and say that he has received reports from his own officers to the contrary. Therefore, I submit that the method asked for in the Resolution is not adequate. I would prefer the Resolution of Mr Joshi, which has also been supported by my friend Mr Deshmukh. It asks that a Committee of the legislature should be appointed in co-operation with the Local Government to find out their condition and to meet with their requirements, and I submit that I would like to support that amendment.

Before I put up the case of prisoners in my own Province with respect to the treatment they are receiving and the amenities they are not getting, I cannot say but say that the information that we have got today from the Honourable Sardar Mangal Singh has simply startled us. Sardar Mangal Singh has told us that a District Magistrate called upon him and asked him not to attend the Assembly, because the order was that he should not go from such and such a place. Now I say that the conduct of the Magistrate appears to me to be most impertinent and disgraceful. Under whose orders was Sardar Mangal Singh attending the Assembly? He was attending under a summons from the Viceroy? And is this Magistrate over and above him? This Magistrate takes upon himself to override the directions of the Viceroy. A question was put by the Chair asking why he indulged in such writing with the Magistrate and so forth. What can he do? I have always thought the policeman and the Magistrate on the spot have more powers than the Kings and the Viceroy themselves. As soon as something is done they arrest the person concerned. They do not wait for the orders of the Viceroy or the Honourable the Home Member. Therefore, if he had not taken this precaution he would have been arrested there and then and this news would not have reached us here. This is not a simple matter. The House should take this matter up and get it vindicated, and that in future there should be no such act done by any Magistrate. I will go, Sir, on your behalf to say that I would wish that the Government on behalf of that Magistrate should offer an apology to the Honourable Member of this House.

Then I come to the Resolution itself. I will tell you what are the indignities and difficulties with regard to the prisoners, detenus as well as political prisoners in Sind. The first and

foremost thing that I would bring to the notice of the House is this; our Government in Sind is not working under Section 93 and yet we find difficulties for these prisoners with regard to their transfer from one jail to another. That is a great difficulty of Upper Sind, would themselves feel that it is inhuman that people living in Karachi should be locked up in Upper Sind where there is no much excessive heat in these days, instead of being transferred to a Karachi jail where the climate and the place would agree with them. There was some agitation on this point but there was very slow response on the part of the Cabinet.

Now as instances, I will say that there are very respectable men who have been members of the Sind Assembly. They are Sri Jairamdas Daulatram, Professor H.H. Malkani and Professor Gunsham. They are still in Sukklu Jail even though there have been so many representations on their behalf.

I would therefore submit that in these days they should be transferred to Karachi where the climate is better. Situated as they are in jail in Upper Sind they have not any amenities to face the heat over here since they cannot come out in open nor can they live like in their own houses. They are locked up in those cells and they have hardly any open space to sleep. What I would submit is that so far as the Upper Sind prisoners are concerned they should be transferred to Karachi. But if they could not be so transferred, then I would suggest that electric fans should be provided for them in the jail. I am not making this request without precedent.

*Dr P.N. Banerjee:* European prisoners are always supplied.

*Mr Lalchand Navalrai:* In the Punjab when people were imprisoned under the civil disobedience movement, electric fans were given to them, and I do not know-it may be that even now some do get fans. If so, why should not the same be done in Sind. At least those in Upper Sind must have fans. I would submit that those prisoners who now remain in jail for over a year should be released. The movement is not so very severe or stern now, and therefore these gentlemen should be released. There is one thing which I want specifically to bring to the notice of the honourable the Home Member with regard to release. Most of the names I have given are those of the members of the Sind Assembly. It is not in the interests of the Sind Government to let them out. As soon as they are out, there will be a tussle again about the ministry. The Sind Government will, therefore, never agree to release them. It is the Central Government that should take the necessary steps to let these gentlemen out.

Another point I wish to refer to is about the difficulty of these prisoners with regard to business transactions. These men were put in jail when they had done certain businesses. They were half done, certain cheques had to be issued, certain other things had to be done. But they are not allowed to do all this from jail. They are refused permission to sign papers and send them out. The third thing I would point out is with regard to the allowances to the detenus. There are some detenus whose families are not being allowed any maintenance. I have brought one case to the notice of the Honourable the Home Member. He was kind enough to communicate with the Sind Government and that related to Professor Alum Gidwani's wife. She applied for maintenance and I had spoken to the Home Member about it last time. Up till the time I was there nothing had been done, but subsequently I am told that some allowance has been sanctioned. I understand there is some difficulty there also. I hope the Honourable the Home Member will make an enquiry into it.

*Mr Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta):* The Honourable Member's time is up.

*Mr Lalchand Navalrai:* Is no time today running very fast, especially this afternoon. I want only a few minutes more and I shall finish. Therefore I submit that that case should be enquired into and if she has got no allowance she must be given one. She has got no other

provision. I can assure the Honourable the Home Member about it. I am told that she is being given allowance from today, and not from the day from which her husband is in jail.

Let me come to ailing detenus. There are so many respectable prisoners in jail who are suffering from some illness or other and they are not being released, nor is any sufficient help given. One is Miss Sarala Jagumal, a Cambridge University Graduate, another is Miss Jethi Sipahimalani, Deputy Speaker of Sind Assembly, again Mr Vishnidas J. Shivadasani, who is a Doctor of literature. There is also Mr H.D. Moriwala who is reported to be suffering from fever. Only one word more. I will refer to the case of one. . . .

*Mr Jamnadas M. Mehta* (Bombay Central Division; Non-Muhammadian Rural): Why not put the clock back for the Honourable Member's sake?

*Mr Lalchand Navalrai*: Why don't you do it? If the House so wishes, it will be done. One minute more.

*Mr Deputy President* (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta): Your one minute seems to be too long.

*Mr Lalchand Navalrai*: Mr M.S. Sharma is reported to be suffering from goiter which is a serious malady. Its cure lies in an operation of thyroid gland. He has not been released, though the Civil Surgeon gave a certificate. (Interruption.) If he has been released I shall be very glad, but if not, I hope the Honourable the Home Member will look into that case also. Regarding the classification of prisoners, something should be done because there is a difficulty with regard to it. Releases on parole are very slow. In one word I may say that the Provincial Government is not generous in this respect; it is not giving the prisoners what they reasonably require. As my time is over I will sit down; otherwise I have much to say.

*Mr K.C. Neogy* (Dacca Division – Non-Muhammadian Rural): There are certain obvious disadvantages in having to resume a debate after a lapse of four months; unless one is endowed with a stupendous memory, one is apt to make mistakes as to what was exactly said on the previous occasion. And it seems to me that the Honourable the Home Member, in spite of all the extraordinary qualities he is endowed with, has not got very dependable memory. When he was getting rather restive because of the reference made by my Honourable friend, Sardar Mangal Singh, to the operation of the Defence of India Rules 26, I looked up the Debates and found that a reference to this particular point was entirely relevant because of the reference which the Honourable the Home Member had made at page 1474 of the Debates of the last occasion. What do I find there? He mentioned this Rule by its specific number and went on to defend the policy on the ground that the Government had been very considerate, that they were not indiscriminate and so on and so forth. He gave statistics to show that the Government had been very discriminating in using the powers under that Rule.

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell*: On a point of order, Sir, What the Honourable Member is now saying is a reflection on the ruling given by the President this morning. The President ruled a certain discussion as being out of order and it is not for the Honourable Member of comment subsequently on the decision as given.

*Mr K.C. Neogy*: I make no reflection at all. If the Honourable President had been told that a reference was made specifically by the Honourable the Home Member himself to this particular point, the ruling might have been otherwise.

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell*: The Honourable Member is still arguing against the President's ruling.

*Mr K.C. Neogy*: That apart, reference was allowed to be made to this particular point when my Honourable friend, Mr Kailash Behari Lall was speaking; as far as I could gather, a large portion of his speech dealt with this particular point.

*Mr Deputy President (Mr Akhil Chandra Datta):* A general reference to the operation of Rule 26 is probably not in order, especially in view of the ruling of the Honourable the President but I should think that the Honourable Member has a right to criticise the speech of the Honourable the Home Member on this Resolution.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* Apart from that, I should like to point out that the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Mr Joshi, asks for a review of these cases. What does that mean? It asks this House to agree to a recommendation that the merits of each case should be gone into, and that indirectly leads to the question of the administration of the Defence of India Rules 26.

Now, Sir, I should not like to dwell any longer on this point; and I should like to come to the other points made by the Honourable the Home Member. Lest I do him any injustice, I should like to follow the reported speech. In one part of his speech, the Honourable member said that, so far as detenus who had been detained without trial before August 1942, were concerned, their treatment, since their release from Deoli, as prescribed in the revised rules of the Government of India, was humane and liberal; and then he went on to say that security prisoners detained in connection with the movement of August 1942, are governed by the same rules but there are certain modification which have been based on the reasons and objects of the detention and these modifications must be regarded not as penal but as precautionary. Now, Sir, if, according to him the previous set of detenus are treated in a humane and liberal manner, and if there has been any departure from those rules in the case of those detenus who have been detained for their alleged participation in the movement of August 1942, it can be argued that their treatment is not humane and liberal. The Honourable Member's opinion that the modifications must be regarded not as penal but as precautionary will not pass muster, although my Honourable friend, Pandit Nilakantha Das seems to be quite satisfied with this assurance. (Interruption by Pandit Nilkantha Das) He accepted the assurance that the treatment was not penal but precautionary and he was glad to be assured on that point.

Now, Sir, in what respect do the new rules constitute a departure from the old ones. The Honourable the Home Member says that the modification in the first instance, is that they are treated as belonging to a class intermediate between class 1 and class 2 of the previous set of rules and that their scales of diet are also intermediate between these two classes. Then, again, certain privileges in regard to interviews, writing letters, etc. are also much more restricted. Take the question of food. Does the Honourable Member consider that the reduction in the standard, if not the quantity of food, which he has brought about by this modified instruction, is of a precautionary nature and not penal? Does the Honourable Member hope that this House will be convinced by this sort of argument? And How was this instruction interpreted in the Provinces? I shall have occasion to go into the case of the Punjab very shortly. In the Punjab, men like leaders of the opposition in the legislature of the Punjab, and other prominent men, were put on a diet costing six annas a day, not six annas per meal, but six annas a day. That was the prescribed cost of the diet for the Leader of the opposition and other members of the Punjab Legislature, not to mention other prominent non-officials who had been detained. My honourable friend says it is precautionary and not penal! That six annas was intended to cover not merely food but also fuel, and everything else. They were not permitted to supplement this magnificent sum with any contribution from any of their friends, and this was definitely a precautionary measure, not penal! He says that these people are even more dangerous than those who have been convicted on definite counts for



participation in the movement of August 1942. I have an impression, it is for the Honourable Member to verify. What I am stating, that of late, due to the right of appeal having been granted in case that were tried under the Special Courts Ordinance, a number of people have filed appeals. I am not going to the Provinces. I am taking up the cases that are happening here in Delhi. In the case of a number of people who were actually convicted, it has been judicially found that there was no iota of evidence against them and they are being released by the Judge of Delhi. Will the Honourable Member make an inquiry into this matter. It is very convenient for him to assume that those who have not been put on their trial are rebels, and that they do not deserve any considerate treatment.

Now, Sir, time is running. I had very many points to deal with. Instances after instances of cruel and barbarous treatment meted out to the detenus in the different provinces have been brought to notice. I have a long list of such cases compiled out of newspaper files. Moreover, I had occasion to look up the proceedings of the Punjab Legislative Assembly -- those that are available in the Library and tried to summarise the grievances which were put forward in the course of debates and questions on several occasions in October and November last; and these grievances as summarised by me, run to 8 typed foolscap pages. They constitute most sickening reading. All kinds of allegations were made, and not a single one has been refuted. A parrot sort of reply was given in every case. I will just read out one for the information of the House. It was said that it is not in the public interest to give a reply to these questions on the floor of the house but if the Honourable member so desires, a reply could be sent for his private information. (An Honourable Member: 'Who gave the reply?') I think the Parliamentary Secretary. The questions insinuated all sorts of atrocities, ill-treatment of prominent men, members of the Legislature being confined in prisons reserved for tuberculosis patients prisons which had been condemned and recommended for abolition; women being beaten, and when we come to references about the Lahore Fort,<sup>3</sup> we have a statement made by the late lamented Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. He said that some detenus were transferred to the Lahore Fort by the Government of India and they did not stay there for more than 20 days. Naturally, he did not want to take any responsibility for this particular type of persons. Will the Honourable Member explain the partiality of the Home Department for these old Mughal Forts and their subterranean vaults? I had occasion to write to him as early as January about certain reports that reached my ears as to the use to which certain subterranean vaults in the Red Fort at Delhi were being put. I had no intention of raising this issue on the floor of the House as I had addressed him on this point. Since then a question was asked by an Honourable Member. . . .

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* Will the Honourable Member quote my reply?

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* I am sorry I have not got the reply with me; but the Honourable Member said that he was satisfied that the allegations were untrue. But the fact remains that in a very recent article a prominent daily newspaper has given details of the allegations. Reference was also made to this particular fact by my Honourable friend the Mover; and here in this newspaper we have a reference to this underground prison in the Red Fort at Delhi where prisoners are detained without trial. Names are given and also the period spent by each. The information, they say, is received from communications from released persons who have sojourned in it. Here are certain very serious allegations; though I have not myself had the opportunity of verifying the truth or otherwise of these allegations. The Honourable Member says that Members of this Legislature have no particular status with reference to the Provincial Governments, but certainly they may have something to do with the areas directly under the control



of the Government of India. Delhi is one of those areas. I make a sporting suggestion to the Honourable Member. Will he make an informal inquiry into this matter, not by constituting a formal Committee? Will he allow my Honourable friends Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Dr Banerjee, Sir Henry Richardson (Whom I find fast asleep), Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Sardar Sant Singh, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi and Mr Joshi to get down to the underground cells referred to in this article and in the debate of this House, and let them satisfy themselves as to their reasons for detention of persons of this type, and let them also talk to those people who have any experience to relate of their brief sojourn either there or in the Lahore Fort? Will the Honourable Member accept the suggestion? I do not suggest any formal inquiry. Let these gentlemen, or any of them who might like to be associated with this inquiry, be taken down to the Delhi Fort in the first instance, just to have a view of the place, and if they felt like summoning those detenus who were there for some time, only then they might ask them to be produced, not otherwise. This is an offer which the Honourable Member should accept, if he really cares for his reputation.

*Sardar Sant Singh* (West Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I will not take much time of the House. I intervene in this debate only because I want to say a few words in regard to what I have been saying about the Defence of India Rules and the way in which they have been working and the reasons why statesmen take a different view of those who are detained under those Rules and the treatment that is being meted out to the detenus. The House will remember that on the day when the Defence of India Rules were under discussion in this House I cried hoarse and said that having the experiences of the old Defence of India Realm Act, I knew that they were likely to be abused. I pressed to Government to hold out an assurance to this House as was held out in the House of Commons that the Rules will be worked with humanity and with consideration taking into account the fact that the detention is not after trial and conviction but it is an act of the Executive Government. There were some gentlemen who did not see eye to eye with me on this question, but a strange thing happened to one of them. An Honourable Member of the Council of State on a certain occasion learnt that his relation was arrested under the Defence of India Rules. He rushed upto Gujranwala and there met the Superintendent of Police and told him that he was one of those who had supported that Act. He said that he was not Sant Singh who opposed it but then he found that he was wrong and I was right. So, after a good deal of trouble the man was released. This is an attitude of mind which shows that even those, who were the supporters of the Government at the time when the Defence of India Rules were under discussion in this House and the Upper House have come to realise that it is a weapon of tyranny and not a weapon intended for the purpose of the defence of the country.

The second point which I want to make out is this. In section 2 of the Act it is given that for three purposes the Defence of India Rules will be used. Firstly, to stop all those activities which go to hamper the war effort, secondly to maintain public tranquility and, thirdly, to maintain law and order. Now, we were assured on the floor of the House that beyond that the Defence of India Rules will not be used. But today, looking at the number of the Ordinances and the Rules that have been issued during the last three years, we find that all the legislative powers of the Legislatures have been over ruled and the Defence of India Rules have been brought into action to provide for those contingencies which were never contemplated when the Defence of India Act was promulgated. I appreciate the position, I am not ignoring the position that in the extraordinary times through which the country is passing on account of the war there is a justification for arming the executive with some power. But what I demand

is that power should be used in a manner which should substantially be a procedure of the court of law, if not actually the procedure of the court of law. Here what I find is this that when a man is first arrested under Rule 29 he is kept in the police lockup for a couple of months, which this rule permits. They say that he is kept for a couple of months in the police lock-up for the purpose of interrogation. I do not find in the Criminal Procedure Code any provision by which an accused person can be interrogated. However, leave this question aside. He is interrogated and interrogated for such a long period as two months. If the interrogations of a person are placed before this House, we will be able to understand what those interrogations are that go on for such a long period as two months. When these two months are over, the Government passes an order under Rule 26 in order to detain him. Then, further on, there are cases in which the person detained under Rule 26 is being prosecuted in a court of law. If the Government detained a person to prosecute him, on the allegations on which he is being detained, the detention order is not justified. The detention order is meant where the charge cannot be brought publicly and the man is not to be tried in an open court. But if the Executive Government decides to prosecute him, then it clearly means that the Executive is prepared to lay a charge openly in public and justify their action in a court of law. These two things cannot go on simultaneously. In one case which I am defending myself, these two things are going on. Somebody asked me why in this case I should not ask for the discharge of the accused, because there was no evidence against him. I told him that I did not want to do so, that I did not want to ask for the discharge because the accused got better treatment when he came to court than he would if he were in jail. We go on prolonging the case now because the accused will get better treatment outside the jail. Things are happening like that.

There are many illustrations which I can give, there are so many cases which I can before the Honourable the Home Member. I am not asking that he should kindly look into those cases, if I want, I shall certainly write to him about any particular case which requires such scrutiny. Here on the floor of the House, I want to discuss the question of the policy, and what sort of treatment should be accorded to such prisoners. May I ask the Honourable the Home Member whether it is fair to look at every case from the policeman's point of view. The policeman's point of view has been described by eminent jurists as regarding a man as guilty until he has proved his innocence in a court of law. Are the Home Department and those who are in charge of administering the Defence of India Rules going to say in this manner that every Indian is guilty, that every Indian is against war effort unless he proves his innocence? Then, Sir, such a state of affairs is awfully bad. You have to rely from the very nature of the things on the report of certain officers who are in the police. Human institutions are such that we ought to depend upon them, but there should be some scrutiny. If Great Britain and the Parliament can appoint an Advisory Committee to scrutinise such actions of the police where the police is reported to be more honest and more straightforward, surely in India it requires that some such Advisory Committee should be constituted to look into the reports that come and see whether they are justified or not. The other day, I brought to the notice of the Home Department the case of Sardar Dewan Singh of Riyasat who is crying hoarse behind prison bars. He informed the authorities that he has never been associated with any political activity, he has never been a member of any political party, he had the misfortune to have a big fight with the local police officials. Then when he was convicted of having forged notes, or something like that, he went on appeal to the High Court. There he pressed his case that that was all due to the enmity with police officials. The High Court exonerated him, no doubt for the purpose of that case. As soon as he was acquitted, the very police whom he

maligned in his arguments before the High Court reported against him and he is now detained. He has sent representations. I had the benefit of reading that representations. I had the benefit of reading that representation, he is crying all over it, that he had nothing to do with any subversive movement. Similar is the case with Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar' who was detained in Lahore Fort for a very long time. I do not remember exactly the period, probably six months. He was detained. . . .

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* Under the orders of the Government of India as pointed out by the late Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan.

*Sardar Sant Singh:* In the Punjab Assembly, it was said that no person was detained for more than 15 days. When it was ventilated in the Punjab Assembly, the reply was that it was not in the public interest to discuss it. Surely this state of affairs cannot be gratifying to anybody in India. The Government of India can take shelter behind the fact that it is an act of the Provincial Government. But I submit that Government of India are equally responsible. They are not merely legally responsible, but also morally. When an Act is passed by the Legislature, it is the legal responsibility of the Government of India to see that the Act is administered in a proper manner.

There are so many others instances which I do not want to touch upon. The things which I noticed by reading the newspaper from time to time is that persons are released on account of ill-health and they soon die when they come out. There are so many instances. Will not the Honourable the Home Member take proper precaution to see that people are released at the proper time at any rate when they can be given proper medical treatment and when there is still a chance of recovery? This is a state of affairs which no man can look with satisfaction in this country. Now specially when the war situation has improved, when the country is more tranquil than at this time last year, may I ask him that he should appoint some Members of the Legislature and give them an opportunity to look into the treatment that is actually being meted out to the detenus in the various jails? He should see that some amenities are provided for them. After all they are not members of the criminal tribes, they are not revolutionaries, they are not guilty of any violent crime. It is a precautionary detention brought about by circumstances over which we have no control. If it is a precautionary detention, they may be treated like men and not like brutes. Therefore, I submit that some action is urgently called for by the Government of India. I ask them that in their own interest, in the name of good administration of the country, they should accept the principle underlying the amendment of Mr Joshi. He has moderately put the whole position and wants some moderate action to be taken, or in the alternative the Government by their own action should appoint an Advisory Committee to look into the case of several persons so that they may not entirely rely on the police reports, but that the police should feel that there is somebody to look into those reports and find out whether there are indiscriminate arrests and unnecessary hardships caused. Therefore I support the Resolution with the amendment of Mr Joshi.

*Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan' (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural):* Mr Deputy President, the Resolution before the House has been under discussion since the last Session of the Assembly. My excuse in taking part in the discussion at this late stage is that we wanted to know and be in possession of all the facts and arguments that could be advanced either in support or against this Resolution before the Muslim League Party as such could express its views on it. Sir, I have very carefully studied the speeches of the Honourable the Mover of this Resolution and the Honourable the Home Member. I have listened to all the speeches that have been made today on the floor of the House with great

attention. Let me at the very outset say that as far as the demand for better treatment, for humane treatment for decent treatment to detenus and political prisoners is concerned, you have our fullest sympathy and we will give our fullest support. It is well admitted that a man who is detained without trial is regarded as innocent in the eyes of the law and in the eyes of all honest and decent people. But there are occasions when a Government may in the larger interests of a country take some action which in its judgement is necessary to preserve peace. But that is no reason why such persons should not be treated as decent human beings but like criminals who have been proved guilty of heinous offences. The Resolution demands better treatment for classes of prisoners i.e. those who are detenus and political prisoners and others who have been convicted since August 1942. I am rather surprised that the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution, as was pointed out by the Honourable the Home Member did not say anything regarding those who were convicted after August 1942 and I cannot help feeling – and I hope my Honourable friend will forgive me that the inclusion of that class of prisoners was only meant as a pat on the back of those who were guilty of having created a very serious situation in the country.

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari* (Tanjore cum Trichinopoly – Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, on a point of information I should like to correct my Honourable friend. I did specifically mention those people who have been convicted and the Defence of India Act and Rules and special Ordinances. If the Honourable the Home Member made a mistake I am not responsible for it. It is there in the proceedings.

*Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan*. I have studied the speech; however I will not enter into that argument. But since then an amendment has been moved by my Honourable friend, Mr Deshmukh, wherein he desires to delete the cases of those who were convicted of offences committed after August 1942, and as far as we are concerned, we will support this amendment because we cannot possibly by any action, implicit or explicit, give our support to the movement which has been responsible for great loss of life and property and for creating a situation in the country the like of which is not to be found since 1857. Therefore, as I said, we have the fullest sympathy and we will give our fullest support to this Resolution, so far as it concerns the demand for better and humane treatment of all these detenus and security prisoners who are detained by Government without being put on trial before a court of law.

The Honourable the Home member in his speech while opposing the Resolution tried to justify the action that Government have taken so far in this respect. We have today heard speeches and cases have been stated not on hearsay evidence but on the testimony of those who have themselves suffered under the orders of detention passed by this Government. The Home Member may say that the allegations are not true. I am not prepared to doubt statements made so vehemently by Honourable Members of this House who have had personal experience of these matters. There could not have been this feeling if there had not been something wrong somewhere. There must be something rotten in the state of Denmark. Otherwise I do not think these Honourable Members would have come forward and occupied the time of this House by narrating their own experiences without any instigation. And after all what is it that the Resolution demands? And before I deal with that I should like to make another point clear. We have studied all the amendments and we have come to the decision that we will support the amendment which was moved by Mr Joshi. With regard to Mr Deshmukh's amendment I have already stated our position. Let us examine the position if this amendment of Mr Joshi were passed. It only wants that the policy in regard to the treatment of detenus and political prisoners should be revised in cooperation with Provincial Governments and in

consultation with a committee of this House so as to provide for better living conditions in jail, better communication with outside, adequate provisions for their families and an impartial review of their case at an early date. To my word there is nothing in it to which any Member of this House, at least an elected member, can take exception. It does not ignore the Provincial Governments: they are to be consulted as also a committee of this House. I shall deal in a few minutes with the question of whether a committee of this House is to be consulted or not in such matters. But there is nothing in that we need object to. Do we not want that these people who are as innocent in the eyes of the law as we are here should be given a treatment which every decent human being deserves? Is it not incumbent upon Govt. servant who are responsible for detaining these people and for depriving a family of its breadwinner to provide for the maintenance of these people? If one has any evidence in their possession and conclusive proof that these persons are guilty of some heinous offences, the only right course open to them is to go before a court of law and get its decision. But as long as they do not take that step it is surely the duty of any decent Government to treat these people as decent human beings.

The Honourable the Home Member objected to taking into confidence and for consulting a committee of this House. I have got his speech before me. He stated while objecting to the amendment of Mr Joshi.

I do not think that it would be appropriate for the Government formally to associate themselves with a committee of the legislature to deal with matters which on the face of it require executive decision and action.

I am afraid, Mr Deputy President, I do not see the logic of it. If you want to have the goodwill of the people with you, you have got to take the representatives of the people into confidences and consultation and let me say that specially in the case of a Government like the present one, whose policy and whose control is foreign though the composition may be swadeshi. It is necessary for a Government of this type not to ignore and not to treat with contempt the opinion and the feelings of the people of this country. Had it been a Government of the Punjab then the Honourable the Home Member might have had some justification for bringing forward such an argument, and I can assure him, that if it had been a Government of the people he would have never made such a statement on the floor of this House. Therefore, Sir, in the interest of the Government themselves, in the cause of satisfying the people of the country that the treatment of the Government is that of any civilised Government, they should have no objection to accepting this proposal.

Sir, my Honourable friend, Sardar Mangal Singh, paid a compliment of the Governments of Sind and North-West Provinces and said that because of their policy there the sabotage movement did not exist, because of the policy that the Congress were treated in a different manner there the sabotage movement did not get root in those provinces. With due deference to his opinion I submit that the sabotage movement could not and did not succeed in those provinces because these are the provinces where the Mussulmans are in overwhelming majority; these are the provinces where the Mussulmans, as a community, had kept completely aloof from this movement. That is the reason Mr Deputy President and not the reason which is stated by Sardar Mangal Singh. But Sir, I again request the Honourable Home Member to consider the proposal that is being placed before him and that has been placed before the House. As I have stated, my Party has decided to support the Resolution and the amendment of Mr Deshmukh and Mr Joshi. Before I sit down, Mr Deputy President — and I feel from

your attitude that my times is probably up — I would only say that I do appeal not only to the non-official Members of this Honourable House, but to Government themselves that they should accept this Resolution as amended by these amendments which I have supported and they should not sit satisfied that everything is all right but they should make an effort to find out and improve the lot of those who have been deprived of their liberty and freedom by your executive action.

*Dr P.N. Banerjee:* The Resolution is a very modest one and its scope is extremely limited. If I had been the framer of the Resolution, I would certainly have given it a wider scope. But something is better than nothing and it is on this principle that I support the Resolution as amended by the amendments of Mr Joshi and Mr Deshmukh.

Now, Sir, What is the demand made in the Resolution and in the two amendments? The demand is for an enquiry, and after enquiry for giving humane treatment to detenus and political prisoners. Is that an unreasonable demand? It may be said, and it has been said by the Honourable the Home Member, that humane treatment has already been meted out to the detenus and political prisoners. I say that that is a wrong statement.

[At this stage, Mr President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) resumed the Chair].

I have received numerous complaints from different part of the country and I have personal knowledge of cases where detenus and political prisoners have been very badly treated. And if we read the files of newspapers, what do we find? We find cases of the most inhumane treatment being meted out. We all know certain instances. Two members of this House — the late Mr Satyanarayan and the late Mr Balachandra Johri — lost their physical health during detention in jails and they were let out of the jail only when it became known that they were about to die. Now, can this be called humane treatment? Two other Members of this House related this morning their own personal experiences as they pointed out to this House how inconsiderate is the attitude of the Provincial Governments. They pointed out that without a shred of evidence against them they were detained. My Honourable friend Mr Kailash Bihari Lall, — I have pointed out to this House several times before, — was not a member of the Congress organisation; he was a member and an office-bearer of the Nationalist Party. He had not joined the sabotage movement at all and still he was detained in jail. And, further on — look at the fun of the whole thing, — he was asked to give an undertaking to the effect that he would not help his brother who was described as an absconder-but who really was living in the same jail with him. This is a funny story that he has related and I know personally that the facts related by him are absolutely correct. My Honourable friend, Sardar Mangal Singh, said that the Provincial Government of the Punjab wanted to have jurisdiction over the Central Assembly and gave a gagging order so that he might not attend this Assembly and take part in its proceedings. Would the Home Member justify such action? Whenever we put cases before him, he says it is for the Provincial Government to decide, but are such acts on the part of the Provincial Governments to be justified? In the case of the Punjab you may say that it is a province which enjoys an autonomous Government, but what about Bihar? Bihar is governed under Section 93 of the Government of India Act and Central Government has full control over the administration of that province. But in that province things have occurred which are disgrace to the administration of India.

Now, Sir, our friends have narrated all the stories that have come to their knowledge. I personally know of many other things. But I am not going to detain this House with a narration of them. What I want is to draw the prominent attention of the Honourable the Home Member to what is demanded in the course of the Resolution and the two amendments. What is

demand is an enquiry. Is not that a reasonable thing to demand? He may say that this enquiry is to be made by Members of the Legislature. But that is not exactly what is wanted. The enquiry is to be made by the Government, but with the Government should be associated Members of the Legislature, not members belonging to one particular party. Would such a body do anything which would be harmful to the interests of the country? Would such a body do a thing which would prove harmful to the maintenance of law and order in India? I fail to understand why the Honourable the Home Member should object to such an enquiry being made.

Then, again, what is wanted after the enquiry? It is that humane treatment should be given. That is to say, adequate food, adequate clothing, and adequate family allowances should be given; they should be allowed to communicate with their friends, and those who require medical treatment should be afforded such treatment, and detenus and prisoners should be accommodated in places where the conditions are sanitary. These are all the things that are wanted. No Member of this House has demanded anything else. Mr Joshi has further demanded that a review of these cases should be made and that if it is found that these persons are not guilty or have suffered in health or are about to die, they should be released. Is that an unreasonable demand?

I appeal to the Honourable the Home Member to take these facts into consideration and not to be guided by a policy of false prestige but to do the right thing at least once on this present occasion.

I support the original Resolution, together with the amendments of Mr Joshi and Mr Deshmukh, and I hope that this amended Resolution will be accepted, not only by the elected Members of this house but also by the Government.

*Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:* The question be now put.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is —  
'That the question be now put'.

The motion was adopted.

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari:* I thought the Government was going to say something about the Resolution at this stage, because the Honourable the Home Member promised on the last occasion that he would make another speech.

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* I think, I can speak after the Member.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I will allow the Home Member.

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari:* May I speak after the Home Member?

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Will, the Honourable Member go on with his reply?

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari:* I am very grateful, Sir, to the elected Members of this House and to the Honourable Mr N.M. Joshi for the support they gave to my Resolution. I would like to state at this stage that I am willing to accept the amendment moved by my friend, Mr Deshmukh, viz., the elimination of one sentence in my Resolution and also the amendment moved by my friend, Mr Joshi. I hope, Sir, that the other amendment moved by my friend Mr Neogy, will not be passed as the Resolution and amendment of my Honourable friend Pandit Nilkantha Das. As I stated at the outset, it is not my object to ask for the release of these people who are in prison. The purpose of my Resolution was definite. It was to ask for better treatment of political prisoners and detenus, and I do not wish to accept any amendment that takes it out of the modest scope of my original intention. Sir, I would like to correct a mistake made by my Honourable friend, the Home Member, which unfortunately was repeated



by the Honourable the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party. I did, Sir, specifically state at the outset that I contemplated three classes of prisoners to come within the scope of my Resolution. One happens to be those detained for a temporary period under rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules; secondly, those detained under rule 26; and thirdly those classes of prisoners convicted and sentenced to a term of imprisonment under the Defence of India Rules. So I maintain that my Resolution cover the whole lot of people who have been convicted for political offences or dealt with any other manner for political reasons under Rule 26 or are detained temporarily at the pleasure of the police and the magistrate. Sir, I hope my Honourable friend, the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party has not been misled in this matter. But I do say that I have no objection at all to eliminating any specific reference to any particular class of prisoners. The greater comprises the less. Political prisoners and detenus comprise all people whether convicted after August 1942, or before, and I am quite content to accept the unqualified support to the amended Resolution, the resolutions amended by Mr Deshmukh and Mr Joshi that has been given by the Honourable the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party.

I would like to touch on one or two matters mentioned by the Honourable the Home Member on the last occasion. There is no justification, I maintain, for the creation of a new class of detenus. It is not penal, he said. I agree. It was not, however, necessary for precautionary purposes to harass people in detention. The second point of which much was made by the Honourable the Home Member was this. He reiterated that the Central Government, placed as it is today, cannot interfere in matters that are purely provincial. Leave alone the constitutional aspect, which has been shown times without number as being merely a sort of smoke screen, as the Central Government has interfered in provincial matters times out of number, let me take the constitutional aspect out of this argument altogether, let me put it to Government, you create a weapon and put it into the hands of the Provincial Governments, are you not morally bound to see that weapon is properly used? If the Provincial Governments rebel and you have no statutory powers to bring them to heel, withdraw the powers that you have delegated to them. Sir let me ask, can the Members of this House really feel that Sir George Boag is the autonomous Bombay Government, or that Sir Tenant Sloan is the autonomous United Provincial Government, or Mr X the autonomous Bombay Government, or Mr Y the autonomous Bihar Government, or Mr Z the autonomous Central Provincial Government? They are just part of the bureaucracy which carries on Government. Are you not bound to see that those laws which you have asked them to handle are properly and humanely carried out? Sir, one can put it on other grounds as well. Was there not a Congo Commission? Was not an international Commission set up to enquire into the atrocities in Belgian Congo? Why don't you do the same? I want you to create such a commission; if not, at least accept the amendment which Mr Joshi has moved and which the Honourable the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party has supported. Create a committee of the Legislature. Let them with your help and through you bring moral pressure to bear on the Provincial Governments. That is all I ask. I do not ask for anything more.

The second fact that I wanted to draw the attention of the House to is this. The Honourable the Home Member mentioned that generally speaking, a security prisoner whose health is such that he can no longer take any active part in the movement is released by the Provincial Governments and he has heard of a considerable number of such cases? True; if the Provincial Governments do not release him, he gets released completely from the purview of your Acts and Rules. He goes to where he belongs ultimately, and that is the very reason why we in



this House are asking for better treatment for those detained in prisons. Take the number of deaths that have occurred in my own provinces. Recently there have been four deaths in prison—deaths from typhoid, from cholera, and so on. Who is responsible? Can you not see that your prison food arrangement is responsible for bringing on cholera? Can you not see that your prison sanitation is responsible for bringing on typhoid? Do you really mean to say that you will only release people who have come to such a physical condition as my late lamented friend, Mr Satyamurti was in so that there after it might not be possible for them to do any mischief? Is that your idea? If that is your idea, let me tell you here and now that from the interviews I have had with those persons who have been released, I learn that 30 to 40 per cent of people who are now in prison today will be in the condition of absolute physical wrecks when they come out in a year or thereafter. If that is the idea of the Government, why all this pretence of being sympathetic, why all this pretence of being afraid of interfering with constitutional proprieties? In the case of the detenus you won't bring them to trial, and they must suffer silently because you will keep quiet. In the case of those convicted under the Defence of India Rules there is provincial autonomy functioning and the Central Government cannot do anything. I would like to draw the attention of the House to another fact. Why do we want this Resolution? It is because the Government's conscience must be roused, and people must know what is happening. Here in this House Mr Kailash Bihari Lal said 'I had my brother who was supposed to be absconding and whom I was supposed to be aiding was in the same cell for three months, but I could not tell people that I have not committed any offence.' There is a blackout on what is happening in prison because no interviews are permitted. If it happens that something leaks out, if it happens that those people who come out speak of it, what they say cannot be given publicity. If newspapers publish it and only one newspaper the *Hindustan Times* had the guts to publish these reports. What is it characterised as?

I have heard it said that a Government official in Delhi is terribly annoyed about it all. 'There is one newspaper which has got the gumption to publish reports of these atrocities. It is characterised as atrocity mongering'. A new addition to the bureaucratic vocabulary. If you tell the truth you are atrocity mongering! You ought not to tell the truth so publicly that people die in jails. Perhaps you will be permitted to tell it privately in the ears of Sir Reginald Maxwell and he will then ask that they be let out to die outside the jail instead of dying inside. You are crying aloud all the time that you are fighting, you are shedding the blood of your youngsters in thousands and you are sending them in bombers to die and never to return all for humanity's sake, I am not asking you to release these people who are in prison. You might review those cases if you like. But first and foremost let one be assured that those who are in prison, who are convicted or detained, are treated as human beings, treated as you treat the Italian or the Japanese prisoner whom, as the Honourable the defence Member very correctly pointed out the other day, you cannot really ill-treat because of the Hundreds and thousands of our own people in Japanese jails. If newspapers tell us this, is that atrocity mongering! I would like to cite one instance where the Central Government has got to take action. That is the case of Mr Rameshchandra Arya, a Hindi journalist who died in Aligarh. The Provincial Government had issued a communique that he committed suicide. It appears, he felt dizzy, and wanted to join other prisoners but was not allowed to do so and so he fell into a well and died. Let me ask the Honourable the Home Member if at least for information's sake he has asked the Provincial Government if they had conducted a postmortem examination. The magistrate held an enquiry and was satisfied. But was any postmortem examination conducted?

Did the doctor find that there were contusions on his body. If that is the humanity for the sake of which this country has been revolutionised into a war economy under which every one has got to suffer, how can you expect us to really sympathise with you and throw ourselves heart and soul into the struggle?

I would mention one other fact that it is this. The other day I spoke about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter. Let me now refer to the case of his brother-in-law, Mr R.S. Pandit. He has had a heart attack, he has been ill for a long time. He was taken in a crowded third class compartment. Is that human treatment? Is that being very humane? What do we ask? Why retransfer people from one place to another in such a manner, if you cannot do it properly, why don't you release the men if you cannot give them proper medical treatment? One of the persons belonging to my province who is now being kept in Amraoti prison in one Mr Kuppusami Mudaliar has developed pus somewhere in the region of the sinus. It was being tapped every week and pus was taken out by the civil surgeon of Nagpur. But the civil surgeon who is capable of making the operation has left and nobody else is able to do this difficult operation in this region, and the man smells horribly. His fellow prisoners say, please remove him at least for the sake of sanitation in the jail. But he has not been released. I do not think it is possible for me to rouse the conscience of Sir George Boag in my own province, nor will the Central Government interfere. Mr Deshmukh mentioned about women prisoners in the C.P.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

*Mr T.T. Krishnamachari*. Half a minute, Sir, and I will finish. The case of women prisoners everywhere is bad. I was told that in Ambala prison there have been instances of women having been locked up for 24 hours at a stretch. Feeling sure as I do of the support of the majority of the elected Members I request the Government to accept this modest Resolution, not only accept it but carry out its modest demands in the name of humanity. You do not know how much it is going to help to make the lives of those people who are in prison easier, the hope that there is going to be some better treatment for them. This is a modest Resolution which I think ought to be accepted and I appeal to the Government to accept it. If they would not, well, humanity will judge them.

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell*: I should much have liked to be able to meet the wishes of at least some section of this House in dealing with this Resolution and I could almost have accepted the Resolution as proposed to be amended by Mr Joshi and Mr Deshmukh, but the words I could not accept on behalf of the Government are these, 'in consultation with a Committee of the Legislature specially appointed for the purpose'. These are the words over which I find difficulty. Apart from that, Government could do all intents and purposes, accept the principle of the Resolution so amended.

*Dr P.N. Banerjee*: What would be the harm?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell*: That is the whole difficulty. I am afraid Honourable Members do not quite understand where this Central Legislature stands in relation to such a matter. The whole of the discussion on the Resolution has, to a large extent, been on entirely nebulous ground. We can not for a moment, attempt to convert the Central Legislature into a sort of Provincial Legislature or, more especially, to give it power to supersede the Provincial Legislatures of provinces where popular Ministries are functioning. One of the principal instances quoted by my Honourable friend, Mr Neogy, was a series of complaints made in the Punjab. There is a province in which a popular legislature has been functioning ever since the beginning of the present Constitution. It has a Ministry which is in office by the will of

the electors and the Punjab Legislature is the proper place in which complaints should be made. If those complaints are not listened to and if there is a general body of opinion among the elected members of the Legislature who put that Ministry in power which does not approve of the action of the Ministry, they can turn it out and put in another Ministry which is prepared to carry out their will, but that situation cannot transform the Central Legislature into a body which can take the matter out of the hands of the Provincial Legislatures. (An Honourable Member: 'What about U.P. and Bihar?') The fact that ministries do not exist in some provinces does not give the Central Legislature any additional status in those provinces, no additional status whatsoever. We may not like the present Constitution but that is neither here nor there. We have to abide by it and I cannot have the Central Government put into a false position, as it would be if it accepted the Resolution as it is proposed to be amended by Mr Joshi.

Now, I want to explain to the house what the correct procedure is. We have actually been following it. The Central Government cannot step in and supersede the Provincial Governments on matters within the provincial field but we can do and have been doing a great deal by way of suggestion advice, enquiry and so forth, to see that the Provincial Governments generally in dealing with this matter conform to certain standards which we regard as necessary and that there is a reasonable degree of uniformity among them. We have not been idle since the last debate in this House. The first thing we did after the last debate was to raise certain questions with provinces as regards their plans for reducing the number of security prisoners. We also took up the point which emerged from the judgement of the Federal Court in regard to the delegation of powers under Rule 26 to officers subordinate to the Provincial Governments. As a result of that consultation Provincial Governments have been reviewing the cases of persons detained and since this question was last debated in this House, I am informed that a total number of 1,623 persons detained have been released by the Provincial Governments themselves. But apart from that, in the light of the last debate, we wrote a letter to the Provincial Governments enclosing a copy of the debate which, of course, then included only the Honourable the Mover's initial speech. We drew the attention of the provinces to a number of matters in which we thought this House was interested. We asked further information about them and expressed certain views. In particular, we asked for their opinion on the subject of non-official visitors and for more information as regards the principles on which non-official visitors were appointed.

Now, if there was time, I could give the House a good deal of details of interest regarding the facts so elicited. We have found in the course of this correspondence that there was certain divergence of practice in the provinces in matters which we regarded as essential we are trying now to level up the standards generally. We have, after scrutinising their replies, addressed a further letter to the provinces, only a short time ago, in which we expressed our personal views on a number of matters, such as the classification of Congress Security prisoners, the scale of diet, correspondence, interviews, the supply of newspapers and books, funds from outside, family allowances and non-official visitors. On all these matters we have been in correspondence with the provinces. One thing which this correspondence does reveal is that security prisoners, whether the old style security prisoners or those detained in connection with the recent movement, do obtain in all provinces substantially better treatment than convicted persons and that is my answer to one remark that fell to my Honourable friend Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan, when he said that these persons ought not to be treated as criminals. The rules prescribing the conditions of detention in all cases give them a very considerable advantage over convicted criminals. For instance, the allowance of correspondence is more.

The classification for purposes of diet allowance is again equal to a class of convicted persons in provinces where the classification is still retained and in provinces where there is only one class, the diet is superior to the low class, that is to say, no security prisoner may have a diet which is as low as that of a C class convicted prisoner.

In regard to non-official visitors, which is a matter in which the House expressed considerable interest before, non-official visitors are permitted to see security prisoners of all kinds, including Congress security prisoners in all provinces, and provinces generally did not think that it would be useful to appoint members of the Central Legislature as such to be non-official visitors. But some of them have expressed no objection to considering them for such appointment and in several provinces members of the Provincial Legislature are already being appointed as visitors, either by nomination or ex-officio. We must, I think, apply the proper perspective in any survey of jail conditions in India. It must be remembered that on ministerial provinces, they represent what the popular Governments of those provinces consider suitable for all classes of prisoners. If conditions in jails are really so unsuitable to the standard of life in this country, why are not complaints made in the legislatures of those provinces which are responsible for them. And in non-ministerial provinces the conditions existing now are substantially those which results from a long period of office of the Congress ministries. It is strange that Congressman should now say that these conditions are unsuitable for human beings. Security prisoners even now get better treatment than the corresponding class of convicted persons and they are allowed many luxuries and privileges and we could not do much more without upsetting the whole standard of jail administration. I was rather intrigued lately to read an article re-printed in the *Hindustan Times* from the *Spectator* of England dealing with the treatment of security prisoners in the United Kingdom. I had on the basis of that article, although I cannot vouch for all the information it gave, a comparative statement drawn up showing the differences in the various regulation applying to such prisoners in the United Kingdom compared with those in force in this country. I find that the comparison is by no means unfavourable to us. In the matter of interviews, they have interviews once a week. Under the Central Government Security Prisoners Order interviews are allowed once a fortnight. There is not very much difference there. In regard to letters, in the United Kingdom in practice they appear to receive two letters a week. Under the Central Government Security Prisoners Order they are allowed 4 outward and 8 inward letters. They can write 4 and receive 8 letters.

*Sir Cowasjee Jehangir* (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): In what period of time?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell*: In a week. Then, again, take exercise. I find that only one hour's exercise a day is prescribed for security prisoners in the United Kingdom. I think that prisoners here have considerably more liberty. Again, I find from the same article that certain tasks are assigned to such persons as are detained in England. They are required to do four hour associated labour per day and those who refuse to work remain in their cells locked up. I would like to know what would happen if we tried to give Congress security prisoners in the United Kingdom. I think that prisoners here have considerably more liberty. Again, I find from the same article that certain tasks are assigned to such persons as are detained in England. They are required to do four hour associated labour per day and those who refuse to work remain in their cells locked up. I would like to know what would happen if we tried to give Congress security prisoners labour for four hours a day in this country. As regards recreation and association, no facilities are provided in England, but persons detained are allowed to use their own apparatus, if any, for indoor games. In most jails in this country, as the House knows, such facilities are freely provided even to the extent of playing grounds.

Finally, as regards the lock-up. The persons in the United Kingdom are locked in their cells from 4.30 p.m. until 7 a.m. every day. I should like to know what sort of a howl there will be if we attempted to lock up our Congress security prisoners from 4.30 p.m. on this country.

*Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:* With a temperature of 118.

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* Now, there is one point which was mentioned several times and that concerned the inter-provincial exchanges of prisoners which have taken place between Madras and the Central Provinces. We have again been in correspondence with both these provinces on the subject although we recognize that they are free to take their own line for their own prisoners. They both wrote that these exchanges had been necessary in the interests of discipline and prevention of unauthorised communication. But we have drawn their attention to the fact that if any province send its prisoners to another province where the climate or the diet are liable to be unfamiliar, both provinces incur a very special responsibility for looking after the health of their prisoners so transferred and seeing that their health does not suffer from unfamiliar conditions. That principle we have enunciated for guidance and I am sure they will follow it because they have themselves recognised that prisoners whose health is bad should be returned to their own provinces.

Some reference has also been made to the case of our late lamented friend Mr Satyamurti. On that question, I took great care to get all the information I could from both the Central Provinces and the Madras Governments. The Government of the Central Provinces has been good enough to supply me with copies of all the reports, applications and communications which took place and with full particulars of the whole case. From a careful study of these documents I have come to the clear conclusion that the Central Provinces Government and their officers had no reason to suppose that Mr Satyamurti's condition was in any way precarious so long as he was in their care. He was looked after by the Civil Surgeon, Amraoti, Major Scott, who visited him almost daily and there was also a very careful examination and report by Dr Abraham, the Medical Staff Officer to the Inspector General of Civil Hospitals, who said that this condition as a whole was far from alarming.

*Dr P.N. Banerjee:* Was his health good?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* No. He was under treatment the whole time, as I have said. Finally, I have here a copy of a letter from Mr Satyamurti himself. This was dated 9th November, that is to say, two months after he had gone to the Central Provinces. In this letter he stated that he had no desire now to be transferred to Madras partly because he was too weak to travel and partly because he felt that the treatment in the hospital, that in Irwin Hospital, Amraoti, was doing him good. I have a copy of his actual letter here. His words are: 'I, therefore, request that you will be so good as to sanction my stay in this hospital for treatment as long as the Civil Surgeon feels it necessary, for the restoration of my complete health and strength.' I also remind the House that it was not until nearly three months after his retransfer to Madras that he unfortunately died and he had been released by the Madras Government nearly two months before that event occurred. He died as a free man.

Well, Sir, I have little more that I could say about this Resolution now without going into many matters of detail for which the House would not at present have time. I will only remind them once again that on the principle of what I regard as the substantial principle of the Resolution as amended by Mr Joshi, the Central Government are taking a great deal of interest in the condition of detention of security prisoners and are having a great deal of correspondence with the provinces with a view to securing uniformity of standards in matters which we regard as important and which this House regards as important and I anticipate that as a result of

that correspondence there will be considerable movement in certain provinces in matters of freedom of correspondence and possibly in the matter of interviews. But I might make one remark in conclusion and that is that whenever a Congress movement has proved failure, we always meet with these horrifying stories of jail treatment and of the pitiable state of health of the prisoners. These are the almost invariable sequel to a failed Congress movement. I regard this as the preliminary bombardment designed to soften the position, in modern parlance. The next demand will be for the release of all these prisoners on the ground that they are repentant and will not resume the movement if they are released. I will not now go on to discuss that point because the Honourable the Mover himself has said that the object of the Resolution is not to press for the release of these prisoners. But I could say a good deal more on that subject.

In conclusion, I would only ask the House to take an entirely realistic view of what the Members of the Central Legislature can do or undertake in a matter of this kind which is almost wholly within the provincial field and I can only assure them that the Central Government is itself on their behalf taking all the steps that are possible or necessary in this matter.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* What about the Commissioner's Provinces? What about Delhi?

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I shall now put the amendments.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendments.

The amendments, were by leave of the Assembly withdrawn.

*Mr F.L.C. Gwili* (Bombay: European): I want with your permission, Sir, to move one amendment. It relates to the words which Honourable the Home Member suggested should be taken out.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the Honourable Member wishes to make a speech now, I cannot allow it.

*Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:* The Honourable Member simply wants to take out certain words which the Honourable the Home Member objected to namely, 'in consultation with a committee of the legislature'.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): But he has not got any such amendment in his name. I cannot allow him to move any such amendment at this stage.

*Mr N.M. Joshi:* Sir, I cannot accept the constitutional position enunciated by the Honourable the Home Member that this House has really no constitutional right in this matter. The Honourable the Home Member knows that we have been discussing this subject and I submit, therefore, that a Committee of this House is quite competent to deal with this subject. I do not know why there should be any constitutional difficulty in accepting the amendment.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* May I submit that it is a reflection on the Chair to suggest that discussion we have had this morning and this afternoon is unconstitutional because it involve a criticism of the Provinces. If the House can discuss these provincial matters, surely, a committee of the House can also discuss them.

*Mr President:* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order. There one amendment of Mr Deshmukh which I will put first. The question is:

'That in line 2 and 3 of the Resolution the following be deleted:  
in general and those convicted for political offences since August, 1942, in particular. The motion was adopted.

*Mr President:* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

That for all the words occurring after the words in particular the following substituted:

be revised in such a way in cooperation with the Provincial Governments and consultation with a Committee of the legislature specially appointed for the purpose, to provide to them better living conditions in the jails and prisons and better means of communications with the outside world and adequate provision for the maintenance of families of those who may need it and to provide for an impartial review of their case at an early date.

The Assembly divided:

AYES – 39

Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad  
 Abdullah, Mr H.M.  
 Azhar Ali, Mr Muhammad  
 Banerjee, Dr P.N.  
 Bhutto, Mr Nabi Baksh Illahi Baksh  
 Chattopadhyaya, Mr Amarendra Nath  
 Chetty, Mr Sami Vencatachelam  
 Choudhury, Mr Abdur Rasheed  
 Choudhury, Mr Muhammad Hussain  
 Dam, Mr Ananga Mohan  
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha  
 Datta, Mr Akhil Chandra  
 Deshmukh, Mr Govind V.  
 Essak Sait, Mr H.A. Sathar H.  
 Ghiasuddin, Mr M.  
 Ghuzanavi, Sir Abdu' Halim  
 Gupta, Mr R.R.  
 Habibar Rahman, Dr  
 Ismail Khan, Hajee Chowdhury Muhammad  
 Joshi, Mr N.M.  
 Kailash Bihari Lall, Mr  
 Krishnamachari, Mr T.T.  
 Lalchand Navalrai, Mr  
 Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawabzada Muhammad  
 Maitra, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta  
 Mehta, Mr Jamnadas M.  
 Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Syed  
 Nairang, Syed Ghulam Bhik  
 Nauman, Mr Muhammad  
 Neogy, Mr K.C.  
 Raza Ali, Sir Syed  
 Sant Singh, Sardar  
 Siddique Ali Khan, Nawab  
 Siva Raj, Rao Bahadur N.  
 Umar Aly Shah, Mr  
 Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad  
 Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Seth  
 Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana

Zia Uddin Ahmad, Dr Sir.

NOES – 39

Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir

Ambedkar, The Honourable Dr B.R.

Azizul Huque, The Honourable Sir Muhammad

Benthal, The Honourable Sir Edward

Bewoor, Sir Gurunath

Bhagchand Soni, Rai Bahadur Seth

Chapman Mortimer, Mr T.

Chatterji, Mr S.C.

Daga, Seth Sunder Lall

Dalal, Dr Sir Ratanji Dinshaw

Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain

Gray, Mr B.L.

Gwilt, Mr E.L.C.

Habibur Rahman, Khan Bahadur Sheikh

Haidar, Khan Bahadur Shamsuddin

Imam, Mr Saiyid Haidar

Ismail Alikhan, Kunwar Hajee

Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir

Joshi, Mr D.S.

Kamaluddin Ahmad, Shamsul-Ulema

Khare, The Honourable Dr N.B.

Lawson, Mr C.P.

Mackeown, Mr J.A.

Maxwell, The Honourable Sir Reginald

Miller, Mr C.C.

Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr Muhammad

Noon, The Honourable Malik Sir Feroz Khan

Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy

Ray, Rai Bahadur N.C.

Richardson, Sir Henry

Roy, The Honourable Sir Asoka Kumar

Shahban, Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad

Spear, Dr T.G.P.

Spence, Sir George

Sultan Ahmed, The Honourable Sir

Thakur Singh, Major

Trivedi, Mr C.M.

Tyson, Mr J.D.

Zaman, Mr S R.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): In these circumstances I have to give my vote to enable the House to come to a decision. In accordance with the well-known practice in this respect, I give my vote in support of the NOES to maintain the status quo.



The motion was negatived.

*Pandit Nilakantha Das*: Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

*Mr President* (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that their policy in regard to the treatment of political prisoners and detenus needs drastic revision, and it further recommends that in that process the Governor General in Council do instruct the Provincial Governments to allow Members of the Central Legislature to visit prisons and interview political prisoners so that the attention of the Central and the respective Provincial Governments may be drawn to such restrictions and other inconvenience imposed on these prisoners with a view to the elimination of such restrictions.

The Assembly divided.

AYES -- 38

Abdul Ghani Muhammad

Abdullah Mr H.M.

Azar Ali, Mr Muhammad

Banerjea, Dr P.N.

Bhutto, Mr Nabi Baksh Illahi Baksh

Chattopadhyaya, Mr Amrendra Nath

Chetty, Mr Sami Vencatachelam

Choudhury, Mr Abdur Rasheed

Choudhury, Mr Muhammad Hussain

Dam, Mr Ananga Moban

Das, Pandit Nilakantha

Datta, Mr Akhil Chandra

Deshmukh, Mr Govind V.

Essak Sait, Mr H.A. Sathar H.

Ghuznavi, Sir Abdul Halim

Gupta, Mr R.R.

Hsoibar Rahman, Dr

Ismail Khan Hajes Chowdhury Muhammad

Joshi, Mr N.M.

Kailash Bihari Lall, Mr

Krishnamachari, Mr T.T.

Lalchand Navalrai, Mr

Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawabzada Muhammad

Maitra Pandit Lakshmi Kanta

Mehta, Mr Jamnadas, M.

Murtuza, Sahib Bahadur Maulvi

Nairang, Syed Ghulam Bhik

Nauman, Mr Muhammad

Neogy, Mr K.C.

Raza Ali, Sir Syed

Sant Singh, Sardar

Siddique Ali Khan, Nawab

Siva Raj, Rao Bahadur N.  
Umar Aly Shah, Mr  
Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad  
Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Seth  
Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana  
Zia Uddin Ahmad, Dr Sir.

NOES – 41

Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir  
Ambedkar, The Honourable Dr B.R.  
Azizul Huque, The Honourable Sir Muhammad  
Benthall, The Honourable Sir Edward  
Bewoor, Sir Gurunath  
Bhagchand Soni, Rai Bahadur Seth  
Chapman Mortimer, Mr T.  
Chatterji, Mr S.C.  
Daga, Seth Sunder Lall.  
Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain  
Gray, Mr B.L.  
Griffiths, Mr P.  
Gwilt, Mr E.L.C.  
Habibur-Rahman, Khan Bahadur Sheikh  
Haidar, Khan Bahadur Shamsuddin  
Imam, Mr Saiyid Haidar  
Ismaiel Alikhan, Kunwar Hajee  
James, Sir F.E.  
Jawahar Singh Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir  
Joshi, Mr D.S.  
Kamaluddin Ahmad, Shamsul-Ulema  
Khare, The Honourable Dr N.B.  
Lawson, Mr C.P.  
Mackeown, Mr J.A.  
Maxwell, The Honourable Sir Reginald  
Miller, Mr C.C.  
Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr Muhammad  
Noon, The Honourable Malik Sir Khan  
Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy  
Ray, Rai Bahadur N.C.  
Richardson, Sir Henry  
Roy, The Honourable Sir Ashoka Kumar  
Shahban, Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad  
Spear, Dr T.G.P.  
Spence, Sir George  
Sultan Ahmed, The Honourable Sir  
Thakur Singh, Major  
Trivedi, Mr C.M.

Tyson, Mr J.D.  
Zaman, Mr S.R.

The motion was negatived.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday 28th July 1943.

- 1 See Doc 28 in Chapter I Sec. B
- 2 On this question of advisory committees, which is also referred to by Sardar Singh later, the official reactions are to be found in Chapter III, Doc. Nos 46, 72, 76, 81, 83 - Ed.
- 3 On Lahore Fort also see private official embarrassment- (Docs Nos 37, 115, 155, 157, 163, 165 Chapter III - Ed

## 18: Intelligence Bureau's note on Abdur Rahman Khan (dt 23.8.1943-28.8.1943)

File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

Intelligence Bureau, Home Department<sup>1</sup>

Abdur Rahman Khan is a resident of the N.W.F.P. who went to Calcutta 15 years ago and has since paid only flying visits to his home province. He has been connected with the Bengal Labour Party alias Labour Party of India for over five years and became its President in 1940. He was externed from Bihar in 1940 together with Sisir Roy and other members of the party for anti-war activity (His history sheet is at flag 'Z' in H.D. papers) Nripen Ghosh is one of the more obscure and youthful Bengali members of the Party; he came to notice as a Communist 'Post-Box' while he was still at college in 1939. He and Rahman went to Shinkiarai (Hazara District) on 17-4-1943 to organise a branch of the Party. They were reported to have made little progress in building up a branch and according to our reports, there was nothing particularly objectionable in their activities apart from a tendency to use cryptic language and pseudonyms in correspondence. In June, Abdur Rahman was reported to have told a military driver that the Party wanted Indians to join the army and military workshops with the object of receiving training which would stand them in good stead in the struggle for freedom after the war.

We understand that Nripen Ghosh was externed by the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, under section 36 of the Frontier Crimes Regulations. This presumably means that he 'is a dangerous fanatic' or 'has occasioned cause of quarrel likely to lead to bloodshed'. He left by train for Calcutta on 13-8-1943. We have no information as to whether any action was taken against Abdur Rahman.

(G.C. Ryan),

Assistant Director (R)  
23-8-43

Home Department (Mr Olver)

D.I.B. u/o 14/Pol./43-II, d/ 24 Aug. 1943

There is no information as to the immediate cause of the action taken to extern those two men from N.W.F.P. Is it intended that the case should be pursued with N.W.F.P. Govt.?

24-8-43

The propaganda of the Labour Party of India is probably useful from our point of view but I should say it was quite unnecessary if Hazara and the N.W.F.P. authorities probably thought it would be best, if the Frontier were left alone without the complicated arguments this Party propagated, I would let the matter alone.

V Sahay  
25-8-43

Addl. Secy.

Have we ever informed Provincial Governments as a whole of the aims and objects of the Labour Party and of the extent to which we consider that they are performing a useful function at present? If not, I am inclined to think that we should do so. It may not be necessary to follow up this individual case, but it is undoubtedly a pity that Provincial Governments should take action against the members of a pro-war party merely because they are such members and the Party itself at some earlier stage was not pro-war. It might therefore be desirable to forward the telegram to N.W.F.P. for disposal with some indications of the present attitude of the Labour Party of India.

Tottenham  
28-8-43

1 See Doc. No. 20 below

2 See Doc. No. 84 in Chapter 1A

## 19: Case of Kunhi Raman Nambiar – Request for release on parole

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2820  
[TNA]

From  
K.T. Govindan Nambiar

28-8-43

The Chief Government of Madras

Respected Sir,

I beg to submit the following petition for your kind consideration and favourable orders. I am the direct brother of Sri K.T. Kunhi Raman Nambiar who is now detained in the Rajamundry Central Jail (Detenue No. 24) our mother K.T. Meenakshi Amma is now laid in

Rajamundry Central Jail (Detenue No. 24) our mother K.T. Meenakshi Amma is now laid in an attack of Rheumatism of a severe type. She very much wants to see her son the said K.T. Kunhi Raman Nambiar.

Therefore, I request you to good enough to release him on parole at least for one month at your earliest convenience.

Expecting a favourable reply and thanking you in anticipation.

I beg to remain

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Public (General) Department

Endorsement No. 43894 / 43-1 D/ 30-8-43

Referred to the District

Magistrate of Malabar for remarks

UNDER SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT

To

The District Magistrate of Malabar

G.O. No. 2820 Public (General) Department 1943.

G.O. No. 2820

L.D.s 10155 M/43

*Malabar Dist. Magte's Office  
Calicut, dated 18-9-43*

From

A.R. MacEwen, Esq. C.I.E., M.C., I.C.S.,

Dist. Magistrate, Malabar, Calicut

To

The Chief Secretary to Government,

Public (General) Department,

Madras

Sir,

Political agitation - C.D. Movement - K.T. Kunhi Raman Nambiar Release on parole -  
Report submitted Govt. Endt. No. 43894/43-1 dated 30-8-43.

The detenu's mother's reported to be laid up with rheumatism and, is desirous of seeing her son in her old age before her death. I recommend that he may be released on parole for 15 days. The Dist. Supdt. of Police also of this view. The Government endorsement cited above is resubmitted

For Dist. Magistrate

CRG-20-9

Public (General) Department,

G.O. No. 2820

R.O.C. D-56/43 Office of the Superintendent

Central Jail Rajahmundry,

Dated 2nd October, 1943

From  
JANAB M. Md. Yousuf Sahib Bahadur,  
Superintendent, Central Jail,  
Rajamundry

To  
The Under Secretary to Government of Madras  
Public (General) Department, Madras

Sir,

Sub: Political Agitation – Security Prisoners – Detenu No. 24, K.T. Kunhiraman Nambiar  
– Central Jail, Rajahmundry – Release on parole for Fifteen days – reported.  
Ref: G.O. No. Ms. 2820/Public (Genl.) Dept. dated 30th Sept. 1943.

In acknowledge herewith the receipt of G.O. No. Ms. 2820/Public (Genl.) Dept. dated 30th Sept. 1943, cited above, I have the honour to report that the Detenue, K.T. Kuniraman Nambiar is released on parole (for fifteen days) today the 2nd October, 1943.

Nominal Roll of the Detenue is herewith enclosed  
Superintendent  
Public (General) Department  
G O. No. 2820  
Dated 8th October, 1943

From  
K T Kunhiram Nambiar  
Detenue (on parole) Rajahmundry  
Central Jail

To  
The Chief Secretary  
Government of Madras  
Madras

Sir

I may be permitted to bring to your kind notice, that I was released on 2-10-43 on parole to see my ailing mother who is laid up with the rheumatic trouble.

I was able to reach here only on 4-10-43 in the morning. As I am allowed only 15 days on parole, I have to leave for Rajahmundry town this place on 15-10-43.

As the condition of my mother is causing some anxiety my normal attention is absolutely necessary at least for one month. Therefore, I request you to be good enough to give me an extension of my parole at least for one month more.

Requesting you to towards me with an early.

I remain,  
Yours obediently.

Please see the petition on page 1 ante. K.T. Kunhiraman Nambiar was released on parole for

fifteen days to enable him to see his sick mother, in G.O. 2820 Pub. (gl), dated 30.9.43. He was released on parole on the 2nd October 1943. He now asks for extension of parole by one month more. Submitted for orders and hope the request will be granted.

Please see D.M.'s letter on p. 3 of

It may be extended for another 15 days of the D.M. consulted if further extension is necessary.

9.10.43

## 20: Sisir Roy to Home Member

File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Labour Party Of India

*64, Chitranjan Avenue,  
Calcutta 3rd September, 1943.*

From  
Sisir Roy,  
General Secretary,  
Labour Party of India.

To  
The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,  
Home Member, Government of India,  
Government Secretariat,  
New Delhi.

Sir,

I wish to write this note to you in pursuance to my telegram to you dated 18th August, 1943, copy of which please find enclosed.

The president of our Party, Mr Abdur Rahman Khan has been arrested and Mr Nripen Ghose, an old member of our Party has been externed from the North Western Frontier Province for three years. They went to Frontier Province a few months ago and were engaged in organising the peasants in support of war against the Axis powers and were rousing anti-fascist spirit among the people.

When they first began their work in the Hazara District of NWFP we sent a letter to the Chief Secretary of the Province, introducing our party and our organisers engaged in anti-fascist work there. We also mentioned in our letter the anti-fascist type of work we have done and the genuineness of our Party organisers in our Party policy. In spite of all these, it is very much surprising that these anti-fascist workers are being arrested and harassed in this way. We have also been reported that Mr Abdur Rahman Khan has been charged under Section 36 of the

Frontier Crimes Act which is usually applied for suppressing Murderers, Dacoits, Fanatics etc. It is really astonishing that the police authorities have arrested the President of an anti-fascist Party like ours when they were engaged in organising the peasants against fascism.

I hope you will kindly enquire into the matter and take steps so that these orders are immediately withdrawn.

1. Letter to Chief Secy.,  
N.W.F.P.
2. Telegram

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
Sisir Roy  
General Secretary.

*Enclosure*

3rd September 1943  
12/1/43 – Poll (I)

From  
Sisir Roy,  
General Secretary,  
Labour Party of India.

To  
The Chief Secretary to the  
Government of the North Western-  
Frontier Provinces,  
Government Secretariat,  
Peshawar

Sir,  
I wish to write you this note in pursuance to my telegram to you dated 18th August, 1943, copy of which please find enclosed.

I have been informed that Comrade Abdur Rahman Khan, President of our Party has been arrested and is now in detention and organiser Nripen Ghose has been externed by Deputy Commissioner Hazara from the Province for three years. As soon as I received this information I sent a telegram to you requesting your intervention and withdrawal of these orders immediately.

This uncalled for arrest has shocked us very much. No one should expect that those people who are no less staunch anti-fascist than any one else should be indiscriminately arrested and harassed in this way. It is also reported that Comrade Abdur Rahman Khan is charged under Rule 36 of the Frontier Crimes Act which is applied for suppressing Dacoits, Murderers, Fanatics etc. It is surprising that such anti-fascist workers are arrested and harassed under Rule 36 which is usually applied for suppressing Dacoits, Murderers, Fanatics etc.



In my letter sent to you on 5th May<sup>1</sup> last introducing our Party I made it a point to inform you that two of our organisers have gone to your province for propaganda in connection with the war effort. In the same letter I also mentioned the types of work we have done in support of the letter I also mentioned the types of work we have done in support of the war and against the Sabotage Movement which broke out in the month of August, in 1942.

Our organisers were organising the peasants of their locality in support of the war efforts of the Government and rousing anti-fascist spirit among the masses. Besides they are members of a Party which has declared itself pledged to support the war unconditionally and oppose every action which cause any harm to the successful prosecution of the war against the Axis. This pledge we have fulfilled to the best of our abilities as we continue to do so now. We are surprised at the arrest of these staunch anti-fascist workers and we cannot but doubt that they have been arrested and externed at the instigation of the local zamindars and rich men who do not like the peasants consciously supposedly this war against Fascism.

Under the circumstances we can only urge to see that the orders are immediately withdrawn and genuine antifascists are set at liberty for carrying on pro-war and anti-fascist propaganda.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

S. Roy.  
General Secretary.

*Enclosure 2*

Copy of the telegram sent to Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., on 18.8.43

JUST INFORMED PARTY PRESIDENT ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN DETAINED AND ORGANISER NRIPEN GHOSH EXTERNED BY FRONTIER GOVERNMENT SUCH ACTIONS AGAINST PRO-WAR ELEMENTS HELP FIFTH COLUMN STOP PRAY INTERVENE AND SEE THAT THESE ORDERS ARE FORTHWITH WITHDRAWN.

SISIR ROY  
LABOUR PARTY OF INDIA  
64 CHITTRANJAN AVENUE  
CALCUTTA.

<sup>1</sup> Not printed.



## 21: Political agitation in Madura — Case of one Velusamy Pillai

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 — File G.O. No. 2  
[TNA]

*Madura Dt. Magte's Office*  
22-9-43

Ref. 2983-M-43-C

From  
J.L. Wood, Esq., I.C.S.,  
District Magistrate  
Madura

To  
The Chief Secretary to Govt.,  
Public (General) Department,  
Madras.

Sir,  
CRIMINAL JUSTICE — Cr. No. 343/43-B.2-station, Madura- Accused M. Velusamy Pillai' and 4 others — Convening a procession and attempting to hold a meeting — Rule 56(2) read with 56(4) of the D.O.I. Rules — Orders passed.

I submit herewith a copy of my proceedings Ref. 2983-M-43-C, dated 22-9-43 authorizing the District Superintendent to prosecute the accused for an offence under Rule 56(?) read with Rule 56(4) of the D.O.I. Rules.

2. The copy of the F.I.R., Charge Sheet and the report of the Sub Inspector dated 13-9-43 with the report of the Police recommending prosecution are enclosed.

3. I request that my action may be approved.

For the Dt. Magistrate  
Public (General) Dept.

The prosecution may be approved.  
Signed [illegible — Ed.]  
2-10-43.

### *Enclosure 1*

Proceedings of the District Magistrate, Madura, 22-9-43

J.L. Wood, Esq., I.C.S., Dt. Magistrate, Madura.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE — Cr. No. 343/43-B.2 station, Madura — Accused M. Velusamy Pillai and 4 others — Convening a prosecution and attempting to hold a meeting — Rule 56(2) read with 56(4) of the D.O.I. Rules — Orders passed.

Read report of the D.S.P. Madura North dated 17-9-43 recommending prosecution of the accused in Cr. No. 343/43 of B.2 station Madura.

Read the connected papers.

Order: rm: 2983 M 43-C.

The District Superintendent of Police, Madura North is authorised to prosecute the accused concerned in Cr. No. 343/43 of B.2 station, Madura before the City Magistrate, Madura.

For the Dt. Magistrate

To the D.S.P. Madura North

Copy to the City Magistrate, Madura for information.

*Enclosure 2 FIR*

Copy of F.I.R. in B.2 — Crime No. 343/43

First information of a Cognizable Crime reported under

Section 154 Cr. P.C. at Police Station:

Circle: B No. 343/43 District:

Date and hour of occurrence

Date and hour when reported:

Place of occurrence and distance and  
Hall Park direction from Police Station:

Date of despatch from Police Station:

Name and residence of informant and  
complainant.

Name and residence of accused.

B-2, North

Madura North

9-9-43 at 5.45 p.m.

9-9-43 at 6 p.m.

5, East, 1 Mile.

9-9-43 6.15 p.m.

Rex. S.I. of Police,  
Traffic and others.

1. M. Velusamy Pillai,  
s/o Mayandi Pillai, Puliuran.

2. M. Meenakshisundaram Pillai  
Muthusami Pillai.

3. V. Kaliappa Asari,  
s/o Vanniappa Asari.

4. N. Karuppan Asari,  
s/o Nagappa Asari.

5. A. Muthiah Pillai,  
s/o Adaikalam Pillai.

Brief description of offence with section and  
details of property carried off, if any

Rules 56(2) of D.O.I. Rules On  
9-9-43 at 5.45 p.m., the ——— noted  
on Col. 2 convened a procession  
and attempted to hold a meeting in  
side the Hall Park and other facts  
vide body of FIR.

Sir,

On 9-9-43 at 5.45 p.m. the accused noted in Col. 2 came in a procession inside the Hall Park with a Congress flag and attempted to hold a meeting under presidency of No. 2, M. Meenakshisundaram Pillai. I, with a party of Policemen arrested the accused and chased the crowd of about two thousand collected there. The accused No. 2 and 3 M. Meenakshisundaram Pillai,

V. Kaliappa Asari sustained slight injuries during the arrest as sufficient force has to be used to control them.

They have committed an offence under Rule 56(2) of D.O.I. Rules for disobeying the District Magistrate's notification not to hold a public meeting without a licence and hence punishable under Rule 56(4) of the D.O.I. Rules

(Original F.I.R. submitted to City Magistrate. Copy to Inspector of Police, Law and Order.

Signed  
S.I. 119-43.

*Enclosure 3*

Copy of Charge Sheet:

Dt.: Madura North. Charge Sheet No. 99/43 Dated 14-9-43 Police Station: B.II North In FIR No. 343/43 Dated 9-9-43.

Name address and occupation of complainant or informant Rex. S.I. of Police, Traffic.

Names and addresses of accused persons sent up for trial in Custody:

- |   |                          |                      |
|---|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | M. Velusamy Pillai       | s/o Mayandri Pillai  |
| 2 | Meenakshisundaram Pillai | s/o Muthusamy Pillai |
| 3 | V. Kaliappa Asari        | s/o Vanniappa Asari  |
| 4 | N. karuppiyah Asari      | s/o Nagappa Asari    |
| 5 | A Muthian Pillai         | s/o Adakalam Pillai  |

Property (including weapons) found with particulars of where and by whom found and whether forwarded to Magistrate.

Name and addresses of witnesses:

- |   |                          |   |
|---|--------------------------|---|
| 1 | K.S. Chandrasekhar       | S.I., Traffic.                                    |
| 2 | S. Kader Moideen Rowther | s/o Sikander Rowther, Obla Padithalai Munichalai. |
| 3 | Mari Pandithan           | s/o Maruthai Pandithan, Muhichalai and others.    |

Charge or information: Name of offence and circumstances connected with it in concise detail and under what section of law charged:

Rule 56(2) read with 56(4) of D.O.I. rules.

*Report*

On 9-9-43 at 5.45 p.m. the accused (noted in column 5) convened a procession at Ease Chitrai Street carrying congress flag and attempted to hold a public meeting at Hall Park -- a public place without obtaining a licence for bonn, thus contravening the provisions of Rule 56(2) punishable under 56 Cl. (4) of D.O.I. Rules. Hence charge.

Signed  
[illegible — Ed.]

Copy of case Diary:

Police Station: B.2 Station; District: Madura North

First information Book No. 343 of B.2 1943

Date and place of occurrence: 9-9-43 at Hall Park.

Offence: Sec. 56 Cl.(2) of D.O.I. Rules and 56 Cl.(4) of D.O.I. Rules.

To

The District Magistrate, Madura.

Sir,

Ref: B.2 Cr. No. 343/43 Rule 56(2) and (4) of D.O.I.

Rules: Sanction for prosecution requested.

I beg to submit that the marginally noted accused convened a procession carrying congress flags from Rama Cafe to Hall Park via West Tower, West Chitrai, South and East Chitrai streets and attempted to hold a public meeting at the Hall Park on 9-9-43 at about 5.45 p.m., without obtaining a licence for the same from the Dt. Magistrate, Madurai. They were arrested and proceeded against in B.2 station Cr. No. 343/43 Rule 56 Cl. 2 D.O.I. Rules.

I beg to request that sanction may be accorded to prosecute them for violation of Rule 56 Cl. (2) punishable under Rule 56 Cl. (4) of the D.O.I. Rules. The accused are all in remand. Copy of F.I.R. and charge sheet are submitted herewith for favour of perusal.

Signed  
S.I. R.R. 13-9-43.

Accused

1. M Velusamy Pillai, s/o Mayandy Pillai, Puliuran, Aruppucottai.
2. M. Meenakshisundaram, s/o Mutusamy Pillai, Paramakudi.
3. V. Kaliappa Asari, s/o Vanniappa Asari, Kolliangulam, Aruppucottai.
4. N. Karupppia Asari, s/o Nagappa Asari, Illuppaiyur, Aruppucottai.
5. A. Muthiah Pillai, s/o Adaikalam Pillai, Madura.

Sir,

Sanction may be accorded to prosecute the accused.

Signed

Forwarded for favour of orders.

The five accused noted in Col. 3 of the charge sheet went into Hall park in a procession and attempted to hold a meeting on 9-9-43 at 5.45 p.m. They are liable for an offence under Rules 56(2) and 56(4) of the D.O.I. Rules. Sanction may kindly be accorded to prosecute them.

R. Anantaraman,  
Dy. S.P. 15-9-43

Forwarded to the District Magistrate, Madura.

Prosecution is recommended.

Dt. Suptd. of Police,  
Madura North

## 22. Sisir Roy, Gen. Secretary, Labour Party of India to the Home Member, GOI

File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour Party of India

*64, Chittaranjan Avenue,  
Calcutta October 26, 1943.*

From  
Sisir Roy  
General Secretary,  
Labour Party of India

To  
The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, KCS., C.I.E.,  
Home Member, Government of India,  
Imperial Secretariat,

Dear Sir,

I am thankful to you for your letter dated the 4th October, 1943,<sup>1</sup> in which you have kindly informed me that you have passed on my letter about the supply of news-print for our proposed daily to the industries and Civil Supplies Department for favourable disposal. In this connection, I beg to say that I have not yet received any communications from the Department concerned and would like to request you to see that the matter is expedited.

2. I hope you have received my telegram<sup>2</sup> sent to you yesterday about the arrest of Comrade Kamal Sarkar<sup>3</sup> a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Labour Party of India, by the Police in the Abbotabad district of the NORTHWEST Frontier Province.

3. I am sure you remember that during my interview with you on September 10 last, you had kindly advised me to develop better contacts with different Provincial Governments with a view to bring about closer understanding between those Governments and the activities of our members and committees in their respective provinces and thereby to prevent unnecessary arrests, prosecutions and harassments of our members.

4. In due deference to your advice, I on my way back to Calcutta from Delhi, had an interview with the Chief Secretary to the U.P. Government when I placed before him all the difficulties that we are faced with in course of our work in that province. The Chief Secretary on hearing my reports agreed to have the matters investigated by responsible Government officials.

5. As the Police of the Frontier Province started strict vigilance and arrest of our Party members indiscriminately, I on my return to Calcutta thought it advisable that some arrangement to get into personal contact with the higher officials of the Government of the N.W.F.P. must be immediately made. Accordingly, I advised Comrade Kamal Sarkar, who was then residing at Shinkiari in the Abbotabad district for a change after a protracted illness, to take immediate steps to meet the Chief Secretary of the Province in order to explain to him in detail the attitude of our Party vis-a-vis the present War and to urge him to stop all persecutions against our Party members who were faithfully carrying on the pro-war line of the Party by

propagating among the people the necessity of helping the war-efforts of the Government and by counter-acting the influence of the Congress leaders who were responsible for the sabotage movement.

6. Comrade Sarkar immediately applied for an interview with the Chief Secretary and the interview took place on the 21st September at Nathiagali. The Chief Secretary having heard about the pro-war policy of the Party and the difficulties that we were facing in course of our activities, said that the Provincial Government was unaware about the pro-war policy of our Party and asked Comrade Sarkar to await the final decision of his Government regarding the work of our Party, which he said would be amply indicated by the decision of his Government in dealing with the case of Comrade Abdur Rahman Khan, our Party President, who is still being detained in the Abbotabad District Jail under the Frontier Crimes Act without any trial. I would like to mention here for your information that in a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Frontier Government dated 5-5-43, I explained to him point by point present war against the Fascist powers.

7. We hoped that this interview with the Chief Secretary would have salutary effect on the police. But it was hardly the case. On the 28th September last, a week after the interview, the Abbotabad Police raided the residence of Comrade Sarkar at Tumba village near Shinkiani, and the Labour Party Office situated at the latter place. It was mentioned in the search-warrant that the search has been ordered 'as there are reasons to believe that difficulties were being created in the prosecution of the War'. While the police could not seize anything from his residence of Comrade Sarkar, they did seize a number of copies of our booklet entitled 'Sabotage Movement and the Indian Bolsheviks' from the Party Office. You have personal knowledge about the contents of this booklet and I leave it to you to judge how far the action of the police in seizing copies of this booklet was justified.

It must, however, be mentioned here that as soon as the booklet was published, I forwarded a copy of it to the Chief Secretary of the Province while another copy of it was presented to him by Comrade Sarkar on the day of his interview with him. Comrade Sarkar immediately after the police raids, sent a letter of protest to the Chief Secretary, the Deputy Commissioner of Hazara and the Superintendent of Police of that district.

8. Even after this incident we continued to hope that the Provincial Government would soon realise that our activities were by all means helpful to the war efforts and finally the situation would improve in our favour.

9. But this time also our hopes were belied. On the 24th of October last Comrade Kamal Sarkar was himself arrested by the Abbotabad Police for reasons best known to them.

10. We are at a loss to understand the reasons for this vindictive attitude of the Frontier Government towards our party which is determinedly carrying on its anti-fascist line with utmost devotion and sincerity.

11. While our members are not even caring lay down their lives for the furtherance of our common cause against Fascism, we hope, it is not too much for us to expect that the Government should rather stop its repressive measures against our party and allow it to extend its work in different areas of the country which can only result in the enhancement of war-efforts of the Government and the building up of a fighting morale of the people against Fascism.

12. I am not aware whether you have received any replies from the Frontier Government regarding your queries about the arrest of Comrade Abdur Rahman and the externment of Comrade Nripen Ghose. The name of Comrade Kamal Sarkar has now been added to the list. I would now appeal to you to take up the whole affair with the Provincial Government

concerned as an emergent matter and exercise your august influence in setting at liberty the two most precious member of our Party now behind the prison bars whose services in the cause against Fascism has so long been invaluable.

13. I don't know whether you have issued your instructions to the Provincial Governments about the policy you like them to follow with regard to our Party. I hope you remember that I requested you in the course of my talks with you that the Government of India should issue a circular to all Provincial Governments explaining to them the attitude of the India Government towards our Party which in our opinion would greatly help in minimising the day-to-day difficulties with the different Provincial Governments. You had then consented to do it after consulting some other officials of your Department, in case no steps have yet been taken in this direction, I would again request you to consider the whole thing in the light of our recent experience in the Frontier Province and take necessary steps so that these troubles with the Provincial Governments may not be repeated every now and then.

14. Lastly, I would like to state, merely for your information, that in pursuance of your advice we have already sent one of our representatives to meet the Chief Secretary to the Assam Government and will soon be sending our accredited representatives to meet the Chief Secretaries and Ministers of Bihar, Orissa and the Central Province. I would inform you about the results of these interviews once they are completed.

Hoping to be favoured with an early reply.

Yours faithfully,  
General Secretary.

- 1 Not printed
- 2 Not printed
- 3 Not printed (See Doc. 15)

## 23: Political agitation in Madura (dt 16.11.1943–13.12.1943)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 2  
[TNA]

From  
(Name) J.L. Wood, Esq., I.C.S.  
(Designation) Dt. Magtc. of Madura.

To  
The Chief Secretary to Government,  
Public (General) Department, Madras.

Ref: C. No. 3617 – M. 43 dated 16th Nov. 1943.

CRL. JUSTICE – Cr. Nos 684 –B1 station, Madura – Mani Servai and 4 others – convening a procession and holding a meeting – Rules 56(4) of the D.O.I. Rules – orders passed. Read



report of the D.S.P. Madura North dated 10-11-43 recommending prosecution of the accused concerned in Cr. Nos 684 to 688 of B1 station Madura and (2) the connected papers.

I submit herewith a copy of my proceedings Ref. 3617-M-43-C dated 16-11-43 authorising the Dt. Superintendent of Police, Madura North to prosecute the accused for an offence under Rule 56(2) read with rule 56(4) of the D.O.I. Rules.

2. The copy of the F.I.R., charge sheet and the report of the police recommending prosecution are enclosed.

3. I request that my action may be approved.

District Magistrate

*Enclosure 1 - FIR*

First information report.

Police Station - Madura.

Date & Hour of occurrence - 9-11-43 - 12.15 Noon

Date & Hour when reported. - 1245/9-11-43.

Place of occurrence and distance and direction from Police Station - North Chittrai Street, Sothukadai street and Jadamuni Koil Street.

Date of despatch from police Stn. 9-11-43.

Name and residence of information and complainant - Rex. S.I. of Police B1 Central Stn. Madura.

Name and residence of accused

1. Mani Servai s/o Ramasami Servai, Parvati.
2. Palanisamy Pillai s/o Iruappa Pillai, Silamalai, Bodi P.S.
3. Muthuramalingam Pillai s/o Suppaiah Pillai, Idaikattur.
4. Ariyaghandi s/o Sundarm Pillai.
5. Nagalinga Nadar s/o Poochi Nadar.

Brief description of offence with sec. and details of property carried off if any - Rule 56(2) - The accused went on a procession singing slogans and conducted a meeting in public without a licence.

Steps taken re. investigation explanation of delay in recording information - S.I. B1 investigatung.

*Enclosure 2*

*Report*

At about 12.15 Noon I had information from H.C. 1137 Ramasami Naidu of the spl. branch by telephone that five congress volunteers with flags and badges were proceeding in procession along North Chittrai street towards east shouting slogans. I proceeded with a party of men consisting of H.C. 761, 188 and

P.Cs 816, 624, 1137 and 1096. At 12.30 p.m. at the junction of Jadamuni Koil street with South Masi I found the persons noted in col. 2 clad in khadi and with scarlet badges with the words 'Gandhi Pattalam' 1 painted on them.

No. 3 noted in Col. 2 was reading a cyclostyled leaflet to a small crowd of 30 persons that

had collected there. They had no licence to go on procession or convene a meeting. I arrested those five persons using sufficient force and seized the cyclostyled leaflets from each of them.

Cyclostyled leaflets contained a passage exhorting the public to fight for swaraj. They are issued in the name of the Satyagraha Committee of Madura and Ramnad Districts.

These persons were taken to station at 12.45 noon and locked up after search.

They will be produced before the City I class Magistrate. A charge sheet will be laid after getting necessary orders of sanction.

Signed

S.I. of Police B1

Submitted to the Dt. Magistrate, Madura.

Sir,

The accused may be ordered to be prosecuted under rule 56(4) of D.O.I. Rules.

A translation of the leaflets referred to in the draft charge sheet are submitted herewith.

Signed

S.I. of Police B1

Central Stn. 9-11-43.

*Translation*

9 11-43. The day when the leaders were arrested. Independence is foremost. The rest are secondary. Considering the present deadlock in front of us the endeavours we take may prove futile. Beware, there will be a big revolution. If we were to think that we must not be physically injured then all the efforts we have taken so far will be rendered useless and we will be proving ourselves as cowards. If we wait any further we will be punished by God. Delay is dangerous. We will determine to die in the act of getting independence if we do not get it. We will make independence the colour of our life.

Vandematharam

Satyagraha Committee, Madura and Ramnad Dt.

*Enclosure – Draft charge sheet, Rule 56(4) of D.O.I.*

*Charge sheet*

At about 12.15 noon on 9-11-43 the accused in col. 2 of F.I.R. who are congress volunteers went in a procession along North Chittrai street to Jadamunikoil street shouting out congress slogans and carrying a flag, and convened a meeting at the junction of Jadamunikoil street with South masi street when accused 3 read out a cyclostyled leaflet exhorting the public to fight for independence, without the permission of the Dt. Magistrate or any competent authority to conduct such a procession or convene a meeting.

Hence the accused are liable under Rule 56(4) of D.O.I. Rules.

Signed

S.I. . . . B1.

I recommend prosecution.

Signed

Forwarded for favour of orders.

Sanction may kindly be accorded to prosecute these accused.

R. Anantaraman  
Dy. S.P., 10-11-43.

Forwarded to the Dt. Magistrate for favour of according sanction.

D. Crossley.  
D.S.P.M.N., 10-11-43.

Sanctioned  
(Sd) J.L. Wood,  
Dt. Magistrate,  
11-11-43.

*Report*

Civil Disobedience Movement Report of persons convicted as per Govt. Memo No. 40371/42 dated 1942.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Name of court & Magistrate:            | City I class Magistrate, Madurai,<br>S. Osman Ali Esq., I.C.S.       |
| 2 Name of the accused:                    | 1. Mani Servai,<br>2. Palani Chami<br>3. Muthuramalingam             |
| 3. Placed where the offence was committed | Madura.  |
| 4. Offence charged and sec law            | Taking a procession without law<br>permission; R 56(1) D.O.I. Rules. |
| 5. Sentence                               | Each to suffer R.I. for 3 months                                     |
| 6. Remarks                                | CC 260/43 dt 30-11-43.   |

Signed  
6/12/43

City Magte's office  
Madura d/4/12/43

City Magistrate

Submitted to the Chief Secretary to Government, Public Deptt, Madras.  
Copy to the Dt. Magistrate, Madura.

D. Dis. 3617-M-43 Madura Dt. Magistrate office 11- 12-43.

*Proceedings*

From  
J.L. Wood, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Dt. Magistrate, Madura

The Chief Secretary to Govt.  
Public (General) Department, Madras.

Sir,  
Political agitation - C.D.M. - Mani servai and 4 others prosecuted under D.O.I. Rules -  
Result of the case reported - G.M. No. 8365-10 P.G. d/26/11/43.

The five accused were convicted under Rule 56(1) of the D.O.I. Rules and each is sentenced to undergo Rigorous Imprisonment for 3 months by the City I class Magistrate, Madura in C.C. 260 of 43 on his file on 30-11-43.

Dt. Magistrate  
Public (General) Department.  
13.12.43

## 24: Notes in the Home Dept. regarding release on parole (dt 22.11.43-3.12.43) (extracts)

File No. 44/37/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Is parole release desirable in such cases?

R. Tottenham,  
22.11.43

In the guidance that we gave to the provinces in our letters dated the 21st January 1942<sup>1</sup>, 43/46/41 – Poll (I) 6th May 1943<sup>2</sup> and 7.44/37/43 – Poll (I) 21st July 1943<sup>3</sup> in the matter of temporary releases on parole, we merely mentioned that Security Prisoners might be temporarily released from jail when considerations of humanity, such as serious operations, or the critical illness of near relatives rendered that course desirable'. It is not quite clear from the above whether the security prisoners themselves could also be released in the case of an operation or illness. It appears, however, that they may be released in such circumstances. The Govt. of Bombay have recently released Yusuf Mehr Ali<sup>4</sup> and the Govt. of Madras released two of the members of the A.I.C.C. from detention on account of their sickness. Please see also in this connection para 6 of Assam Govt's letter dated the 31st Aug. 1943<sup>5</sup> and para 3 of our Exp. letter No. 44/37/43 – Poll (I) dated the 13th September 1943<sup>6</sup> in which no exception was taken to the release of security prisoners on parole when (seriously) ill.

A.J. 26.11.43.

——I will have relevant extracts taken on the question of employment of parole in such cases, which will then be examined on the main file.

S.J.L. Olver,  
27.11.43

I do not know if there is anything to show that the release of Yusuf Mehr Ali and the two Madras men were on parole. It does not seem to me to be a very suitable procedure especially when the period is for so long as two months. In such cases they seldom go back and it might be better to release unconditionally or even with a suitable restriction order.

I should like to mention the case to H.M. after the draft has been issued and the point at A been verified.

R. Tottenham,  
30.11.43

I have had the above extract made from file No. 44/74/43 - Poll (I) (placed below) regarding an enquiry by Mr Krishnamachari about the cases of Huthee Singh, 'a Bombay Security prisoner'. The question is one of principle and should I think be perused on our main security prisoners file which is at present under submission; I will have this noting added to that file in due course. As regards the queries at 'A' above in Additional Secretary's note of 30-11-43. The release of Yusuf Mehr Ali was not on parole; the two Madras men were, however, released on parole.

2. It will be seen from para 6 of the memorandum attached to our letter of 21st July, that we have no very detailed information regarding Provincial practice in this matter of parole. The two Madras cases referred to above formed the subject of a complaint from the Central Provinces (where they had been transferred for custody) and were, however, mentioned in our memorandum. Since then, we have heard of the Huthee Singh case in Bombay and of the cases of Diwan Chaman Lal' and Dr Gopi Chand Bhargava' released on parole for periods of one and three months respectively by the Punjab. It seems probable that this practice of releasing prisoners on parole for considerable periods on grounds of health is fairly widespread.

3. At first sight, the distinction between the formula for release on parole laid down in our original memorandum of 21st January, 1942, and the present practice may not seem very clear. The one lays down that where considerations of humanity such as critical illness of near relatives render it desirable, parole should be granted. In the other cases parole has been granted because illness of the prisoners themselves rendered temporary release from jail desirable. I have little doubt, however, that a valid distinction can be made between the two classes of cases and I would base the distinction first on the time factor and second on the question of satisfaction under Defence Rule 26. The time factor enters in deciding on a reasonable interpretation of the phrase 'temporarily released'. I should say that this should be taking to mean a release of a few days, perhaps a week, at most a fortnight, but that releases of one month and in some cases several months could not be satisfaction under Defence Rule 26 that the distinction between two classes of case referred to above can most clearly be made, however, the illness of a relative does not in any way affect the need for the continued detention of a security prisoners and cannot therefore be held to affect Government's satisfaction that his continued detention is necessary. The illness of the prisoner himself, on the other hand, does very materially affect the question of the dangers attendant on his release and the justification of retaining him in detention. In the former case, therefore, release is an act of grace by Government, and there is every justification for keeping the detention order in force. In the latter case, release is forced upon Government because they consider that the prisoner's state of health is such as to render his further detention unnecessary or inadvisable. In such a case, to retain the detention order in force is clearly unjustified and I do not think the position is affected by the fact that it may later be necessary to re-arrest the men concerned when he has regained his health.

4. We should, I suggest, therefore address Provinces on the subject explaining -

(a) that the phrase 'temporarily released' on parole is to be strictly interpreted; and

- (b) that release on parole is to be limited strictly to cases falling within the formula laid down in para 12 of our memorandum of 21-1-42 and that where prisoners have to be released on account of their own ill-health, this release must be affected by the cancellation for the time being of the order, it being replaced if necessary and if this is justified by a suitable restriction order.

5. The special application of this question of release on parole to Gandhi and his entourage and to members of the Working Committee is discussed on the linked file.

S.J. L. Olver  
2 12.43

V. Sahay  
2.12.43

I quite agree with U.S., and so does H.M. with whom I discussed the matter this morning. A draft may be prepared to Provincial Governments accordingly bringing out the points in para 3 of U.S.'s note. In addition, the following points might also be worth bringing in:

- (a) Detention orders themselves are indefinite; it is always wrong to specify a period of detention: it is equally wrong to specify a period of parole at any rate for more than a few days.
- (b) Releasing security prisoners on parole on account of their health is very similar to releasing security prisoners generally on an undertaking that they will not indulge in objectionable activities. We have already pointed out the objections to that course.
- (c) When a security prisoner's health is such as to make physical detention is no longer necessary in order to prevent him from engaging in prejudicial activities, it may sometimes be justifiable (cf. Mosley's case) to impose restrictions under other parts of D.R. 26. It should always be a question of what measure or kind of restraint is necessary in order to prevent the person from acting in a prejudicial manner.

I should like to see the draft.

3.12.43.

(R. Tottenham)  
Addl. Secretary.

1, 2, 3, 4, Not printed.

6 See Doc. No. 17 above.



# 25: Political agitation in Madura

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2  
[TNA]

Ref. No. 3919-M-43-C

Madura Dt. Magistrate's Office  
*Dated 11-12-1943.*

From  
J.L. Wood Esq., I.C.S.,  
Dt. Magistrate, Madura

To  
The Chief Secretary of Govt.,  
Public (General) Department,

Sir,  
Political Agitation – Civil Disobedience Movement

N. Subramaniam and two others – prosecution under Rule 38 read with rule 34(7) of the Defence of India Rules – sanctioned.

I submit herewith a copy of my proceedings Ref. No. 3919-M-43C dated 10-12-1943 authorising the Dt. Supdt. of police, Madura North to prosecute the accused noted in the proceedings for an offence under Rule 38 read with Rule 34(7) of the Defence of India Rules.

2. A copy of the Police report together with the copies of translation of the prejudicial documents seized from the accused is enclosed.

3. I request that my action may be approved.

For Dt. Magistrate  
Public (General) Deptt.

The prosecution may perhaps be approved

Chief Secy.  
20-12-43

## *Enclosure 1*

Proceedings of the District Magistrate, Madura, dated 10-10-43 Present: J.L. Wood Esq., I.C.S., Dt. magistrate, Madura.

Political Agitation – Civil Disobedience Movement – N. Subramaniam and two others – prosecution under Rule 38 read with rule 34(7) of the Defence of India Rules – sanctioned.

Read: Report of the Dt. Supdt. of Police, Madura North on case diary of B.3 Station Cr. No. 307/43 dated 6-12-1943.

The Dt. Supdt. of Police, Madura North is authorised to prosecute the three accused concerned in B-3 Station Crime No. 307/43 under the Defence of India Rules for being in possession of prejudicial reports; before the City I class Magistrate, Madura.

J.L. Wood,  
Dt. Magistrate

/True Copy/

*Report*

Copy of the report of the sub Inspector of Police, Law and Order Madura North dated 4-12-1943 to the Dt. Magistrate, Madura.

Ref. B.3 South Station Cr. No. 307/43 — Sanction of prosecution — orders requested for.

During the Course of investigation there was information that a room in hotel door No. 5 in Mottagopuram Street was occupied by a Malayalee from Travancore who was responsible for the acts referred to above. On this information the hotel was raided on 25-1-43 at about 3.30 a.m. and the accused 1 to 3 noted in the margin were found sleeping in a room in the second floor of the hotel. Their persons were carefully searched in the presence of number of witnesses and the following literature were recovered from their possession:

(1) Typed matter of two sheets headed 'All India Satyagraha Council' — 'what we stand for' — 'Do or Die' at the bottom. (2) Typed outlines of the programme adopted by the All India Satyagraha Council (3) Cyclostyled leaflets 9-8-43 day of the arrest of the leaders. (4) Three printed pamphlets 'Vandemataram' 'To Police Officers' — Satyagraha Council-Madura-Ramnad District. (5) A printed pamphlet headed 'Unlawful Government Satyagraha Council Madura — Ramnad District were recovered from possession of No. 1; Two cyclostyled leaflets '9-11-43 Day of the arrest of the leaders Satyagraha Council, Madura-Ramnad District from A-2; Three printed pamphlets under heading 'Vandemataram' 'To Police Officers' — Satyagraha Council Madura — Ramnad District and one printed pamphlet 'Vandematharam — Unlawful Government were recovered from A-3. In addition to this a Khadar purse containing currency notes and coins to the value of Rs 292-6-0 was recovered from A-1. The room in which they were sleeping was also searched thoroughly and note books showing accounts of their expenditure for the volunteers from 23-7-43 to 24-11-43, a stencil pen, Khadar sarces etc., were seized.

No. 1 is a confirmed Congressman of Travancore State with a number of political convictions and is having contacts in this Province and as well as in Bombay Province. Further enquiries also disclose that he had planned to stage demonstrations etc., during the visit of His Excellency, Governor of Madras on 25-11-1943 and he had directed his workers who were to be engaged in this on 25-11-43 early morning. No. 2 has also come to adverse notice in Madura South District. He was convicted to 4 weeks R.I. in the individual satyagraha Movement in 1941 and he was arrested in the August movement and released after a period of 15 days, No. 3 is a congressman of Travancore State and his previous history is not known.

As the pamphlets in the possession of the accused 1 to 3 contain prejudicial matter which come within the purview of 34 clause 7 of Defence of India Rules read with 38 of the D.O.I. Rules, I pray that sanction may be accorded for their prosecution.

Translation of the leaflets seized from them are enclosed herewith for favour of perusal.

9-8-1943 IS THE DAY ON WHICH THE LEADERS WERE ARRESTED.

Independence first and the rest afterwards. If we look at the situation that is facing us, it would appear that the course we are adopting will be an inconsistent activity. You should understand this. There will be a big agitation which will spread like wild fire. If we entertain a hope that during that period we can escape unscathed all our previous sufferings could be wasted energy. We will be showing ourselves as miserable cowards. Delay is dangerous. To achieve independence or to die must be our vow. We should consider independence as one life's creed. Non violence is the only road to Victory.



Vandematharam  
Satyagraha Committee – Madura – Ramnad District  
(True Translation).

**VANDEMATHARAM  
TO POLICE OFFICIALS**

You Police Officials: You should not cause trouble to the criminals and offenders and by so doing the crime is only increased. Love alone can rectify the crimes. When that is that case is it fair and right to harass the patriots? They were not offenders in the eyes of the four hundred millions peoples of this country. Your conscience is aware of this. This unlawful Government having imprisoned the patriots by force are ruling over you and the peoples of the country. The Satyagrahis are only fighting for your welfare.

Why do you want to cooperate with the unlawful Government which want to crush the Satyagraha. What would your children think about you when they become patriots. Think it over.

Satyagraha Council – Madura – Ramnad District  
(True Translation)

**'VANDEMATHARAM'  
UNLAWFUL GOVERNMENT**

*Judges:* Our country is famous for courts of law and justice. Manunthisolan and Emperor Chevi of Olden days had lived and established justice. But the present Government is unlawful. The creed of the present Government is to exploit the people. About 2000 years ago, Jesus Christ was declared as traitor of the country and crucified. The present government has imprisoned Mahatma Gandhi who is incarnation of truth and justice and who is born in the world to teach justice to the people of the world. Your present laws and rules give room for this. Your judges also approve this. Is it fair and justice to keep in prison Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Frontier Gandhi. Common people die of starvation whereas His Excellency the Viceroy is entertained at dinner parties. Amery says that starvation is mainly due to the increase in population. It would appear to be the doctrine of the Government to decrease the population by allowing them to die of starvation. You judges are keeping quiet seeing this.

*Vakils:* Most of the Indian leaders are Vakils and Gandhi too is a Vakil. Most of the leaders in Tamil Nad are Vakils. Our leader A. Vythinatha Ayyer is also a famous Vakil. Is it fair to keep them all in jail. Is it justice that sanads of your co-Vakils have been cancelled. How are you tolerating all these things?

The common people expect that judges and vakils will support the national struggle. They should not go to court. If they go, Satyagrahis will stop them by non-violent method and they will not allow the courts to get on. We believe that judges and vakils will cooperate with common people.

Satyagraha Council – Madura – Ramnad District



## 26: Secretary, Labour Party of India to the Home Member, Govt. of India

File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Indore,  
23rd December 1943*

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell,  
K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,  
Home Member, Government of India,  
Imperial Secretariat,  
New Delhi.

Sir,

We are herewith sending the copy of the letter sent to the Frontier Provincial Government, Peshawar, for perusal, information, and prompt and favourable response.

Yours sincerely

Laxman Pase  
Secretary of L.P.I.  
Branch Indore, C.I.

*Enclosure*

To  
The Chief Secretary,  
Government of India,  
Frontier Provincial Government,  
Secretariat,  
Peshawar.

Sir,

We the members of Labour Party of India Branch, Indore, have passed the following resolutions in the meeting held in Indore.

1. This Committee of Indore Labour party opposes strongly against the arresting of Comrade Abdul Rehman Khan, the President of Labour Party of India under the Frontier Tribes Act without proceeding any case. This Committee requests the Frontier Government that Com. Khan must be released soon without any condition whatsoever because of his living in jail is damaging our Anti Fascist Programme

2. This meeting appeals in forceful words that the Frontier Government must check at once all the ill-steps against the members of L.P.I., for the members of L.P.I. are bringing in

action the war supporting policy with their full determination and power. 'The Frontier Government must allow them to work freely against their main enemy 'the Fascism'.

Yours sincerely,  
Secretary of L.P.I.  
Branch Indore, C.I.

Indore,  
Dated, 23rd December, 1943.

## 27: Government of India to Sisir Roy

File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Dated 27th Dec. 1943*

### **Memorandum**

To  
Sisir Roy, Esq.,  
General Secretary,  
Labour Party of India,  
64, Chittaranjan Avenue,  
Calcutta

Dear Mr Roy,  
Will you please refer to your letter dated October 26th, 1943,<sup>1</sup> to the Home Member, who has asked me to send you a reply.

2. The decision in individual cases such as those of the three members<sup>2</sup> of your Party expelled from the N.W.F.P. must rest with the Provincial Government, and we have no doubt that the activities of these three men must have afforded grounds for the action taken by the N.W.F.P. Government. If you wish to pursue the matter, I would suggest that it is for you or a responsible members of your Party to convince the Chief Secretary to the N.W.F.P. Government by personal contact or otherwise that the aims of your party are genuinely pro-war and that individual members of your Party are prepared to abide by these aims.

Yours sincerely,  
Addl. Secretary.

<sup>1</sup> Doc 22

<sup>2</sup> Kamal Sarkar, Nipen Ghosh, Abdur Rahman Khan

# 28: Home to Chief Commissioner, Delhi<sup>1</sup>

File No. 44/91/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret  
Government of India  
Home Department

## Express Letter

From  
Home, New Delhi.

To  
The Chief Commissioner, Delhi,  
Ajmer-merwara,  
Coorg,  
Baluchistan

No. 44/91/43 – Poll (I)

*New Delhi,  
the 19th January 1944.*

Enclosed is a copy of the Central Government Security Prisoners' Order, 1944, issued under the Restriction and Detention (Ordinance No. III of 1944). This order supersedes the Central Government Security Prisoners Order 1942.

2. It will be seen that the order applies to security prisoners detained in Chief Commissioners' Provinces by or under the authority of

- (a) the Central Government
- (b) the Chief Commissioner of any other Province
- (c) the Provincial Government of any Governor's Province,

that is it does not apply to security prisoners detained in a Chief Commissioner's Province under the orders of the Chief Commissioner, since under sub-section (5) of section 3 of the Ordinance the power to specify conditions of detention is exercisable in respect of such prisoners by the Chief Commissioner himself. It is requested that you will arrange for a suitable order to be issued adopting the provisions of the Central Government Security prisoners detained under your orders in your Province are concerned.

3. It will be seen that paragraph 21 of the Central Government Security Prisoners Order, 1942 has been omitted and its equivalent is contained in the proviso to sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 1 of the present order. This necessitates the re-making of any orders previously passed in pursuance of paragraph 21 of the 1942 Order and it is requested that you will take appropriate action to re-make any existing orders under that paragraph relating to your security prisoners. A fresh order relating to Congress security prisoners is enclosed in supersession of the Home Department Order No. 34/2/42 Poll (I), dated 5th September, 1942.

4. It is requested that copies of any orders passed by you under either of the preceding paragraphs of this letter may be forwarded to this department for information.

(V. Sahay)  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

No. 44/91/43 – Poll (I)  
Government of India  
Home Department  
New Delhi, the 15th January 1944

### **Order**

#### *Enclosure*

In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-sections (4) and (5) of Sections 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (Ordinance No. III of 1944), the Central Government is pleased to make the following general order, namely:

- (i) This order may be called the Central Government Security Prisoners Order, 1944.
- (ii) It shall apply in relation to persons (hereinafter referred to as 'security prisoners') ordered to be detained in any Chief Commissioner's Province by, or under authority derived from, –
  - a) the Central Government, or
  - b) the Chief Commissioner of any other Province, or
  - c) the Provincial Government of any Governor's Province:

Provided that the Central Government may direct that the provisions of this order shall apply in relation to any security prisoner or any class of security prisoners with such modifications as may be specified in the direction.

2. In this Order, in relation to a security prisoner,

- 1) 'Chief Commissioner' means the Chief Commissioner of the Province in which the security prisoner is ordered to be detained.
- 2) 'Jail' means the place of detention of the security prisoner;
- 3) 'Superintendent' means the officer appointed by the Chief Commissioner to be, or to act as, the Superintendent of the jail in which the security prisoner is ordered to be detained.

3.

- a) Security prisoners shall be divided into two classes, I and II, according to the State of their health, and their education, status and mode of living before arrest.
- a) The classification of each security prisoner shall be made by the Chief Commissioner.

4. For each class of security prisoners an appropriate scale of accommodation, furniture, clothing, diet and other necessities shall be prescribed by the Chief Commissioner.

5. Subject to the other provisions of their order, security prisoners shall –

- (i) be kept entirely separate from any convicts who may be accommodated in the same jail;
- (ii) ordinarily be accommodated in association wards or cells;

- (iii) be allowed to communicate with other security prisoners of the same class, to the extent, which the chief commissioner may prescribe, with security prisoners of the other class; and
- (iv) be allowed to wear their own clothes.

6. Security prisoners may be assigned tasks by the superintendent with due regard to their state of health, physical and mental capacity, character and antecedents and may receive remuneration for their labour at such rates as may be prescribed by the chief commissioner

7. The superintendent may in his discretion direct that a security prisoner shall be locked up from such time each night till such time next morning as he may specify in this behalf.

8. Security prisoners, and the wards and cells in which they are accommodated, may be searched at such intervals, and by such officers of the jail, as the superintendent may direct.

9. The superintendent may in his discretion permit the supply of extra clothes and bedding to a security prisoner by his friends.

10.

(1) A security prisoner may, with the previous sanction of the Chief Commissioner, receive from a specified relative or friend, at intervals of not less than a month, funds not exceeding Rs 20 per month in the case of a class I security prisoner, and Rs 10 per month in the case of a class II security prisoner to enable him to supplement the amenities of life in the jail.

(2) All funds so received shall be kept by the superintendent and spent by him on behalf of the security prisoner. Funds received in excess of the limits specified shall be held by the superintendent on deposit of the security prisoner, or may in the discretion of the superintendent be paid to a nominee of the security prisoner; provided that, should any security prisoner or prisoners so wish, such funds may be pooled by the superintendent for the common use of all the security prisoners in the jail.

(3) Funds sent to a security prisoner in discharge of a liability of the sender to the security prisoner shall be received by the superintendent and treated in the manner laid down in sub-paragraph (1) and (2) for the disposal of the funds referred to therein.

11.

(1) The Superintendent then shall fix two days in the week on which security prisoners may have interviews with persons other than a police officer.

(2) No security prisoner shall be allowed to have an interview with any person (other than a police officer) except on a permit granted by the authority under whose orders he is detained, or by such officer as may be authorised by that authority in this behalf.

(3) Applications for permits under such paragraph (2) shall be made to the authority or officer referred to therein, in Form A annexed to this Order and the permit if granted shall be communicated both to the applicant and to the Superintendent.

(4) Notwithstanding the receipt of such a permit, the Superintendent may for special reasons refuse to allow an interview to take place on any particular day or for such period as he considers fit:

Provided that if his refusal extends to a period exceeding one month from the date on which he receives the permit he shall report his refusal and the reasons therefore to the authority or officer granting the permit.

(5) The Superintendent shall appoint the time, place and duration of each interview and

shall not ordinarily allow an interview to continue for more than one hour with a relative or half an hour with a person other than a relative. Not more than three visitors shall be allowed to be present simultaneously at any one interview.

- (6) Interviews shall take place in the presence of an officer deputed by the Superintendent and such officer may terminate an interview at any time, if in his opinion the conversation is detrimental to the public interest or safety.
- (7) Every person permitted to interview a security prisoner, and the security prisoner himself, shall be searched before and after the interview.
- (8) After the interview is over, the officer present at the interview shall warn both the security prisoner and the visitor that future interviews are liable to be prohibited if the visitor indulges in any publicity on behalf of the security prisoner.
- (9) A security prisoners shall not ordinarily be allowed more than one interview a fortnight if he belongs to Class I, or more than one interview a month if belongs to Class II, but the Superintendent may in his discretion allow additional interviews by authorised persons for special reasons.
- (10) In addition to the interviews permissible under sub paragraph (9) a security prisoner may, with the permission of the authority under whose orders he is detained, be allowed
  - a) not more than two special interviews for the settlement of his business or professional affairs, ordinarily to take place within two months of his arrest; such interviews shall be conducted in accordance with the preceding provisions of this paragraph as regards place, duration and conditions of the interview and the proceedings shall be strictly confined to the objects for which the interview is granted,
  - b) to interview his legal advice in connection with a legal proceeding to which the security prisoner is or will be a party; not more than one such interview shall ordinarily be allowed in connection with a contemplated proceeding before the proceeding is instituted. All such interviews shall be subject to such conditions and restrictions as the Superintendent may consider necessary to ensure security and prevent the passing of unauthorised communications unconnected with the case relating to which the interview is granted.

12.

- (1) The Central Government, the Chief Commissioner, or any police officer specially authorised in this respect by either the Central Government or the Chief Commissioner, may be general or special order, authorise any police officer, either singly or with another police officer, and accompanied or unaccompanied by subordinate police officers, to interview any security prisoner.
- (2) The police officers so authorised may, with the permission of the Superintendent, interview security prisoners in their cells or wards.
- (3) In visiting the cells or wards every police officer shall be accompanied by such escort as the Superintendent considers necessary for his safety; but the escort shall, if the police officer so requires, stand out of escort, but within sight, while he is speaking to any of the security prisoner.
- (4) The police officers so authorised may, with the permission of the Superintendent,

interview security prisoners in the ordinary interview room, without a jail official being present.

13.

- (1) Security prisoners in Class I shall ordinarily be permitted to write four and to receive eight letters per week, and those in Class II to write two and receive four letters per week. All letters from security prisoners shall be written in Form B annexed to this Order and shall not ordinarily exceed the prescribed length and security prisoners may for this purpose be supplied, at the cost of the Central Government, with the necessary writing materials.
- (2) Not more than one letter shall be enclosed in one envelope, except with the special permission of the Superintendent.
- (3) Security prisoners may write letters to security prisoners detained in other places provided that the contents of these letters are of a purely personal character.
- (4) All letters to and from a security prisoners shall be censored by the Superintendent or by an officer appointed by him to assist him in this behalf or to perform this duty in his absence, and if any letter is in the opinion of the Superintendent, or the officer aforesaid, likely to be detrimental to the public interest or safety, such letter shall be withheld. In cases of doubt the matter may be referred for orders to the Chief Commissioner.
- (5) Every letter forward to or from a security prisoner shall be initialed and dated by the officer concerning the letter under sub-paragraph (4).
- (6) All letters, the despatch or delivery of which is withheld under sub-paragraph (4) shall be delivered to the Chief Commissioner, or to such officer as he may authorise in this respect, and the fact of such withholding shall be submitted to the security prisoners concerned.
- (7) Notwithstanding anything herein before contained, the superintendent or the officer appointed by him may, instead of with holding the delivery or dispatch of a letter, dispatch or deliver it after deleting any portion which in his opinion may be detrimental to the public interest or safety, or to jail discipline.
- (8) The receipt and dispatch of telegrams by prisoners shall be subject to the same control as is herein before provided for letters, except that the number of telegrams which may be dispatched by a prisoner shall be within the discretion of the superintendent.
- (9) The superintendent may in his discretion forward a petition submitted in telegraphic form by post instead of by telegram.
- (10) Security prisoners shall, when sending letters or telegrams, specify the full name, address and relationship to the writer, of the addressee and of each person mentioned in the letter or telegram, in the case of the former on the detachable portion of the form and in the case of the letter on a separate slip. The detached portion of the Form, and the slip if any, shall be sent to the Inspector General of Police or Commissioner of Police, as the case may be, of the province from which the security prisoner comes, or in the case of a Chief Commissioner's province, to the police officer of the province or to such other officer as may be designated in this behalf by the Provincial Government or Chief Commissioner concerned. If that officer considers that the writer should not be allowed to correspond with the addressee, he shall so inform the superintendent for his future guidance.



- (11) In addition the writing materials supplied under sub-paragraph(1) a security prisoner who receives funds from outside may be allowed to purchase ordinary notebooks with numbered pages for other writing purposes,

14.

- (1) Security prisoners may receive through the post any of the newspapers and periodicals contained in a list approved by the Chief Commissioner, subject to the following conditions, namely:
- a) any postal article containing the newspaper or periodical shall first be opened by the superintendent or a person appointed by him for the purpose;
  - b) Where the outside page of any such newspaper or periodical is composed in whole or in part of advertisements, such advertisements shall be removed or deleted before the newspaper or periodical is delivered to the security prisoner.
  - c) where in the opinion of the superintendent any other matter in such newspaper periodical is unsuitable on grounds of public interest and safety, such matter shall be deleted before the newspaper of periodical is delivered to the security prisoner.
- (2) Books may be received by security prisoners through the post, subject to the condition that the postal article containing the book shall first be opened by the superintendent or any person appointed by him for the purpose and the delivery of such book to the prisoner may be refused if in the opinion of the superintendent the book is unsuitable on grounds of public interest. The superintendent shall refer doubtful cases to the Chief Commissioner for decision
- (3) In addition to newspapers, periodicals and books which may be received through the post, any security prisoner who receives funds from outside may be allowed to purchase from such funds newspapers, periodicals and books subject to the conditions laid down in sub-paragraph 2 which should apply in this case also to newspapers and periodicals.

15.

- (1) The Superintendent shall forward to the Chief Commissioner without delay, and with such observations as he may think fit, any representation which a security prisoner may address to the central government or a provincial government: provided that if there be anything in the representation which in the opinion of the superintendent is objectionable, he may withhold the representation; but if he does so he shall inform the security prisoner that the representation has been withheld
- (2) The Superintendent shall forward to the Chief Commissioner without delay any petition which a security prisoner may address to a Court

16. A security prisoner-

- (1) shall reside in the accommodation allotted to him by the superintendent, whether in an association ward or a cell;
- (2) shall not proceed beyond the jail limits save with the permission of the superintendent given by general or specified order in this behalf;
- (3) shall obey the orders of the superintendent issued from time to time for the comfort, safety and health, or for the discipline, orderly conduct and control, of security prisoners;

- (4) shall attend roll-call and answer to his name in person at such times and places within the jail as may be appointed by the superintendent;
- (5) shall conform to the standards of cleanliness and dress laid down by the superintendent;
- (6) shall not refuse to take the prescribed diet or do anything wilfully with the affecting his own bodily welfare;
- (7) shall not have in his possession any coin, currency note, or negotiable instrument, any weapon, stick, razor other than a safety razor, pieces of iron or other article which may be used as a weapon;
- (8) shall not exchange or sell any of his kit, equipment clothes, furniture or other possessions;
- (9) shall not destroy or remove any pages of any note book supplied to him under paragraph 13(2);
- (10) shall perform such tasks as may be allotted to him by the superintendent.

17. Any security prisoner who contravenes any of the provisions of paragraph 15, or does any of the following acts, namely:

- (i) assaults, insults, threatens or obstructs any fellow security prisoner or any officer of the jail or any other Government servant, or any person employed in or visiting the jail, or
- (ii) quarrels with any person in the jail, or
- (iii) is guilty of indecent, immoral or disorderly conduct, or
- (iv) communicates or attempts to communicate with any person outside or in another part of the jail in an unauthorised manner, or
- (v) bribes or attempts to bribe any Government servant or any person employed in or visiting the jail, or
- (vi) commits any nuisance or wilfully befouls say, well, latrine, washing or bathing place or
- (vii) wilfully damage any property belonging to Government or tampers with any locks, lamps or lights in the jail, or
- (ix) receives, possesses or transfers any article in contravention of an order of the Superintendent, or
- (x) feigns illness, or
- (xi) wilfully brings a false accusation against any officer of the jail or fellow security prisoner, or
- (xii) omits or refuses to report, as soon as it comes to his knowledge, the occurrence of any fire, any plot or conspiracy, any escape, attempts or preparation to escape, and any attack or preparation for attack upon any officer of the jail, or
- (xiii) abets the commission by a fellow security prisoner of any of the foregoing acts, or
- (xiv) omits or refuses to help any officer of the jail in case of an attempted escape on the part of any of his fellow security prisoners, or of any attack upon such officer, or upon any of his fellow security prisoners, shall be deemed to have committed a jail offence.

18.

- (1) Whereupon such enquiry as he thinks fit to make, the Superintendent is satisfied that a security prisoner is guilty of a jail offence, he may award the security prisoner one or more of the following punishments:

- (a) confinement in cells for a period not exceeding fourteen days;
  - (b) reduction or alteration of diet for a period not exceeding fourteen days;
  - (c) conciliation or reduction for a period not exceeding two months of the concession of receiving funds from outside.
  - (d) cancellation or reduction for a period not exceeding two months of the privilege of writing and receiving letters or of receiving newspapers, periodicals and books;
  - (e) cancellation or reduction, for a period not exceeding two months, of the privileges of having interviews;
  - (f) cancellation of the privileges of wearing his own clothes;
  - (g) reduction from class I to class II for a period not exceeding one month.
- (2) If any security prisoner is guilty of a jail offence, which by reason of his having frequently committed such offences or otherwise, is in the opinion of the superintendent not adequately punishable by him under the provisions of sub-paragraph (1), he may forward such prisoner to the court of a magistrate of the first class having jurisdiction and such magistrate shall therefrom inquire into and try the charge so brought against the security prisoner, and upon conviction shall sentence him to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year;
- Provided that where the act constituting the offence constitutes an offence punishable under the Indian Penal Code with imprisonment for a term exceeding one year, nothing in this paragraph shall preclude the security prisoner from being tried and sentenced for such offence in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Penal Code.

19. The Superintendent may use or require to be used such force as may in his opinion be necessary to compel obedience on the part of any security prisoner to any lawful order issued by him.

20.

- (1) When one Superintendent is of opinion that a security prisoner should be given medical treatment in a hospital, the security prisoner may, notwithstanding anything contained in the order of detention, be taken to such civil hospital as the Chief Commissioner may by general order in this respect prescribe, and detained there in custody until in the opinion of the medical officer in charge of such hospital, he is fit to return to the jail;
- (2) In respect of a security prisoner detained in such hospital, under sub-paragraph (1), the preceding provisions of this order shall apply as far as may be, as if
  - (i) all references to the jail were references to such hospital, and
  - (ii) all references to the Superintendent were references to the medical officer in charge.

R. Tottenham.

Additional Secretary to the Government of India

New Delhi, the 19th January 1944

### **Order**

In pursuance of the proviso to sub-section (2) of section 1 of the Central Government Security Prisoners Order, 1944, it is directed that the following modifications in the operation of the

provisions of the said Order shall be made in respect of security prisoners detained in connection with the present Congress movement, namely:

- (1) all such security prisoners shall be housed, in so far as accommodation permits and arrangements can be made, entirely separate from other security prisoners;
- (2) all such security prisoners shall be kept in one class, which may be called 'Q Class', an appropriate scale of accommodation, furniture, clothing, diet and other necessities being prescribed for them by the Chief Commissioner on a scale approximately intermediate between the existing Classes I and II.
- (3) the provisions of Section II shall not apply to such security prisoners;

Secret  
Government of India,  
Home Department

1 In this context see also Document 17 above -- Ed

## 29: Political agent, Eastern Rajputana to the Dewan of Princely States

Bharatpur Agency (Eastern Rajputana States) Bundi State File No. 50  
[Rajasthan State Archives]

Secret

To

1. The Dewan, Bundi State
2. The Prime Minister, Kotah State
3. The Chief Member, State Council, Karauli
4. The Dewan, Bharatpur State
5. The Political Secretary, Dholpur State
6. The Dewan, Jhalawar State

Memorandum No. 141/70-P/42-II

*Dated Bharatpur, the 28th January 1944*

### **Independence Day**

I enclose, for the information of the Darbar/ Bharatpur Government, a copy of Government of India, Home Department, Express Letters Nos 3/3/43 - Poll (I) and 3/2/44 - Poll (I) dated respectively the 16th January 1943 and 13th January 1944 with enclosures.

Any illegal activities in connection with Independence Day on the 26th January will doubtless be reported in the ordinary course.

Political Agent  
Eastern Rajputana States

*Enclosure*

Copy of Express Letter No. 3/3/43 - Poll (I) dated the 16th January 1943 from the Government

of India, Home Department, to all Provincial Governments etc. [This letter may be seen in Chapter 1 Section B – Docs 7&11 – Ed.]

Copy of Government of India, Home Department Secret Express Letter No. 3/2/44 – Poll (I) dated the 13th January, 1944. [This letter may be seen in Chapter 1 Section B – Doc. 98 – Ed.]

## 30: A brief appreciation by the Provincial Press Advisor, Orissa for the fortnight ending the 29th February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

All India Topics – The speech of His Excellency the Viceroy to the Indian Legislature has been commented on by all sections of the Press. The *samaj*, adopting the attitude of the Congress Press in India, writes that there is nothing new in it, and that political leaders will be disappointed that no progress has been made in solving the political deadlock. It quotes the words of a member of the Council of State that ‘he had given kicks for the Congress, slaps for the League, knocks for the legislatures and pats for the Executive Council’. The *Daily Asha* and the *New Orissa*, while agreeing that many are disappointed, say that it is not true that the Viceroy has not kept the way open for a solution of the political deadlock. They see no reason why parties should not come together without the release of security prisoners, which could hardly be achieved until they express their willingness to cooperate in the war effort and in bringing about agreement between the different parties. They see in His Excellency’s speech a genuine desire for the cooperation of Congress leaders, which should be welcomed as a friendly gesture.

## 31: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from the United Provinces for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Political – Mention has already been made of the Prime Minister’s speech in Parliament and the other two notable events which attracted public attention were His Excellency the Viceroy’s address to the Central Legislature and the death of Mrs Gandhi. His Excellency’s speech caused universal disappointment amongst those who hoped that it would contain what they could regard as a feasible and constructive suggestion for the solution of the present political deadlock. There has, however, been at least one indication that more mature and studied criticism of the speech may be more appreciative.

Mrs Gandhi’s death received widespread publicity and was deeply mourned. Most

newspapers wrote at length about her and her life's work with Gandhi. No untoward demonstrations in connection with her death have been reported.

There has been little political activity, although some districts have reported a few signs of reviving Congress activities as a result of the release of detenus. Two cases have been reported of released Congressmen deliberately trying to get put back into jail in order to get proper food and shelter. As a result of the sabotage at a railway station near Lucknow, mentioned in my last report, patrolling of railway lines has been re-started in all areas within 50 miles of Lucknow.

## 32: Case of V.V. Giri\* — (Security prisoner)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 884  
[TNA]

From

V. Saraswati Bai, (Mrs V.V. Giri),  
'Malati' Giri Road,  
Tyagarayanagar, Madras

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras  
Madras

Sir,

I, V. Saraswati Bai, wife of Mr V.V. Giri, formerly Minister with the Government of Madras, wish to bring to the notice of the Government that a domestic calamity has befallen me and my family by the death by pneumonia of my youngest child at my house this morning while my husband is away in the Amraoty Jail as a political detenu.

I feel lonely and very much depressed, being alone here with my children with no elderly male member in the home to help us at this time of our distress.

I have wired the sad news to my husband and I know he will feel more lonely and distressed over the bereavement which has occurred during his absence.

I shall feel much obliged if you will kindly arrange to have my husband released on parole and allowed to visit his home as his return to us even for a short stay during this period of domestic sorrow will be a great solace and relief to me and my children as well as to my husband, and I request that this may kindly be effected as early as possible considering the poignancy of my sorrow.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

V. Saraswati bai Giri

Madras

12th March, 1944

### Official Comments

Paroles are not usually granted to purposes such as the one mentioned above except in exceptional circumstances. In the circumstances stated in the petition it is for order whether the request may be refused in this case. The Commr. of Police need not perhaps be consulted in the matter.

The detenu himself has not applied for any parole. We may await a request from him if any.

(Parole has been granted once before for similar reasons)

## 33: Regarding — Petition from V.V. Giri — Official Notings

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 - File G.O. No. 884

[TNA]

*Dated 30th March 1944*

Political agitation — C.D.M. — Detenu — V.V. Giri Parole Extension.

### Petition from V.V. Giri

Please see the petition of Mr V.V. Giri<sup>1</sup> who was released on parole for a period of three weeks in G.O. No. 844, Public (GI), dated 17-3-44 on account of the death of his daughter. The period of parole expires on 8-4-44. He now requests that the parole may be extended by six weeks on the ground that his wife is ill. For orders whether his request may be granted.

2 Mr Giri also requests that he may be transferred from the District Jail, Amraoti to the special Jail, Tanjore in order to enable his wife to interview him occasionally. It may be noted in this connection that the question of bringing back our detenus from the C.P. was recently considered, and it was decided not to bring them back. For orders whether this request need be considered.

Signed (illegible)

31.3.44

(A) Parole may perhaps be extended by 6 weeks.

(B) It is remembered that a similar request was made in the case of Mr N.G. Ranga and he was allowed to come back. The point is for orders.

31-3-44

Give him 6 weeks extension of parole . . . On general grounds it cannot be done. What special grounds were there to make it a special case? Show N.G. Ranga's papers . . .

The papers in regard to Prof. N.G. Ranga at flag (W). A note on his case was put up and sent to A-I upon which he ordered that N.G. Ranga may be transferred to Tanjore since he could not be released as he was an A.I.C.C. member etc.

2. As regard to the general reasons why the Madras prisoners now detained in C.P. should be taken back in the Madras jails, please see a letter to the Govt. of India at p. 5 of S.F. 104/1943<sup>2</sup>

The reason as given by Mr Giri is that following the death of his daughter, his wife is unwell and if he were in Tanjore she could visit him more often. For orders if his transfer can be allowed this ground.

1. Doc. 34.

2. Not printed.

## 34: Request for extension of parole from V.V. Giri

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 884  
[TNA]

'Malathi'  
4. Giri Road,  
Theagarayanagar,  
Madras

*30th March, 1944*

To  
The Chief Secretary,  
Government of Madras  
Fort St. George, Madras

Sir,

I am much obliged to you for the expeditious way in which you so kindly granted three weeks parole to me when it was urgently needed. I am constrained to make another application for extension under the circumstances mentioned below:

My wife is still unwell and in bed. She is getting fits due to her great mental depression and her condition is very weak. If I could help it, I would not like to leave her in her present state and my departure might aggravate her difficulty and may create further complications to her health.

I, therefore, request you to extend my parole by a period of six weeks so that my wife may get over her mental strain and depression.

If I may, I request you to transfer me to Vellore or Tanjore jails so that Mrs Giri may now and then look me up. This will enable her to improve her health and spirits. This is not possible if I stay in a distant jail like Amraoti.

Realising that all my friends at Amraoti are suffering under difficulties already mentioned in our joint representation to Government, I would not have made this request to you but for the condition of my wife.

I will much appreciate if you kindly grant the requests mentioned above. Needless to say



that I will scrupulously observe the undertaking given by me to the Superintendent, Amraoti District Jail regarding my activities.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

V.V. Giri  
Detenu

## 35: Case of V.V. Giri

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 884  
[TNA]

Memo No. 17934/44-2

*Dated 14-4-1944*

Poll agitation – C.D.M. – Madras City Sri V.V. Giri Detenu, Dt. Jail, Amraoti, Transfer to Madras – Ref: this petition dated 30-3-1944.

In continuation of Memo. No. 17934/44-1 Public (G), dated 1-4-1944, Sri V.V. Giri is informed that the govt. are not prepared to transfer him to a jail in this Province present.

To

Sri V.V. Giri, Malathi,  
Theagarayanagar, Madras

## 36: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of April 1944 – Political situation

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

*Civil Disobedience Movement* – Further reports received indicate that the 'National' week was observed in most districts of this Province. The observance was peaceful except in Ahmedabad city where one policeman was assaulted by some processionists and another stabbed in the back while entering a hotel. A few arrests were made to hold meetings. Prominent among these was Maniben Patel, daughter of Mr V.J. Patel, who was arrested in Surat District for holding an unlawful meeting . . .

*Law and Order* – The police drive in Satara District referred to in my previous letters continues to have encouraging success. One other notorious dacoit, Anne Bala Ramoshi, surrendered himself to the police.

A mysterious murder is reported from Dehu Road in Poona District. On April 1st, Prem,

a bearer employed in the camp of the Indian Pioneer Force, alighted at the Dehu Road railway Station from a train coming from Bombay and hired two coolies to carry a big trunk from the station to the camp. After leaving the trunk at the camp Prem disappeared. The trunk was opened the next day when it was found to contain the dead body of a naked woman.

In the early hours of April 6th some Indian military sepoy's trespassed into the village of Adoli in Belgaum District and assaulted two men. This frightened the villagers, who ran into an adjoining forest, asking their womenfolk to follow them. The sepoy's chased the women and secured a girl whom they raped. Eleven sepoy's have been arrested and they will be tried by Court Martial.

Details now received in regard to the looting of the Government remittance in West Khandesh District referred to in my last letter show that the remittance amounting to Rs 5,51,000 was being taken in a bus under an escort of one Head Constable and one Constable. Three members of the gang of offenders entered the bus at Chimthana. When the bus had proceeded about two miles, the driver saw four persons (apparently members of the gang) quarrelling on the road. He slowed down the bus. One of the members of the gang who had entered the bus at Chimthana as a passenger asked the driver to stop the bus and on the latter's refusal to do so shot him in the neck. The Head Constable who made an attempt to resist was shot in the back and gravely wounded. The boxes containing Government notes and cash were then broken open and their contents removed. The offenders also took possession of the two muskets and 20 rounds of ammunition carried by the Head Constable and the Constable.

## 37 , Extracts from Fortnightly Report from the Central Provinces and Berar for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

### **Release of Mahatma Gandhi**

Public interest is almost focussed on the unconditional release of Mr Gandhi, which came as a surprise and which was welcomed by all sections of the population. In Nagpur resolutions congratulating Government on its decision and praying for the long life of Mr Gandhi were passed by the District Communist Party, the Nagpur Municipal Committee and the sweepers' association. The Press is also unanimous in congratulating Government on the step taken. Preparations are said to be going on in Sewagram to receive Mr Gandhi and to remodel his hut, should he return there. In Wardha there is said to be speculation as to the political effect of Mr Gandhi's release and it is understood that amongst the right wing hope is entertained that Congress policy will be re-oriented to suit present conditions. Anxiety about Mr Gandhi's health continues and prayers were offered in different districts for his speedy recovery. The release has given an impetus to interest in the 'Kasturba Memorial Fund' and committees with the object of collection of funds were formed in Nagpur and Jubbulpore. The release has also realised hopes that Government will also release other leaders and that steps may be taken to solve the political deadlock. Public opinion does not appear to believe that the step taken by Government in releasing Mr Gandhi was due solely to the condition of his health.

# 38: V.V. Giri's petition for further extension of parole

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 884

[TNA]

*Madras*

*4.5.44*

To  
The Chief Secretary,  
Government of Madras,  
Madras.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge your memorandum No. 17934 dated 14th April 1944,<sup>1</sup> on my request for a transfer to a Madras Jail. I received the same at a time when you were good enough to extend the period of my parole by six weeks.

If I may, I desire to state that my wife is still getting fits and while her condition did not deteriorate, her mental depression continues and has been giving cause for anxiety. At such a moment, by leaving for a distant jail like that of Amraoti may not help her to regain her health because she cannot have the satisfaction of having an interview a month owing to distance, difficulties of travel, especially in case of ladies.

Under the special circumstances, may I once more repeat my request for a transfer to a jail near to Madras? If, however, you think this is too tall a request to make, you may please give consideration to a more modest suggestion of keeping me for a period of three or four months in a Madras jail and needless to say that after that period I will automatically go back to Amraoti without question, unless you direct otherwise. This will be a great relief to Mrs Giri who will thus be enabled to see me and regain normal state of health during the period.

I hope you will not consider the above request either as insurmountable or extravagant. I do so in the interest of a lady's health.

I shall be obliged for an early reply.

Yours truly,

V.V. Giri

1. Doc 35.



## 39: Case of V.V. Giri

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 884  
[TNA]

Memo No: 25700/uu – 1 D/17/5/44

Poll agitation – C.D.M. – Detenu –

Sri V.V. Giri – Release on parole –

Ref: His letter dated nil.

Sri V.V. Giri is informed that he has to report himself to the Supt., Dt. jail, Amraoti on 21-5-44 and not on 22nd May 1944 as assumed by him, as the period of parole granted to him extends from 19-3-1944 to 20-5-44 (both days inclusive).

dated 16/5/44

(Issue but it may not get to him in time.) dt 17/5/44

To  
Sri V.V. Giri,  
'Malathi'  
1 Giri Road,  
Mambalam,  
Thyagarajanagar  
Madras

## 40: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from the United Provinces for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### **Mahatma Gandhi's Release**

**POLITICAL** – The outstanding event has, of course, been Gandhi's illness and subsequent release. Both received wide publicity and his release can be said to have been universally welcomed. It is quite obvious, however, that the Congress and its sympathisers made as much of Gandhi's illness as possible to attain political ends. It is also significant that immediately following his release his health seems to have improved materially. Had he been released from a proper jail, that might have been understandable, but when the release was from the conditions in which he had been living in the Aga Khan's Palace, it is not so understandable. A sideline on the attitude of the Congress to his welfare is the fact that in Meerut the Congress

leaders had arranged a public prayer meeting for Gandhi's recovery, but as soon as he was released the meeting was called off. One can only conclude that the meeting was intended not so much to pray for Gandhi's recovery as to create a widespread agitation for his release for political purposes. This is further exemplified by the fact that no sooner had Gandhi been released than the Congress and its sympathisers started and insisted demand for the release of the remaining Congress leaders. One Commissioner reports that if that ensues, those who have hitherto supported the War loyally and with all their might will be profoundly depressed.

## 41. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### **Release of Mahatma Gandhi**

**POLITICAL** - From the political point of view the fortnight under report was of absorbing interest. The news of Mr Gandhi's ill-health caused a great deal of genuine emotion, and it was clear that in spite of all that has been said against him and in spite of the recognition, even in the public mind, that he has committed profound political mistakes, his hold on the affection of the people is still unique. His release came as a surprise to most people. This was because, it appears to have been thought that Mr Amery, whose reputation for malevolence is still as high as ever, would not agree to his release. The immediate reaction was one of profound thanksgiving, to Lord Wavell, and even the most radical nationalist papers joined in paying tribute to what they considered an act of humanity and political wisdom on his part. This thanks giving, coming from quarters which have been bitterly hostile to the British Government, demonstrate that public opinion in this Province is sentimental and fundamentally generous and can quickly forget rancour.

There was a widespread belief in the first few days after release that Government's motive was not merely humanitarian but political and that the release signalled some move on the part of Lord Wavell to end the political deadlock. Currency was given to this idea by the fact that Mr Gandhi did not look seriously ill when he came out of prison. Subsequently events have convinced the public that this idea is incorrect. These events are the growing indications of Mr Gandhi's serious illness and Mr Amery's reply in the House of Commons about the possibility of his rearrest when he gets better. That reply has had a most chilling effect. It has given rise to the idea that all that Government was interested in was to avoid the odium - which it could never have lived down - of letting Mr Gandhi die in prison and that the release was merely an act of expediency in political self-defence and not an act born of any generous impulse.

Nevertheless, while the feeling of exasperation towards Mr Amery has, if anything, increased, people continue to regard Lord Wavell with great friendliness and his personal reputation in this Province stands very high indeed.

A somewhat natural reaction to Mr Gandhi's release has been to ask for the release of the

members of the Working Committee. The popular view seems to be that civil disobedience is dead and cannot be revived even by Mr Gandhi, assuming that he wants to do so, and therefore whatever justification there was for detention no longer extends. The public is hoping that Government will regard Mr Gandhi's release medical grounds as *deus ex machina* and resolve, without loss of prestige, a deadlock which has been having the effect of a running sore for a long.

**Congress Activities** — In the months of April and May, as a result of the review of detention cases, large number of Congress detenus were released, some of them being persons of considerable importance though not front rank leaders. These released Congressmen have naturally been holding private conference of their own to decide on their attitude towards various matters of public importance. Such decisions as they have taken must be regarded as purely tentative and liable to revision in the light of instructions that may be given by Mr Gandhi; nevertheless they are significant of the trends in the Congress world today.

In Bombay City at an informal meeting of Congressmen held on May 9th, Nagindas T. Master made it clear that he, as president of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, had taken up the reins and would not tolerate any activities which might discredit the proclaimed Congress policy of 'non-violence'. The meeting passed resolutions reaffirming faith in Gandhi's leadership, in the creed of non-violence and in the 'Constructive Programme of Congress'. It is understood that Nagindas Master has issued very strongly worded private warnings to Congress workers to sever all contact with the underground Congress Socialist leaders and has particularly stressed the need to avoid distributing literature without his prior approval. It is also learnt that he is considerably perturbed to discover that Congress machinery has been used to supply funds for the use of absconding underground leaders who have not always strictly adhered to principles of 'non-violence'. He is at present engaged in an enquiry into the amounts handed over to such leaders as Achyut Patwardhan and Ram Manohar Lohia and is said to have called upon them to account for all monies drawn from Congress sources. The fact that Mr Gandhi's present host at Juhu, Morarji, is one of those most concerned adds piquancy to the situation.

A meeting of 30 prominent Congress leaders from Maharashtra was held, in Poona, on April 23rd, under the presidentship of V.P. Limaye. Resolutions passed expressed implicit faith in Gandhi's leadership and his creed of non-violence and exhorted Congressmen to follow the constructive programme as opposed to violent activities; voiced concern over the food position in Maharashtra and suggested the convening of a meeting of Congress members of the two Legislatures to discuss the food situation; and exhorted underground workers to cease their underground activities and to defy the law openly or surrender.

The attitude of Congressmen in Gujarat has been more uncompromising. 'The Gujarat Food Committee' consisting of Congressmen from Gujarat at its first meeting held at Ahmedabad on 25th and 26th April discussed the food position and the alleged hardships of the public resulting from the orders issued by Government from time to time under the Defence of India Rules and expressed the view that as power was in the hands of an 'Irresponsible Administration' the position would worsen, unless control over the purchase and sale of food was handed over to the representatives of the people. The Committee decided that Congress workers should not co-operate with Government in solving the food problem and that all Congress workers holding offices on the various Consumers' and Co-operative Stores should resign and organize propaganda to make villages self-sufficient in respect of their food-requirements. It would be interesting to see whether Mr Gandhi will approve of this attitude. In the

meanwhile Government is carefully watching developments and will take necessary measures to suppress activities which may tend to defeat the food plan adopted in this Province.

**Action against Local Bodies** – In pursuance of the policy of the Congress Party, referred to in my previous letters, not to administer local bodies, the Surat and Ahmedabad Borough Municipalities as well as the District Local Boards of Kaira, Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad adopted a resolution on the 13th April 1944 that they would cease to function. Government therefore declared those bodies to be incompetent to perform their duties and superseded them for a period of three years.

**Civil Disobedience Movement** – The following incidents were reported during the fortnight:

On 11th May 1944 about fifty persons armed with guns and 'dharas' entered a village (Saubhan) in Broach Panch Mahals District, belaboured the village policeman, broke open the Co-operative Society's shop, looted tins containing kerosene oil and set fire to Government's grain depot. The damage is estimated at Rs 16,000. The motive for this outrage is not clear. A Circle Inspector and an Assistant Rural Development Inspector who were camping for the night at a village in Belgaum District in connection with the grain purchase scheme were attacked by an armed gang with the object of obtaining the cash brought by the Circle Inspector for the purchase of grain. As the gangsters did not find any cash with the Inspector they belaboured him and his companion and asked them to resign their posts. Some saboteurs burnt the records of six villages in Belgaum District and took away land revenue amounting to Rs 300. In Bijapur District the land revenue remittance amounting to Rs 1,062 was looted. Some persons entered the house of the Police Patel of a village in Dharwar District after midnight, assaulted him and decamped with gold and silver ornaments.

**Rashtriya Swayam Seyak Sangh** – The annual 'Officers' Summer Training Camp' opened at Poona on the 25th April. About 500 volunteers are attending the Camp and the daily programme includes outdoor exercises, games, study classes and lectures.

## 42: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Rebellion activity has been practically quiescent. But it is learnt that a Madras Committee of the All India Satyagraha Council was inaugurated at the end of last month with Mr G Ramachandran, Joint Editor of the Indian Express as President and that it was resolved that the members should visit Wardha to obtain instructions from the 'all India Satyagraha Council' in connection with the celebration of the Second Anniversary of the August Disturbance.



## 43: Case of V.V. Giri

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 -- File G.O. No. 884  
[TNA]

V.V. Giri, M.L.A.  
Varahagiri House,  
Berhampore (Orissa)

27-5-1944

The Chief Secretary,  
Government of Madras,  
Madras.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter of 22-5-1944<sup>1</sup> I send, herein enclosed, the report of the doctors attending on me, for your information. As there is not sufficient time to receive your instructions by post please wait instructions.

Yours truly,  
V.V. Giri

### *Enclosure 1 – Medical Report*

Dr W.S.S. Rama Rao, M.B.B.S.,  
Eye Specialist,  
Physician & Surgeon,  
Digumarti House,  
Berhampore, Ganjam

27-5-1944

Mr V.V. Giri whom we have been treating for malaria has been laid up with fever from the 16th of this month. While the temperature has come down to normal since the 25th instant his condition continues to be, still, very weak.

We consider it is advisable for the patient to take at least another ten days complete rest before a long journey can be undertaken with safety especially in this hot season, as otherwise, we fear, the strain of a long journey in the present weak condition of the patient may result in a relapse.

Varahagiri House  
Berhampore (Orissa)  
22-5-1944



*Enclosure 2*

The Chief Secretary,  
Government of Madras,  
Madras.

Sir,

I thank you for the great spirit of accommodation you have shown me by granting an extension of parole by two weeks on account of my illness which confined me to bed. It relieved my poor mother of much anxiety.

I wanted to wait for a few days before addressing this communication but I have decided to write this early lest a last minute's request might look like malingering.

I reported my temperature was 103 on the day of the dispatch of my telegram, but for the next three days it persisted at 105 to my great inconvenience. Yesterday morning, luckily, the temperature came down to almost normal but to-day again it has gone up to 104.

The Assistant Surgeon and Dr W.S.S. Rama Rao who are attending on me, after examination of the blood, thought it was not malaria but when the fever persisted in this way they treated me for malaria. Anyway where I thought i was on the way to recovery I find it might prove a relapse.

All these details I am writing not with a view to request further extension of parole. It would be neither fair nor reasonable to do so. unless, possibly, it is distinctly proved that the detinue is in a very serious condition. I hope my condition may not be such.

The only contingency I fear is that in view of the unexpected relapse to day it might take further time for me to get out of bed and put myself to the necessity of a long journey -- with three changes on the way in these days of transport difficulties.

In case it becomes unavoidable, I suggest -- if I may -- that you may be pleased to request the Government of Orissa to direct the D.M.O. to examine me and if he felt that my condition warranted a further stay before a safe journey could be undertaken you may give authority to the local Government to direct their police and Magistracy to take charge of me and detain me in the local hospital till such time as would enable me to travel. But I request you thereafter to treat the period of journey which will be two or almost three days as period of parole so that I may travel in higher class, to which I am always accustomed, at my own expense and surrender myself to the Superintendent District Jail, Amraoti, on the day fixed by the local Government

I, still, hope and trust this contingency may never arise but I am writing in advance so that as a precautionary measure you may arrange for the above suggested procedure.

I am informed that my wife has been ill after I left and in case I am put in the hospital, as she may be anxious to see me, you may further request the Government of Orissa, in case the contingency arises, to allow my mother, wife and one or two near relatives to see me once a day for an hour till I entrain for Amraoti.

There are few occasions in my life when I have put myself in such a delicate relapse.

I thank you once again for all the courtesy you have shown me.

Yours truly,

V.V. Giri

## 44: Case of V.V. Giri

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 884  
[TNA]

V.V. Giri, M.L.A.  
Varahagiri House  
Berhampore (Orissa)

31-5-44

The Chief Secretary,  
Government of Madras,  
Madras.

Sir,

I must confess that I almost felt awkward to address this communication to you, once again, on the subject of my transfer to a jail nearer to Madras, but I honestly felt that fresh facts of an urgent nature have arisen which would justify my reverting to the subject.

Just a week before I left for Berhampore to see my mother enroute to Amraoti I took Mrs Giri, who has not been keeping well for some time, to Tirupati and Kalahasti in the firm belief that a visit to these religious places might improve her failing health especially because she has faith in such visits. But these visits did not prove to be of much help.

Four days after I left her she developed high fever followed by delirium which frightened my children. Doctors after examination found her condition bad and placed her in a nursing home. The latest information I received during my illness here is that she still continues to be very ill with constant fits lasting for hours. Her condition, both physical and mental, I am afraid is fast deteriorating and if not checked in proper time may lead even to a wasting disease.

In these painful circumstances I am constrained to feel that there is no other immediate way to help her except by your kindly transferring me to Tanjore or Vellore Jail because the feeling that she is near to me coupled with the assurance that she could interview me at convenient interval may bring her immediate solace and act as a fillip in toning up her drooping spirits and save her from any calamity.

In the light of the circumstances stated above, I hope that a request to effect a transfer, even temporarily, in the intervals of a lady's health would not be considered unreasonable. I have stated the bare facts leaving the rest to your impartial judgement.

I will be much obliged for an early reply.

Yours truly,

V.V. Giri

P.S. I thank you for the spirit of accommodation which promoted your extending parole.

## 45: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The situation in the Midnapore district remains unchanged, but during the fortnight several leading congress workers, including a member of the Legislative Assembly, held meetings at Mahishadal and Tamluk at which they spoke openly against the Congress policy of kidnapping, violence and intimidation. They alleged that these activities had never had the support of the congress, and urged a return to non-violence. It appears that the activities of the Midnapore Congress have brought the party into disrepute and that the more sober members are now endeavoring to rehabilitate the Congress in the public esteem.

## 46: Banning of Congress meetings

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1944 - File G.O. No. 1986

(T.N.A.)

Government House,  
Ootacamund,  
June 5th 1944.

Dear Sir Norman,

Subject: Banning of Congress Meetings.

His Excellency observes that the Commissioner of Police, Madras, recently banned a meeting of Congressmen in Madras City. His Excellency feels that his orders should be taken before banning small meetings of this type which do not appear likely to lead to disorder.

Yours sincerely,

P.S. to the Governor

Sir Norman Strathie, KCIE, ICS.,  
Advisor to the Governor

*Enclosure*

News Item from 'Free Press'

Ban on Congress conference condemned

release of all congress leaders urged no compromise on pakistan basis

C.N.M. Mudaliar's fighting speech at city meeting

MADRAS, June 3. 'While the Secretary of State for India, Mr L.S. Amery says that the

Congressmen who remain outside jails have the freedom to meet, it is unfortunate that the authorities here ban all the meetings. It is unfortunate that the Govt. of Madras, whose Governor boasts of the Province remaining aloof from the troubles of August 1942 and of its contribution of Rs 3 crores to the War Fund have banned such meetings. No other province has put such a ban', said C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar presiding over a public meeting held last evening at the Ranade Hall, under the auspices of Hindu-Muslim league when Mr A.M. Allah Pichai, Ex-Secretary of the Madras Provincial Muslim League, spoke of 'Hindu-Muslim Unity'

Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar in his introductory speech said that it was a misfortune that during these days meetings could not take place without the permission of the authorities. The Govt. that professed to be fighting this was for safeguarding democracy and establishing the Four Freedoms had put such bans on meetings and processions which were fundamental requisites for the working of democracy. It was deplorable that the citizens of Madras were all indifferent about it.

In India alone meetings had to be held for solving the communal problem. There were Muslims in other countries also but there were no such problems anywhere else. The presence of the foreign element, who wanted to keep the country in bondage and exploit it for their own benefit, was the reason for the communal wrangle. The question of Pakistan as a solution for the communal troubles originated from the ultra-conservative Round Tablers under the guidance of Mr Winston Churchill. The Cripps' Proposal with its Non-accession scheme was again the product of the War Cabinet, of which Mr Churchill was the head. Even the Two Nations Theory could not be accepted though we had many religions. The Congress had never under-rated the need for unity so much they had conceded many things to the Muslims for the sake of attaining unity. The Congress had been striving its utmost to solve this great problem. The proposals made by the Majlis recently might be discussed, though they had already been considered by the A.I.C.C. The whole problem had to be considered holding the Hindus and Muslims are belonging to one nation.

### **Biased Histories**

Mr Alla Pichai said that much cleavage between the communities was due to the biased histories written by the prejudiced historians. Little troubles like music before the mosque or cow slaughter should not be taken seriously. The Muslim Rulers with their simple and pure policy had done much to effect the coming together of the two nations. The British Govt. had done much to magnify the small weakness of the communities. Moreover the Mahasabha had done much harm to the country in its over-anxiety to serve the country. It was only after a Mahasabha Leader has said that 'the Hindus are a nation and the Muslim a community, as the German are a nation and the Jews are a community', the League began to ask for a separate state. The suggestion of Dr Moonje to ignore the League was a fantastic one. The Pakistan resolution did not envisage the formation of a federation. His own personal view was that Pakistan would do much harm to the muslims. The League had also complete independence as its goal.

It was really unpatriotic to attribute ideas of Pan-Islamism to the League. If the League firmly stands for the Pakistan let it be given, for, he preferred a free India, however divided it might be to a dependent India. Much had been expected of Gandhiji and his letter to Dr Jayakar was wrongly interpreted in many quarters. Gandhiji has said, 'I can not withdraw the August Resolution'. Gandhi as he was a democratic leader of the Congress did not say that he would not withdraw. How could he withdraw the resolution without knowing the views

of his colleagues who were incarcerated by the British Govt. They must be released at once for the release of Gandhiji had provoked much goodwill and understanding and similarly the release of other leaders would do positively much good. The Govt. should withdraw the ban they had imposed against meetings, as the meetings would enable Gandhiji to formulate a suitable course.

In his concluding remarks, Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar said he could not accept in to what Mr Alla Pichai has said. He could not accept the 'Two Nation Theory'. The Congress could not concede either Pakistan or any other stans, for the congress knew only one nation consisting all the Indian elements. Examples of Canada and South Africa clearly showed that even those who stood as bitter opponents could come together. The parties in India should give up the religious basis and form themselves as real political parties with joint electorate. By converting the majority into a minority by giving equal number of seats we could not have democracy. He preferred only a united Free India, however long it took to achieve it.

Mr Ali Ibrahim, Secretary of the Hindu-Muslim League, proposed a vote of thanks.

## 47: H.P. Mody to Mahatma Gandhi

Mody Papers - File No. 83

[NMML]

*Bombay, 9 June, 1944*

Dear Gandhiji,

It is reported that you are engaged in assessing the situation that has developed in the country since August 1942. It is not my object to tender any advice with regard to any of the weighty matters that may be occupying your mind. All I wish to do is to place before you certain considerations which, I submit, should not be lost sight of in determining your course of action.

The war in Europe seems to be drawing to a close, and it is not unreasonable to hope that by the end of the year, or a little later, Nazi resistance may collapse. The conflict in the Far East is likely to be more prolonged, but here again, the beginning of the end may be held to be in sight. Within a couple of years, therefore, it may be expected that the problems of peace will be insistently calling for a settlement. Indeed, some of them have already been receiving serious consideration, and important conferences on all manner of subjects are being held from time to time.

While all these things are going on, India is looking on as a distant spectator; even when her representatives are admitted to a conference table, they have to play the role of spokesmen of a sub-ordinate member of the British commonwealth. In spite of our strategically important geographical position, our enormous resources in men and materials the valour of our fighting men and all we have done for the Allied cause, no one thinks or talks of India as a country with a decisive contribution to make to the settlement of the post-war world. It might well come to pass that the political, social and economic future of the World may be shaped and determined, as far ahead as one can see, without this country having any lot or part in the making of such tremendous decisions, which may profoundly affect its own future.

Would you not regard such a situation as most unfortunate and one which requires to be remedied at all cost? Do you not think that time is running against us, and that the situation of our many problems cannot admit of any further delay, the complexities of the situation are fully recognized, but it is impossible we can continue to be at a dead end indefinitely, unless it is thought that, by just waiting on events, the tangle will resolve itself, I am sure these considerations are not absent from your thoughts, and if I feel it necessary to emphasise them, I hope you will not think me presumptuous.

A great many people think that the key is still in your hands and that you can create a new situation. The expectation has grown since your release that you will be making an approach of some sort to the Viceroy. If you did so, it would presumably be on the basis of a demand for the release of the working committee to enable you to confer with them on the situation. That would at once bring in the question of the August resolution, on which your position would appear to be that you have nothing to recant or withdraw. Even if an approach to Govt. at this stage yielded some result, the more formidable task would still remain. On this count, I venture to think that the first step to take should be to open the way to discussion with Mr Jinnah and the League.

Here, the issue seems to lie between acceptance of the Muslim demand, and determination to uphold the political integrity of India even at the cost of an indefinite postponement of Swaraj. May I, in this connection, submit that there is a tendency to underrate the strength of the Muslim insistence on Pakistan and that there is an increasing number of people who feel that nothing is to be gained by postponing a Hindu-Muslim settlement and that it is tragic that India should find herself at one of the most momentous periods of history without any political status and unable to make any significant contribution to the shaping of the post-war World? Continuance of the present stalemate would have a certain measure of justification only if there were reasonable grounds for hoping that, by patiently marking time, it would be possible to achieve political unity as well as freedom.

I must apologise for this intrusion and would conclude with an expression of my fervent hope that it may soon fall to your lot to achieve a political settlement which would bring peace to India and enable her to attain an honoured place amongst the nations.

Yours sincerely,

H.P. Mody

### **Gandhiji's Reply**

Sunder Bun,  
12th/13th June 1944

I promised to give you a written reply to your very kind letter of 9th inst. Here is my reply.

The conferences that are meeting to consider the future I regard as one of the methods of diverting public attention from the grim realities of the war. The future will be decided not by conferences but by the way in which the principal actors behave now. We should therefore control the present so that the future may correspond to the present. We shall reap as we sow. The realities are that we allow ourselves to be exploited with our eyes shut and / or open.

I feel that I know the way out but I am helpless not merely because I am ill but principally

because the censorship tightens round us like the coil of a snake. I am taxing God to show me how to disengage myself from the coil.

I shall take no hasty step. Before I take any step, I shall certainly correspond with H.E. the Viceroy.

As to communal unity I am wedded to it. All I can say is that I shall leave no stone unturned to make my contribution towards a just solution.

There is a ring of despair running through your letter. I wish I could induce you to show my optimism. Time never runs against a just cause, especially when it is backed by equally just means.

Anyway you must not despair of me, even though we may not see eye to eye on things of common interest.

Sir Homi Modi  
Bombay

## 48: Madras Congress leaders' statement — News item in *Indian Express* dt 9.6.44

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1944 — File G.O. No. 1986  
[TNA]

We welcome the statement issued over the signatures of Mrs Rukmini Lakshmipathi' and Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, in which they have given their 'considered opinion in regard to certain important matters affecting the political situation'. Contrary views have for some time tried to hold the field in the province. The signatories have therefore done a signal service to the Congress cause in South India by making their own position clear and by inviting other Congress men and women to do the same.

The view of the signatories, that the Congress as such did not start any movement in August, 1942, might appear disingenuous at this late hour. But no one will doubt that it is the truth of the matter. It is a fine challenge that the signatories have issued when they say, 'It is for those who launched the attack upon the Congress without warning or notice to withdraw their attitude of hostility to the issue of the freedom of India, and to enable the congress to resume normal political activity'.

What they have to say in regard to the August Resolution is also significant. The signatories have evidently taken the view, that the August Resolution was primarily a legitimate demand for Indian Independence. They therefore stand by that demand, as we presume, every Indian nationalist will stand by it. In regard to what is called 'the sanction' contained in the latter part of the resolution they think that it was wholly of a non-violent nature; and add, 'as loyal followers of Mahatma Gandhi we had all along accepted during the last quarter of a century the principle of non-violence in India's struggle for her struggle, and we cannot to-day forswear our allegiance to that basic creed'. We are glad that the two leaders have categorically stated their opposition to Japanese aggression taking care to say further, 'Our anxiety for an immediate termination of the present deadlock in a manner acceptable to the Congress and all other radical elements in the country is itself in large measure due to our conviction that only a free India can put all its limitless resources into the war effort'.

But in our view the most significant paragraph in the statement relates to the Cripps proposal, wherein the signatories say, 'we wish to make it clear that we do not consider any harking back to the Cripps proposals as worth-while now'. Their opinion that any attempt at this juncture to persuade the British Government to re-offer the Cripps proposals can only become the rallying cry for defeatists to try again to weaken the Congress, will we think be widely shared by Congress men and women in the province. In fact, in plainly expressing their opinion, they have given the answer direct to Sir Feroz Khan Noon, who has aired the view in London that, 'If there is peace in India today it is because of the realization that Cripps offer, in spite of the mistakes that the Congress made in refusing it, is still open to our countrymen to accept'. In opposition to Sir Feroz Khan Noon's fallacy and in support of the view of congressmen let us quote in conclusion, Mr H.M. Tite Aylesbury, from the *News Chronicle*: 'I wish that it were generally realised at home (in England) just how unanimous is the feeling in India for independence. One gets so sick and tired of hearing the Muslim League set up against the Congress. If the average person in England thinks that all religions, just because they are at loggerheads as to the subsequent constitution, are unanimous in their desire for us to quit, he is being deliberately deceived.' We have only to add that Mr Aylesbury is an officer in the British Army in India and wrote the above in a letter addressed to his wife in England.

## 49: Editorial in *The Free Press* dt 9.6.1944 banning of Congress meetings

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 1986  
[TNA]

### Conspiracy Affot

UNEQUIVOCAL ALLEGIANCE to Gandhiji's leadership is affirmed by Mrs Rukmini Lakshmipathi and Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar in the course of a statement reviewing the present political situation. They call upon other Congressmen in agreement with them to a vow their faith. This appeal is necessitated by the recent order of the police Commissioner banning a prepared meeting of Congressmen from all over the province in Madras. The Commissioner's order was a remarkable example of the abuse of powers derived from the war emergency to purposes, totally alien to any rational conception of defence though purporting to emanate technically from the administration of the Defence of Indian Rules. The actual substance of the order, for all its patent high handedness, is however a minor matter compared to the national significance of it in the peculiar setting of events that has emerged out of the 42 August disturbances. The sledge hammer of crushing repression that was then applied to Congress activity still continues to be wielded with zeal and gusto by official dictators of the Police Commissioner type. Other elements dexterous in evading its blows have become the cocks of the walk in India's public life. The Muslim League, the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Communists and all the rest of the non-descript host found rallying round safe and profitable banners, are the most prominent of these elements. When Mr Jinnah alighted on the grand discovery that the August resolution was a declaration of war on Muslims, he by implication became a defender of the present imperialist regime as against Congress, and from that moment won for himself an undisturbed press and platform in the midst of all



the restrictive operations of censors, magistrates and the like. In his tirades against the August resolution, Hindu Maha Sabha was on a par with the Muslim League, but it failed to reap an equivalent measure of vantage in provinces where the Muslim League Ministers, with their scarcely veiled animus against Hindu organizations, have been in office. As for the Communists, despite their loud propaganda and incessant labour of collecting thousands of signatures, for release of congress leaders there has been enough of going back on the pristine gospel of old, obnoxious to officialdom to fetch a responsive tolerance, and as some believe even striking favour and reward, in its train. Aghast the public of India has witnessed the conversion overnight of fiery 'Communist' revolutionaries once addicted to what looked like chronic anti-imperialist underground activity, into docile constitutionalists and zealous reformists prodigiously concerned over wage increments and piecemeal economic improvements, with no mercy for former comrades now dissenting from their changed outlook and with a strange new fondness for the communalist Jinnah whom they greet an idol of Muslim masses, and adorable apostle of the great doctrines of self-determination. In reality the essence of self-determination lies in conceding sanctity to the consensus of opinion in regions territorially fixed, a principle to which Congress positively stands pledged, whereas Mr Jinnah's communal measuring-rod seems expressly designed to make monopoly of it for Muslims relegating all others to interior levels of consideration.

From all this, one outstanding fact emerges, while Congress leaders were under duress, these elements stepped in, armed with varying degrees of official tolerance and favour, to improve the occasion each to its particular advantage. They have stampeded public places with vociferous slogans stamping mere listeners with the brand of approvers. The drift of their endeavour has been patent for all discerning eyes to see. It has been nothing less than the use and abuse of every opportunity that came handy to discount the teaching of genuine Congress leadership and even oust it from the pinnacles of prestige and influence it had come to occupy. This is being done by some from camps avowedly hostile to Congress; by others from pedestals of pretended friendship. The onslaught has not been lost on waverers in the Congress camp, some of whom are now attempting to cover their own fatigue with appeals for a change of policy.

A pestering demand for a revision of the August resolution is being much noised about. In whatever form it may be put, in essence it is an offensive against the whole character of Congress activity as developed during the last twenty years under Gandhiji's leadership. The resolution is a sort of national charter and holds the breath of life to Congress. It asserts the creed of independence and lays down a sanction for its winning, purely non-violent sanction in conformity with the spirit of Gandhiji's teaching all these years. Opposition to the resolution can come only from two quarters; those that do not want independence, and those that want it, but look to other than non-violent means for achieving it. Government's objection to the resolution would be intelligible only on the basis of their repudiation of the Congress demand for independence, and not otherwise. To withdraw the resolution would mean an acceptance of the repudiation of Independence by Government. It would kill outright the soul of all that the Congress has stood for. As to non-official objections, they lack the weight of consistent thought. The present location of their authors, in the very centre of a stage governed by imperialist checks from which Congress has been displaced for lacking in accommodation, is a travesty on all pretensions to extra-radicalism. The fact seems to be that an anti-Congress, anti-Gandhi conspiracy is afoot, in a bureaucracy-ridden atmosphere, disgusted as a political orientation. No loyal Congressman true to the creed can be deceived by it.

## 50: Case of V.V. Giri

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 884  
[TNA]

Memo No. 26048/44

dt 12-6-1944

The period of parole granted to Mr V.V. Giri in the orders ending with the Memo head above is further extended upto and inclusive of 3rd July, 1944 pending consideration of his transfer to Vellore on personal grounds.

Signed (illegible)  
12/6/44

To  
Shri V.V. Giri, M.L.A.,  
Varahagiri House, Berhampore (Orissa)

Copy to Supdt., Dist. Jail, Amraoti  
Copy to G.I. of Prisons, C.P. & Berhampore  
Copy to Commr. of Police, Madras  
Copy to Supdt. of Police, S.B. C.I.D.,  
Copy to Secy. to the Govt. of C.P. & Jail Dept., Nagpur

Telegram No. 26048/44-7 dt 12-6-44  
Your letter dated 6th June. Parole extended upto 3rd July.  
V.V. Giri  
Varahagiri House  
Berhampore.

## 51: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from United Provinces for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

POLITICAL — There is practically nothing to report in the political field except that the workings of Gandhi's mind are still the subject of much speculation. His reputation of being one of the world's finest propagandists is still being maintained, though his letter to Dr Jayakar and the clumsy attempt of his secretary Piarey Lal to explain it subsequently and give to it an interpretation which was obviously forced has disturbed a number of his followers. Propaganda designed to revive Congress activity and prestige is steadily becoming more noticeable and in that connection mention might be made of the reports which have appeared in the press that the *National Herald* is shortly going to recommence publication as a result

of a quota of newsprint having been allotted to it by the Government of India. So far this Government has no official information as to the truth of that report. Feroze Gandhi\* has been busy amongst ex-detenus and the family of those in jail during another visit to Ballia where he has been distributing money to the relations of saboteurs and other political prisoners.

## 52: Case of V.V. Giri – Parole extended

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 884  
[TNA]

*dt 26-6-1944*

Read: Memo No. 26048/44-6, Pub. (Gen.) dt/12.<sup>1</sup>

The period of parole granted to Sri. V.V. Giri in the orders ending with the Memo read above is further extended upto and inclusive of 10th July, 1944.

To  
Shri V.V. Giri, M.L.A  
Malathi, 4 Giri Road  
Tiagaraya Nagar, Madras,  
c/o Dr D.V. Rama Rao M.B.B.S.  
Medical Officer,  
Harvey Mills Ltd.,  
Ambassamudram (Tinnevely Dt.)  
The Supdt. Dt. Jail, Amraoti,  
I.G. of Police, Madras  
Comr. of Police, Madras  
Supdt. of Police, C.B. C.I.D.  
Copy to the Govt. of C.P.V. Berar,  
Copy to Jail Dept. Nagpur.

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1. Doc. 50.

## 53: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of July 1944 – Political situation

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

POLITICAL – Considerable interest has been evinced in the Gandhi-Viceroy correspondence and in the publication of the letters explaining the stand taken by Mr Gandhi over the question

of the responsibility of the Congress for the 1942 disturbances. Opinions vary considerably, but the general view is one of profound disappointment in that it has not led any further towards solving political difficulties. Some papers profess to find in it indications that are not so apparent on the surface. The *Deshabhimani* of Malabar, for instance interprets it as showing that Mr Gandhi is desirous of coming to an honourable settlement.

Informal conferences continue to be held by the more moderate Congressman with the hope of arriving at some way of settlement. Dr Subbarayan<sup>1</sup> convened such a meeting at Trichengode in Salem district and among the persons, who attended, were Mr Muniswami Pillai, who was a Minister during the Congress regime and P. Ramamurthi,<sup>2</sup> the communist leader. It is understood that the meeting discussed the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity and the food situation. Indications seem to show that this meeting was intended more or less as a counterblast to the uncompromising statement issued recently by Mrs Lakshmi pathi and Mr C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, to which I referred in my last report.

## 54: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Congress Socialist Party – It has been a comparatively quiet fortnight and Siaram Singh has been inactive. There is a rumour that he has broken away from his confederates Parath Brahmachari and Dina Misra and that the reason for this period of comparative inactivity is that the gangs and their leaders are waiting for some indication of policy from Mr Gandhi or their Congress Socialist Party headquarters. As noted in my last fortnightly report, plans for the rounding up of Siaram Singh and other gang leaders in the northern part of the Bhagalpur Division have been worked out. An additional force of armed police is being sent there and the whole operation will be under a Police Officer of the rank of Superintendent of Police. The cost of the Police force used for the purposes of the operation other than those used as 'stops' in adjoining districts will be recovered from the area (a comparatively restricted area) within which the gangs are working. It is intended that certain villages which have given assistance to the police shall be exempted from payment of any part of the cost and that also certain castes and communities will be exempted.

In the Sitamarhi Subdivision of the Muzaffarpur district, news has just been received of a very serious outrage by political bandits. Four persons were very recently convicted and sentenced to transportation for life for being concerned in a mail robbery. The convicted persons were political absconders, including one notorious absconder and terrorist named Amar Roy. The daffadar, village Chaukidar and other persons of the village where the arrest took place, received rewards a few weeks ago from Government for their good work. On the night of the 28th–29th June a gang of 30 to 40 men dressed in Khaki and many of them wearing Gandhi caps, approached the village at midnight shouting political and revolutionary slogans. They surrounded the house of the headman and there looted property and injured the headman's brother. They then went on to other houses of the village including those of the daffadar and chaukidar and looted property and mercilessly assaulted the inmates. 9 persons were injured,

for which Rs 7/8 has been taken at the rate of Rs 1 per copy. It should be given to the students and surreptitiously to the workers inside the jails. I am already aware that the communists are creating disturbances. It is necessary to apprise Gandhiji of how, when and where they created obstacles to the Congress work in Orissa. P.C. Joshi, Secretary of the Communist Party, has gone to Gandhiji and pleaded that they have caused no inconvenience whatever to the Congress. Inform the senior men, if necessary, and write out these things clearly and when the messenger goes to Gandhiji, send it along with this to Gandhi.

Five copies of Gandhi's last speech delivered at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. have been sent along with the reports and other papers of the different provinces. I hope you will manage to work well. I will not remain outside much longer. I have already severed my connection with the members of the All India Satyagraha Council. Now I have to find out the best way of going to jail.

Signed

Annada Prasad Chaudhuri.

*Enclosure*

letter dated 21.5.44 and unsigned

Respected friend,

After my arrival in Ahmedabad I heard the next afternoon (6th) that Mahatmaji had been released. After hurriedly completing my work there I came here on the 8th and thought of leaving that very night for Poona to meet Gandhiji there on the 9th, but friends asked me not to go especially when it was ascertained that G. Ramachandran of Madras went to Poona on 7th and met and started discussions with Gandhiji. I wrote out a letter containing three questions with the approval of the others and sent it to Ramachandran on the night of the 8th (copy no. 1). In Poona, in spite of the doctors' objection, Gandhiji heard everything for about an hour from Ramachandran. He directed Ramachandran not to leave Poona while he was there, and so Ramachandran came here with Gandhiji in the same train on the 10th.

The meeting of the Satyagraha Parishad was held on the 10th, 11th, and 12th. Even if Gandhiji issues any directions, he cannot actively pursue them on account of his ill health and he refused to give any directions at Poona because he is not conversant with the actual state of affairs. He said 'Continue as though I was in prison'. Nevertheless after discussions on various matters we passed a resolution (copy no. 2). Then on the afternoon of the 12th a call came for Ramachandran to see Gandhiji. We also accompanied him. For 10 or 20 minutes he himself spoke everything. Although for so long he has said 'I am all ears and no tongue', yet on that day it was 'all tongue'. The doctors felt perturbed, but he did not stop. Calling me near him, he said that he had read my letter. He does not want to give any directions at present because he will not be able to pursue them actively. He added however that everything would be found in what he had written and said for so long. He gave out whatever he had to say on all matters in his speech (copy no. 3) delivered on the 8th August, and now 'he is not going to retract a single word from that'. He had given directions about the duties of students, Government servants, Rajas and Maharajas and all others. He further said that if anyone thought that he had nothing more to do they had absolutely misunderstood him. He said if anyone feels that it is the Charkha only that has to be plied, although it has to be plied every day, then he has understood me. At the time of saying all this, and when he said he is not prepared to retract a single word from what he said on 8th August, he became somewhat

excited and the doctors all the more perturbed became annoyed with us. But he went on speaking.

Referring thereafter to secrecy, he said 'secrecy is a sin'. We raised the question of 'differentiating' between preparation to secret and open acts. He admitted a difference between privacy and secrecy, but he did not support our 'hiding from the police'. We had the impression that he had formed a strange notion about our hiding. He did not think it possible that we could have come to Bombay to see him. However, he was not in fit state for us to carry on a discussion. Perhaps anticipating our questions he said, 'Do not attach too much importance to the immediate results which you may achieve by remaining outside. After all we have to rouse 40 crores'. Then he added, 'Cling unto truth and non-violence so that if there be failure there will be no demonstration and if you err, truth and Ahimsa will sustain you'. So there was nothing left for us to do anything unless there was acceptance of it either in our hearts or by our reasons. He did not speak anything that day about Assam Sylhet. We of course, did not broach the subject. Again on the morning of the 15th we talked over matters with Pyarelallji. About Sylhet he said that it was not possible now for Gandhiji to say anything new. Considering the similarity in the conditions, what Gandhiji had written in reply to Mira Ben's letter in May 1942 may be adopted at present. I am enclosing herewith a copy of the questionnaire and answered (copy no. 4). If considered necessary this letter may be shown only to selected workers. Instructions are being issued on behalf of the Satyagraha Parishad on the lines of these directions for distribution. It will be necessary to multiply and distribute it. Apart from this we put on more questions to him. We asked him whether the 'defiance activity' should be continued in order to keep intact the spirit of resistance although there are not much response in the country today to defiance activity or whether it would be better to carry on constructive work. Although he did not give a categorical reply he clearly stated that it was necessary to do constructive work in such a manner that it would help in creating an atmosphere of defiance, he said 'Why will you suspend? If Government wants to take away rice and paddy from the people's mouths, why will you suspend defiance in the face of life-and-death questions? When we have for so long observed Independence Day, National week, 9th August, etc., why shall we now cease to observe them? If, as a result of such action they put you in jail, is there no field of activity in the jail? Once in the jail, we can do much in regard to the wrongs and corruptions prevailing therein, and also for the demoralisation that is being preached outside the jail'. In his reply he again emphasised the need for non-secret activities, non-co-operation and open resistance.

I mentioned the report that in Contain some constables were tied to boats which were sunk. I have written a letter to Mrs Naidu in regard to the matter (copy no. 6). She said that Gandhiji was very skeptical about reports of this nature. In these matters he was unwilling to say anything or to hold any opinion. He did not want to pass judgement on the action of any group or work. A certain friend observed that he greatly preferred action to inaction.

Considering all aspects, we shall issue directions on behalf of the Satyagraha Samiti for the continuance of defiance activity. A proposal is being made to do something on an all-India basis like the Congress Session of the 9th August. Many constitutional objections will be raised as to who will convene such an assembly and who has a right to do so. Until this is settled it is proper to carry on Satyagraha on the food front in the manner we were doing. Whatever response may come is good and the position as far as I personally am concerned is quite clear. If they do not arrest me something will certainly be arranged. I shall be able to dilate on this matter after my return. This must be communicated to our colleagues in the different

districts. The task now will be to carry on activities on defiance as far as possible without remaining underground and to prepare the ground and atmosphere for it.

After this letter was written there was discussion again with Pyarelalji. I gave him a letter about secrecy which he also showed to Gandhiji. He gave me the same answer which was given in regard to another letter (copy no. 8). In the very beginning I have written about his attitude 'Do not be carried away by immediate results' and 'stick to truth and non-violence'. Although we adopted in the last meeting a resolution about the suspension of defiance activity, it will be proper at present to proceed with defiance activity with greater stress on the food question, considering the attitude of all concerned and judging from the present situation. Arrange accordingly and inform all others. Judging from the point of view of expediency it will be difficult for everyone now to carry on the work of defiance without remaining underground.

I hope everyone is well.

Yours

C

P.S. I hear that Panchanan Basu will be released soon.

Reference Search of 99/2 Ballgunge Place on 18.7.44

Translation of item no. 3 -- a letter from Annada Prasad Chaudhuri.

My dear,

You proposed to send one or two young men to the training camp in Bangalore. One or two men who have faith in Satyagraha may be sent there. If you want to send any persons, furnish their names, age and academic qualifications. Expenses for travelling and meals there will be borne from the camp. The camp will start on the 10th. It would be well if you let me know to day positively whether anyone will be going from Orissa, and if a reply in this regard is sent through the bearer of this letter. I shall intimate positively in a day or two how, when and where they should proceed. I hope Uncle is doing well.

Yours

Annada Prasad Chaudhuri

Probodh.

Can any arrangements be made to send this letter over to MANGALA/

Translation of the Bengali writings found in item no. 6: a note seized from 99/2 Ballygunge Place 18.7.44

Date March 21

Meeting will begin and at that time it is necessary that Asha Debi should come.

New Year

1st Barsakh. I do not know how the New Year will pass, my prayer to god is that the New Year may go well with us. After many years I have come to Didima. Mother is away in Bhubaneswar.

Ashadi's letter has come. It says that she will arrive on the 14th April. Although I waited in expectation of her arrival but she didn't come.

On 16th April Ashadi arrived by train. Many discussions were held with Ashadi. Discussions about the last movement also took place. She explained at the meeting everything about basic education. Mrs. Chandra and Mahesh Babu were also present. A provisional committee was formed for the present. With Swampy as its president, Dinabandhu Sahu as secretary, and Panda and myself as joint secretaries. I have been worried since I took this burden on my head. I do not know what to do.

17th April - This morning lengthy discussions were held with the workers. The discussions were very thorough about the movement. Truly indeed we went along absolutely the wrong path. After taking meals at Miss Chanda's place, we saw Ramadi in the jail. Conversation with her lasted for an hour. Ashadi was anxious about the illness of Aryanayakam and she will go there now and will return after 10 days when discussions will be held with all persons, she will visit the school. She left by the mail at night.

## 57: D.S.P. Guntur to Dt. Magistrate, Guntur

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files, File No. 109/44  
[TNA]

Copy of Sc. No. 92/Camp/44 dated 1-8-44 from the District Supdt. of Police, Guntur to the District Magistrate, Guntur.

Political agitation — Order under rule 56 of the D.O.O. Rules — Meeting of Andhra Congress M.L.As at Guntur

It is reported that a meeting of the Andhra Congress M.L.As will be held in the house of Konda Venkatappiah at Broadipet, Guntur on 3-8-44 to discuss the proposals of Gandhi regarding the communal settlement, general review of the political deadlock and food situation. 'Avvadevara Kaleswara Rao' of Bezwada (Ex-Parliamentary Secretary) (2) Bezwada Gopala Reddi' (Ex Minister) and (3) Upputuri Punna Rao, M.L.C., Guntur (all Congressmen) as said to be the conveners of the meeting. Punna Rao has undertaken to make arrangements for the feeding and lodging of all the Congressmen that attend the meeting. There is also information that the meeting will be held in-doors and that the proceedings of the meeting will be given to the Press for publication. About 25 Congress, M.L.As and other Congressmen including released Congress detenus are expected to attend the meeting.

The District Magistrate, Guntur has issued an order under Rule 56 (1) D.O.I., Rules in his Rc. No. 2350-42-C1 dated 7-9-42, prohibiting among other things all kinds of meetings of Congressmen and their supporters. The said order of the District Magistrate may kindly be read with Sub Clause 2 of Rule 56 of the D.O.I. Rules and it is clear from it that even a meeting of the Congressmen held in a private place contravenes the order of the District Magistrate. So far as I am aware, the conveners of this proposed meeting do not seem to have obtained your permission or sanction to hold this meeting. I request you to issue an order, to Konda Venkatappiah (owner of the house) and the conveners to desist from holding the meeting and if in spite of it, they hold the meeting, necessary instructions may be issued to the police to stop the meeting and take further action.

P.K. Monnappa,  
Dt. Supdt. of Police, Guntur

The District Magistrate, Guntur has issued an order under Rule 56 (1) D.O.I., Rules in his Rc. No. 2350-42-C1 dated 7-9-42, prohibiting among other things all kinds of meetings of



Congressmen and their supporters. The said order of the District Magistrate may kindly be read with Sub-Clause 2 of Rule 56 of the D.O.I. Rules and it is clear from it that even a meeting of the Congressmen held in a private place contravenes the order of the District Magistrate. So far as I am aware, the conveners of this proposed meeting do not seem to have obtained your permission or sanction to hold this meeting. I request you to issue an order, to Konda Venkatappiah (owner of the house) and the conveners to desist from holding the meeting and if in spite of it, they hold the meeting, necessary instructions may be issued to the police to stop the meeting and take further action.

P.K. Monnappa,  
Dt. Supdt. of Police, Guntur

## 58: News item in *Liberator* — Ban on Congress meeting at Guntur

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files, File No. 109/44  
[TNA]

*Madras, Aug. 5*

Enquiries made in official circles about Collector's ban of the meeting proposed to be convened in Guntur by Mr Konda Venkatappaya and some other Congressmen to consider inter alia, Mr Gandhiji's proposals to Mr Jinnah, go to show that the Madras Government did not issue any such order and that the Guntur Collector had acted in his own discretion.

## 59 News item in *Indian Express* dt 6.8.44 — Statement issued by Avinashilingam Chettiar\*

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files, File 109/44  
[TNA]

Coimbatore Aug. 3 — Mr T.S. Avinashillingam Chettiar, M.L.A. (Central), has issued the following statement:

I hope all Congressmen and generally all people will be said (*sic*) to know the following information:

I had written to the District Collector of Coimbatore asking him whether there is any ban on the meeting of Town, Taluk and District Congress Committees. He has replied saying that there is no objection to your summoning a meeting of Town, Taluk and District Congress Committee, provided it is not open to the public.

Mahatmajī has said in his statements that Congress Committees should revive normal

political and constructive work. We are thinking of having a meeting of the District Congress Committee in about a couple of weeks.

I hope the Coimbatore Collector's reply will apply to all the other districts also and they can also revive their Town, Taluk and District Committee for normal political and constructive work.

## 60: News item in *Andhra Patrika* dt 6.8.1944

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files, File No. 109/44  
[TNA]

Characterising as unwise the orders of the District Magistrate of Guntur, prohibiting the meeting of the Andhra Congress Members of the legislature, the *Andhra Patrika* remarks as follows: Undoubtedly the District Magistrate of Guntur is courageous. He has been able to make history. He has shown great zeal in making use, without discretion, of the powers vested in him by the Ordinances promulgated by the Govt. of India. But he cannot have understood the significance of his action. It was a peaceful meeting. It was not open to the public. Its purpose was to discuss purely constitutional changes. By banning such a meeting the magistrate has only revealed his narrow outlook on political questions. His orders cannot thwart the objects of the sponsors of the meeting. To speak the truth, prohibitory orders of the kind make the sponsors objects more popular. It is a mistake to suppose that a District Magistrate's orders of ban or other restrictions can affect them.

## 61: News Item in *Hindustan Times* dt 9.8.1944

File No. 3/28/44 -- Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### Statement by Gandhiji

Wardha, Aug. 8 -- 'The statement asserts a universal right, which becomes the duty when there is an attack upon its ordinary exercise. It, therefore, contemplates civil disobedience only if the Government want.'

Thus said Mahatma Gandhi replying to a question as to whether his statement about the observance of August 9 contemplates civil disobedience or its avoidance.

Gandhiji added: Twenty-five citizens of Bombay sent notices on the 3rd instant to the Commissioner of Police of their intention to march in batches of 5 and offer silent prayer and sing *zandavandan* and *vandemateram* at a common gathering place and asked for permission to perform the ceremony. If permission was not granted, there will certainly be disobedience. In order that the public may not know time or place, the Police Commissioner has been fully informed, while the public has not been. If this extraordinary forbearance and precaution are

not appreciated and the authorities withhold permission and interfere with the simple symbolic exercise of the public right, the fault would be of the authorities. The press and the public have to judge as to whether under the circumstances such as these civil disobedience does not become a duty.'

## 62: Govt. of India to all Provincial Governments (Examining detention orders)

Govt. of Bengal (IB. File) File No. C85/276/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Secret.

Government of India  
Home Department

### **Express Letter**

From  
Home, New Delhi

To  
All Provincial Governments and  
Chief Commissioners, Ajmer-Marwara, Coorg and Baluchistan.

No. 44/84/44 – Poll (I).

*New Delhi, the 16th August, 1944*

- 1 In view of the rumours that have been circulating about the possibility of the underground Congress workers surrendering themselves to the authorities, we thought it advisable to examine the position in respect of detention orders issued during the 1942–43 Disturbances which remained unserved owing to the fact that the person against whom they were directed had absconded.
- 2 Such orders of course continued in force when ordinance No. III of 1944 was promulgated, by virtue of section 6 of the ordinance. We are however advised that even though they remained unexecuted, the provisions of section 9 of Ordinance No. III must be held to apply; that is to say, and such order that was extended before July 15th expired on the date.
- 3 In view of the above, you will no doubt examine the position with regard to persons who have evaded detention by absconding and, if the old orders have not been extended, will issue fresh orders of detention in cases where you consider this necessary.

(R. Tottenham)  
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of India



## 63: Memo issued to all Dt. Magistrates (regarding banning of Congress meetings)

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files, File No. 109/44  
[TNA]

Memo No. 5/1942-3/44

### **Political Agitation — Meetings**

1. The Govt. have noticed instances recently where meetings organised by Congressmen have been prohibited in some districts under D.O.I. Rule 56 while similar meetings have been allowed in other Districts. Subject to over-riding local considerations, uniformity of practice is necessary and desirable and the Govt. have therefore deemed it necessary to lay down their policy for the guidance of the local authorities.
2. While the Govt. cannot allow meetings organised by any declared and notified 'unlawful association' (a list of these enclosed) as such they do not feel inclined indiscriminately and arbitrarily to ban all meetings, whether public or private, organised by individual Congress supporters with a view, for instance, to discuss the Hindu-Muslim problem.
3. D.O.I. Rules 56 (1) and (2), as they stand, are very wide in their terms, conferring as they do power to control all meetings, whether held in a public or a private place. While it is a difficult task to draw a line between meetings which can be allowed and those which must not be allowed, it has to be recognised that not all private meetings can be allowed, nor all public meetings prohibited. Definitely small private meetings in private houses should not be interfered with. But as a rule the nature of the meeting and not the place of the meeting should be the deciding factor. For instance meeting, even a public meeting, convened to discuss the present political situation in an orderly and sober manner should be permitted, provided it is not organised by an unlawful association. But if it is definitely going to reaffirm or support the subversive resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in August 1942, it should not be permitted. Between these extremes there are many possibilities and the D.M. concerned will have to exercise his discretion and arrive at a decision with special reference to the nature and objects of the meeting, the conveners and the speakers, etc.

As uniformity of policy in this matter is very important, D.M.S. and the C. of P.<sup>1</sup> are informed that if in regard to prospective meetings of an importance, they entertain any doubts as to whether they can be safely allowed or not, they should without hesitation seek the orders of Govt. giving full facts about the case.

To all D.M.s and C..

Copy to I.G. of Police  
Copy to Supdt. of Police, S.B., C.I.D.

Commissioner of Police.

## 64: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

### **Congress Activities**

Congress people continue to take an active interest in the epidemic situation in the Tirhut Division and almost all those who have been released from jail recently have immediately gravitated to Patna and have got on to committees formed for distributing relief. The Commissioner of the Tirhut Division remarks as follows about a meeting held in Darbhanga in this connection. 'The meeting was called by Babu Satya Narayan Singh,' M.L.A. who has recently been released:

The meeting ended in fiasco as Babu Satya Narayan Singh's party and several other small groups could not decide who is to take the lead in the expenditure of funds. All parties hoped that large sums of money would be coming from outside and the privilege of spending should not be given to one party.

Congress members have been demanding, for some time past, the release of the funds belonging to the Bihar Central Relief Trust for relief work in North Bihar. Actually nearly all the balance held by that Trust appears to have been advanced to the provincial Branch of the All India Spinner Association, and the amounts so advanced, about Rs 2 1/4 lacks, form the sole assets of the Provincial Branch of the Association. The Provincial Government has expressed its willingness to release all the funds of the All India Spinners Association which were attached in 1942, and to hand them over to the Bihar Central Relief Trust for epidemic work in North Bihar if the All India Spinners Association agrees. But so far the All India Spinners Association has not signified its agreement.

The Congress Socialist Party. There was one very serious incident in the fortnight under review. A Sub-Inspector of Police who had gone to a village in the Darbhanga district to execute a distress warrant against a political absconder was shot dead while he was leaving the village by people lying in ambush. The Sub-Inspector's revolver was taken away by the murderers. A chaukidar who was with him was also murdered. In the Muzaffarpur district another gun has been taken away by political dacoits in a raid.

In Bhagalpur district collection for Congress Socialist Party funds appear to be still going on. In Purnea district there is reason to believe that rebels are still actively planning dacoities. In North Monghyr there are indications of a desire on the part of political absconders to surrender. Apparently they hope to be treated leniently if they surrender and to be let out on bail, but many of these absconders are wanted in cases of serious crime.

One of the most notable arrests made since the beginning of the trouble with the rebels in the Bhagalpur division was that of Mahendra Gope, a political gangster who is responsible for many murders and mutilations and who was arrested with 10 members of his gang in his hide-out in the jungles of the Banka subdivision in South Bhagalpur. The arrest was effected after a rapid march by a police party through the jungle. The Inspector in charge showed considerable courage and initiative. The gang was taken by surprise and taken prisoner before

they could use their fire-arms. A paper found on Mahendra Gope gave a list of 20 persons whom he suspected of informing against him and his friends and who were marked for murder. One of these men had apparently been murdered just before the arrests. Mahendra Gope was found to be a leper.

In Katihar town, in the district of Purnea three more notorious rebels were arrested in an attempt to carry out an armed dacoity. The rebels were armed with revolvers.

## 65: District Magistrate, Guntur to the Chief Secretary Govt. of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files, File No. 109/44  
[TNA]

From  
Khan Sahib B. Abdul Gadir Sahib  
District Magistrate, Guntur.

To  
The Chief Secretary to Government,  
Public Department, Madras.

RC. 1967-Confdl. C1-44

*dated 14-9-44*

Sir,  
Political Agitation – Rule 56 Defence of India Rules – Control of meetings.

Ref: Government Memo No. S/1942-3/44 d/23-8-44<sup>1</sup>

The Guntur Dt. Congress Committee which has been declared as an Unlawful Association under Sec. 16 Cr. L.A. Act in G.O. No. Ms 3899 Public (General) dated 6-12-42 is not included in the list of Congress Committees declared as 'unlawful Associations' communicated with Government Memo, cited above. Orders withdrawing the notification under Sec. 16 Cr. L.A. Act in respect of the above said Committee do not appear to have been received so far.

I request you kindly to intimate to me whether the omission of the Guntur Dt. Congress Committee in the list is accidental. Otherwise, a copy of the order withdrawing the above said notification may kindly be sent to me for reference.

District Magistrate

Copy to the District Superintendent of Police, Guntur.

<sup>1</sup> Doc 63.



## 66: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Gujarat All-Purposes Congress Committee referred to in my last letter decided at its meeting on the 3rd September to collect funds for rendering help to the distressed in areas which have suffered during the recent floods and appointed a Flood Relief Committee for the purpose. It is understood that Mr Gandhi has permitted the Congressmen to co-operate in their private capacity with Government in any relief work started by it in connection with the floods and has disapproved of the idea of launching individual satyagraha at the present juncture.

Congressmen in Maharashtra are occupied in introducing certain items of Mr Gandhi's constructive programme intended to stimulate the Congress rank and file. The Secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee has also issued instructions to the District Congress Committee to start enrolment of Congress members and to impress on the people that it is not unlawful to become a member of the Congress.

Civil Disobedience Movement – The Province was free from subversive activities except for the following two incidents. A lighted cigarette tied with cotton was thrown in the Post Office letter box at Haveri in Dharwar District on the 30th August 1944, as a result of which a letter and two post cards were burnt. Two wheels of the leading bogie of a local train were derailed on the 9th September 1944 between Budlapur and Vangani on the G.I.P. Railway (S.E. Line) due to a piece of rail being placed on the tract after removing one and from the down track

## 67: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from the C.P. & Berar for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

'Two prominent provincial congressmen, Mr D.K. Mehta, ex-Finance Minister, and Mr Kishorilal Mashruwala,' Editor of the Marathi *Harijan* and a close associate of Mr Gandhi, were released from detention on medical grounds.

## 68: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Poona for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Mr S.K. Patil,' lately released, is planning to raise a Congress volunteer corps. This move is being watched . . . .

At a meeting of about 100 students held at Bombay on the 14th September ostensibly to celebrate Mr Gandhi's birthday, Mr S.K. Patil observed that the Congress movement of 1942 had failed owing to the failure to chalk out a proper programme before the arrest of the leaders and because Government servants did not join the movement. He then accused the British of trying to crush the Congress and exhorted the audience to rally round Mr Gandhi and the Congress. Mr Patil addressed a similar meeting of 500 persons at Matunga (Bombay city) on the 16th September and spoke in the same strain.

*Civil Disobedience Movement:* The Province was free from subversive activities except for the following incidents. On the night of September 10th telegraph wire was cut and stolen in the limits of Akolner village in Ahmednagar District. Some 19 Congress saboteurs armed with guns and revolvers visited on 11th September a village (Talegaon) in Satara District and threatened the villagers demanding that they should renounce their rights over certain estates, withdraw certain civil cases and pay them Rs 200. The gang, however, disappeared when the villagers did not return soon with the money. On the night of 17th September, a gang of about six persons armed with spears and swords, went to the house of Vishnu Maruti Jagtap of Vadgaon (Satara District) threatened him and took away his uncle's gun with 50 cartridges. The offence appears to have been the work of Congress saboteurs. On 18th September a bomb exploded near the chavdi at Pedgaon in Satara District causing minor injuries to one person.

## 69: District Magistrate, Guntur to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras - Case of Brahmananda Reddy

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 - File G.O. No. 2983

[TNA]

RC. No. 1494-44-C3

dt 5.10.44

From  
Khan Sahibb S. Abdul Qadir  
Sahibb Bahadur  
Dt. Magistrate  
Guntur.

To  
The Chief Secretary  
Public (General) Department  
Madras

Sir,  
Political Agitation - C.D. Movement - Detenu K. Brahmanandam Reddy\* in special Jail, Tanjore - Release on parole - Recommended.

Sr. K. Vengala Reddy, brother of the Security Prisoner, Kasu Brahmanandam Reddy, represents that Sri G. Koti Reddy, the brother-in-law of the detenu, is seriously ill and is very anxious to meet the detenu. He requests the grant of parole for a month to the detenu.



The Dt. Superintendent of Police, Guntur reports that the patient has been suffering from consumption, that his condition is serious and that the disease may prove fatal in a few days. He recommends that grant of parole applied for by the petitioner. I agree with the Dt. Superintendent of Police and recommend that the detenu may be released on parole for a period of one month. A copy of the petition d/24-9-44 received from the brother of the detenu is submitted herewith.

kyh/5.10.p

For Dt. Magistrate

Copy of the humble application of Sri. K. Vengala Reddy, brother of Sri K. Brahmanandam Reddy detenu No. 226, Special Jail, Tanjore, d/24/9/44 to the Dt. Collector, Guntur.

I beg to state that G. Koti Reddy brother-in law of Sri K. Brahmanandam Reddy detenu, special Jail, Tanjore is seriously ill. He is suspected to be suffering from Tuberculosis and is absolutely bed ridden

The patient is very anxious to see him.

I request your honour be kind enough to release him on parole at least for a month immediately.

Dt. Magistrate.

## 70: Official Notings – Regarding release of security prisoners (extracts)

Govt of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 737/44  
[Bihar State Archives]

F No 737/44  
No XIII.

Dear Sir,

Adviser's orders on the P.U.C. may kindly be seen: -- [The P.U.C referred to here is given below – Ed ]

Among the security prisoners who have been, of late, released there is none who was released for helping the relief work with some undertakings. After the recent epidemics in North Bihar, it was considered towards the end of August, 1944, whether Dr Ramasis Thakur, Pandit Prajapati Misra and Dr Jadu Gopal Mukherjee could be released for helping the relief work. It was decided afterwards that Dr Ramasis Thakur and Dr Jadu Gopal Mukherjee should not be released and that Pandit Prajapati Misra should be released on the ground of ill-health.

8.11.44 – Submitted for orders.

I think Babu Anugrah Narayana Sinha suggested these three names – that of Mr Satyanarain Singh to Mr Godbole as persons who might be released, for relief work. At that time Govt. had already ordered the release of Mr Satyanarain Singh and about the other three the order

was not to be released. It was much later that Pandit Prajapathi Misra was released for other reasons.

There have, of course, been no undertakings.

Put up relevant papers.

Signed

[P.U.C. referred to in the beginning of the document is below – Ed.]

Extract from Security Intelligence Report October 14, 1944.

IV. Congress workers are claiming credit for much of the relief work done by official efforts in N. Bihar, and even claim credit for having brought H.E. the Governor to tour the area. In the garb of relief work they are enrolling congress members and are 'thinking of reviving the programme of august 1942'. Many of these Congress workers are political offenders who were released to help in relief work and have broken their undertaking by contacting CSP agitators with a view to re-organise resistance to Government. Loyal Indians cannot understand why people who were imprisoned for making war on the King Emperor are now released and entrusted with considerable sums of money for relief work, some of which is believed to be diverted to the funds of subversive organisations. There are indications that part of the money of the B.C.R.T. fund is going to the families of Congressmen who were in jail.

- (a) The remarks about Congress workers who have been released from detention may be seen. Mr Russell seems to be labouring under the idea that Government have released Congress workers in order to take part in relief work in North Bihar. This has been done in extremely few cases. Also I do not know what he means by saying that they have broken their understandings. As far as I know very few political detenus, who have been released, have given any undertaking at all. He makes the statement that many of them are contacting C.S.P. agitators. I think that he should give Government more details, if he can prove this statement. The remark about loyal Indians and about people imprisoned for making war on the King Emperor is somewhat ridiculous.
- (b) As regards indications that part of the money of the R.C.R.T. fund is going to the families of Congressmen who are in jail, I think Government would like more information so as to determine whether there is any foundation in the remark or not.

J.W. Houlton

18.10.44

Para 1 (iv) of the Security Intelligence Report is rather typical of CID's attitude towards releases, which they tend to regard as a policy of blind appeasement. The para assumes that (1) many political offenders have been released by Government to help in relief work (2) that they gave undertakings (3) that they are entrusted with (Govt's) funds. I would like office to say whether they can give any information about (1) and (2) before we take up the matter with DIG, CID. I do not think either statement is correct.)

R.E. Russel

22.10.44

T.(homas) G.(eorge) R.(utherford)

22.10.44

## 71: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Central Provinces & Berar for the first half of November 1944

File 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

### **Congress Constructive Programme**

The new congress constructive programme is summarised in a 'hints to workers' communication issued over the signature of Kurshid Ben. Workers are asked to realise that the constructive programme is the non-violent and truthful way of winning independence and that civil disobedience, mass or individual, is an aid to constructive effort. Committees should be formed to educate kisans, to increase the wages of landless labourers and to investigate land laws, indebtedness of cultivators and the cattle problem. In regard to industrial labour, the aim of the constructive programme is the elevation of labour to its deserved status by the establishment of its own unions by education, general and scientific, and by teaching labour the essence of conducting successful non-violent strikes. In regard to students, there should be a body of workers to infuse national consciousness in them and make them patriotic . . . .

Messers B.G. Kher' and G.B. Mavlanker' of Bombay visited the province during the fortnight. The former discussed the constructive programme with local congressmen in Nagpur and advised them on their future plans with a view to working in a manner which should give no excuse to Mr Gandhi to embark on another fast. Addressing a student's social gathering, he advised them to carry out the constructive programme with sincerity and be prepared for any sacrifice and assume responsibility for the emancipation of the country. Mr Mavlanker visited Akola and also spoke on the constructive programme and the feasibility of obtaining independence through it.

## 72: Mahatma Gandhi to Bardoloi

Bardoloi Papers, List No. 170. R.R.

[NMML]

*Sevagram*  
3-11-44

My dear Bardoloi,

I have your letter. I have read the papers and I have had long chats with friends. I want/meant because I can give specific instructions. But I would lay down general principles to guide you. There should never be the slightest departure from truth and non-violence. There should be perfect fearlessness. There should be no secrecy.

And there should be complete non-co-operation with evil. Thus under the lure of saving

starving people I may not co-operate with evil even as I may not pour milk in poison bowl in the hope of feeding the poor. The Bihar example will mislead if not properly understood. I co-operated and spent the money that was collected. There were two parallel collections. Ours were the highest and spent. Today there is no such scope. Do not think of the past except to draw lessons from it.

## 73: District Magistrate, Guntur, to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras

Govt. of Madras Public (Gen.) Department 1944 – File G.O. No. 2983  
[INA]

No RC 1494-44-C3

*dated 8.11.44*

From  
T. Bhaskara Rao Esq., I.C.S.  
Dt. Magistrate  
Guntur.

To  
The Chief Secretary to Government –  
Public (General) Department  
Madras.

Sub: Political Agitation – D.O. Movement – Detenu K. Brahmananda Reddy – extension of parole – petition for – report submitted

Ref: G.O. No. Ms. 2983 Public (Genl) Department 4/10-10.44<sup>1</sup>

Sir,

The Government in their order above, were pleased to grant parole for one month to the detenu Sri Kasu Brahmananda Reddy to enable him to see his brother-in-law who is ill. He now requests the grant of an extension of parole for three months on the plea that his wife and brother-in-law are ill. The Dt. Superintendent of Police, Guntur reports that both the wife and the brother-in-law of the detenu are sick and recommends the grant of extension of parole for one month. A copy of the petition dated 31-10-44 received from the detenu in this office together with a copy of the report of the Dt. Superintendent of police, Guntur is submitted herewith

Under the circumstances reported by the Dt. Superintendent of Police, I recommend that an extension of parole for one month may be granted to the detenu.

VG/8-11-44.

for Dt. Magistrate, Guntur.

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1. Not printed.

## 74: Official Noting about the situation in Midnapur dt 18.11.1944-21.11.1944 (extracts)

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 416/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

Notes from p. 13 may be read.<sup>1</sup> In view of the improved political atmosphere in Midnapore, no further action is called for at present. The file may be closed.

Chatterji  
18/11/44

I agree with D.I.G. The papers should not have been so long delayed. The views expressed by the D.I.G., I.B. are the same as those of I.G. who has mentioned this case to be more than once.

C.S. may see for his information.

I will inform the D.M. that no action is now contemplated in view of the change of circumstances in Midnapore.

Though I had not seen the file, I mentioned this case to H.C.M. this morning. He was already aware of the situation and agreed.

Chief Secy.  
21-11-44

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1 This is a continuation of official notings in Chapter I -- Section A -- Doc 152 See Docs 141,149 in Chapter I -- Section A on this subject -- Ed.

## 75: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of November 1944

File 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I)  
A]

Congress Activities -- The informal conference of Congressmen from Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and Bombay City convened by Mr S.K. Patil and referred to in my last letter, was held in Bombay City on the 27th and 28th October, Mr N.V. Gadgil presiding. About 200 representative congressmen attended. Mr Gandhi sent a benedictory message to the conference advising inter alia that the Congress should educate the villagers and try to remove their indebtedness, the students should not participate in active politics but should become nationally conscious and that labour should be taught its strength. He further advised the workers that they should hold themselves in readiness if constructive effort is sought to be defeated.

The conference endorsed Mr Gandhi's proposals for the immediate establishment of a provisional National Government with the definite declaration now of complete independence

at the end of the war and expressed the opinion that, in view of the rejection of those proposals by His Excellency the Viceroy and the continued detention of members of the Congress Working committee, Britain did not want to part with political power. The conference also reaffirmed its unswerving and ever-increasing confidence in the political leadership of Mr Gandhi and urged the people not to be dispirited by the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, but to persist in their efforts to develop closer contact with Muslim masses and other minorities.

The Bombay Government's post war planning and food policy also came in for sharp criticism. The former was, in the opinion of the conference 'not only unimaginative and inadequate but also mischievous and harmful in as it is planned in pursuance of the traditional policy of divide and rule to disrupt further the village community and to introduce new conflicts of interests where they did not exist', while the latter aggravated the hardships of the people and encouraged corruption. Of the 16 resolutions passed at the conference, some of the more interesting related to the reorganisation of the congress on a broader basis by enlisting the support of all classes, the need for organising an official volunteer corps in every Congress Province based on unquestioning discipline and unadulterated nationalism with one uniform policy for all such volunteer corps, the dissociation of the congressmen from members of the Royist and Communist Parties and the reaffirmation of 'Quit India' resolution as interpreted by Mr Gandhi. The resolutions were passed without opposition but in regard to the reaffirmation of the 'Quit India' resolution, a small section of the conference felt that it was somewhat ridiculous to say that resolution was still in force, where everyone knew that, for all practical purposes, it had been suspended. The decision to exclude the Communists and the Royists from the Congress also evoked some controversy. Several delegates were of the view that as the future policy of the Congress is to bring labour into its fold it would be unwise, at this stage, to antagonize the Communists who exercised considerable influence over labourers. The Free Press Journal of Bombay which had been of late strong critic of Gandhian Ideology and politics described the conference as a 'Sham Show' and stated the conference, judging by its resolution, had only a limited purpose, namely (1) to derive authority from itself for the working of the subordinate Congress Committees taking shelter under their legal status, (2) to capture the Congress organisations through an unauthorised enrollment of members and (3) to exploit the prestige and authority of the Congress for purposes of power politics'. Generally speaking, however, it appears that the conference achieved its object which was merely to demonstrate the solidarity of the Congress and to express its confidence in Mr Gandhi's leadership.

No time was lost in devising ways and means to implement the resolutions passed by the conference. On the 30th October office-bearers of the Provincial Congress Committee met in Bombay City and decided to start training classes for workers of Maharashtra, Karnatak, Gujarat and Bombay City. The central Committee of the Maharashtra Congressmen at a private meeting held on the same day appointed 14 committees to carry out Mr Gandhi's constructive programme and decided to intensify the enrolment of Congress members so as to reach the quota of two lakhs before the end of March 1945. In Bombay City, eight committees were appointed to organise students, labour, shop-assistants and volunteers. In the Karnatak, a Constructive Programme Committee was formed comprising of all the former members of the working committee of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committees.

In Gujarat, Congress workers were actively engaged in carrying on propaganda against Government's Levy Scheme. At a meeting of the Gujarat All purposes Central Congress Committee held on the 22nd November at Baroda it was decided to conduct widespread

propaganda in the villages in order to educate the cultivators in their rights under the Levy Scheme and to prepare them for any possible development, particularly the agitation against the scheme is increasing in the Kaira District.

## 76: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

A two day's session of what was in fact, though not in name, a Bengal Provincial Congress Workers Conference was held at the Howrah Town Hall. The meeting resolved to carry out the constructive programme of Mr Gandhi and urged the people of Bengal to contribute liberally to the Bengal Political Sufferers Fund.

## 77: Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of India

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. 525/44

[Bengal State Archives]

Government of Bengal

To  
The Home  
New Delhi

Issue number 1132 P.S.  
*Date of issue: 18-11-44*

### **Express Letter**

Reference Home Deptt. Express Letter No. 3/35/44 – Poll (I) dated 25.10.44<sup>1</sup> regarding the surrender of 'underground workers'

1. (a) Sixty three persons (mostly of no importance) have surrendered in this Province since Gandhi's injunction and 48 men have been arrested by the Police. i.e. 16 on information received by Intelligence officers and 32 while taking out procession.
- (b) One of district importance is still at large.
2. It is difficult to state with exactitude the extent to which these surrenders – all except one of which were in Midnapore district – have been influenced by Gandhi's injunction, as there were other factors that also appeared to have accounted for the result, viz., a vigorous campaign undertaken by the authorities to combat the activities of the underground workers, sentences, declaration of a certain association in the Tamluk subdivision of Midnapore district called 'Jatiya Sarkar' as unlawful, together with rumours of the establishment of

Eastern Frontier Rifles post and of an introduction of an identity card system. The influence of Gandhi's injunction which was almost certainly conveyed to the members of the Jatiya Sarkar cannot, however, be discounted, and the fact that all the surrenders except one were in Midnapore is undoubtedly significant as secret information has been obtained that a particular absconder, Ananda (Annada) Prasad Chaudhuri, had visited Gandhi before his visit to Midnapore when he was arrested.

Signed (illegible)

16 11-44

1 Not printed.

## 78: Official Noting on meetings of B.P.C. (extracts)

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. 561/44  
[Bengal State Archives]

- 1 I have spoken to D.M. and asked if he had heard of the proposed meeting and what his reactions to it were. He started off by saying that he thought he had no power to do anything in view of H.C.M.'s statement in the assembly. I informed him of the correct position, and he later informed me that from a purely Howrah point of view he is not interested in preventing the meeting.
- 2 H.C.M. has declared that, except in Calcutta, Dacca town and Midnapore the situation does not justify any general order requiring prior permission of the D.M. before a meeting is held.  
This declaration has, however, in no way taken away from the D.M.'s their authority to require that prior permission be obtained, having regard to any particular situation—care is being taken to see that supporters of the war effort are not inconvenienced.
3. It is clearly a question of policy whether this (congress) meeting should be allowed. D.I.G., I.B. has drawn attention to the purposes for which the meeting would be called -- implementing Gandhi's constructive programme which includes work amongst industrial labour, peasants and students.  
From a policy point of view it is to be considered whether refusal to allow the meeting (with prosecution and dispersal if the permission is refused) is more likely to strengthen than to weaken Congress.
4. In the first place, the B.P.C.C. is an unlawful association, and though this proposed meeting is not ostensibly a meeting summoned by the President of the B.P.C.C. there will be no doubt in the minds of anyone that it is a Congress meeting called for the purpose of rebuilding Congress position and activities.  
It might be held that action by Govt. preventing the meeting would give undesirable publicity to the organisation which is at present in a disorganised state.  
Any action taken would certainly result in an adjournment motion in the Assembly.
5. On the other hand there appear definite advantages in Govt. taking the view that so long as the B.P.C. is an unlawful organisation, so long as the Congress high command are



locked up -- it is consistent for Govt. to refuse to allow the organisation to reorganise and claim support at a meeting for purposes which, from experience, Govt. know will be detrimental to the war effort. This last point is, I think, the crux. Bengal at present is in the war zone and while in the war zone must take action to ensure peace and quiet for industry etc. by measures which might not be necessary in other circumstances or perhaps elsewhere in India. From this point of view, therefore, I suggest that any action that may be taken can be justified.

- b) I have asked Jt. Secy. separately to note on the question of prosecution under S. 17 I.C.L.A.

This was discussed with them. No action to be taken. The D.M. has been informed. D.I.G., I.B. was present and has informed S.P.

## 79. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Political* Congressmen are busy making preparations to revive their 'Constructive' programme and to oust communist elements from the Congress. In Madras, following the inauguration of the Congressmen's Sangam referred to in my last report, an informal meeting of prominent congressmen was held on the 12th under the presidency of Mrs Ammu Swaminathan at which resolutions were passed urging Congress workers to stand by the August Resolution of the A.I.C.C., carry on their 'constructive' programme and form a Volunteer corps on the lines of the Bombay Rashtriya Seva Dal. The appeal was reinforced by the suggestion that unless they do something to demonstrate the strength of the Congress, Mr Gandhi may be forced to undertake another fast which will lead to his death. At this meeting, a militant group of Congress supporters led by Mrs Krishnabai Nimbkar moved resolutions condemning the Communist Party, repudiating the settlement of the communal question on the basis of Mr Rajagopalachari's formula,<sup>1</sup> and urging that the 'Quit India' resolution should be implemented. They met with some opposition and after a heated discussion, the President left the meeting, no decision being reached on these resolutions. The India Students Congress, which was represented at the meeting is organising a Volunteer Corps to implement the constructive programme of the Congress.<sup>2</sup> To control such activities, the Government have recently issued a certificate under the Camps and Parades Control Order in respect of the Students Congress so that permission will have to be obtained from the District Magistrate or the Commissioner of Police before it holds any training camps for these volunteers.

Similar reports come from the mofussil. In Guntur, Mr Konda Venkatappaya and three other prominent Andhra congressmen have issued a statement to the press urging the formation of district Congress Groups to carry on their constructive programme. These congress Groups are intended to take the place of the old Congress Committees some of which have been declared unlawful by the Government. In Malabar, a conference was held when it was decided to co-ordinate various organisations such as the Labour Congress under one leadership and

with this object a 'Kerala Congress Samithi' was formed which appears to be the old Kerala Provincial Congress Committee in another form, excluding Communists and Socialists.

In Madura and Salem also similar meetings were held. The meeting at Salem ended in confusion when a resolution requesting Mr Rajagopalachari to return to the Congress and resume his leadership was proposed and followed by a heated debate.

The news that Mr Gandhi may start another fast has roused some sensation though it is generally hoped that it will not materialise. The other main political event of the fortnight has been the South African issue, and the debate in the Central Assembly and Dr Khare's handling of the subject have won practically universal approbation

1 See Ch. XVIII Doc. 226

2 See Ch. XI for more documents on this

## 80: Case of Brahmananda Reddy

Govt. of Madras Public (General) Department 1944 - File G.O. No. 2983  
[TNA]

*dt 1.12.44*

From

Sri K.P. Brahmananda Reddy, B.A., B.L., Detenue on Parole,  
Narasaraopet Guntur District.

To

The District Collector, Guntur

Sir,

My Parole period expires by 15th December 1944. My brother-in-law is very sick and is in a worse condition than before suffering from High Blood pressure, Anemia, Palpitation of the heart, liver and kidney trouble and also awlul exhaustion.

My presence at his beside in his present dangerous state of health is absolutely necessary. He has only a daughter and son aged 11 and 1 years respectively and he is entirely dependent on me for his treatment. His alarming state of health is causing me anxiety and unrest.

I therefore request you to please grant me extension of parole by two months.

Yours most obediently,

Narasaraopet, dt 1-12-44



## 81: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*Political:* Congressmen are going ahead with their 'constructive programme' and the formation of district Congress Assemblies. Reports to this effect have come from a number of districts. At all these meetings emphasis is being laid on the exclusion of Communists and Royists and the necessity for confining the Assemblies to orthodox congress supporters. In West Godavari, Guntur, Kistna, Malabar and Tanjore, they have already formed District Congress Assemblies. These are to be known as Congress Samithis and the manifesto issued by the Kerala Congress committee gives an indication of its aims and ideas. According to the manifesto, the samithi is formed to give a lead to the various Congressmen who are out of jail and to improve the morale of the rank and file. Its objects are to work out the items of Mr Gandhi's constructive programme, to organise Kisans, Labour and Students' Front under the aegis of the Congress and to direct day to day Congress work in regard to famine, epidemics and Hindu-Muslim unity. The Kerala Samithi proposes to work out the scheme through the agency of whole time workers. It also proposes to work out the scheme through the agency of wholetime workers. It also proposes to run adult education classes throughout the district.

It is apparently intended that similar Samithis should be formed in every taluk, firka, town and village, and this is shown by a report from Kistna. Special emphasis is being laid on spinning by members. In Guntur it has been suggested that representatives of the Indian Students' Congress and the Rangite Kisan Sabha also should be included.

In Madras City there appear to be already signs of a split among them on the ground that Andhras are not adequately represented in the City Congressmen's Sangam. A separate Madras District Andhra Congress Assembly has been formed which had significantly not expressed itself against the admission of Communists and Royists to membership.

## 82: Case of Brahmananda Reddy

Govt. of Madras Public (General) Dept. 1944 - File G.O. No. 2983

[TNA]

Magte's Office,

*Dated 11th Dec. 1944.*

From T. Bhaskar Rao., I.C.S., Guntur

To The Secretary to the Government, Public (General) Department, Madras.

Sir,

Political agitation - Security prisoners Sri K. Brahmananda Reddy - extension of parole - request - report - submitted. Ref: Government Memorandum No. 55441-44 dated 10-11-44.

In their memorandum quoted above, the Government were pleased to grant an extension of parole for two months from 13-12-44 on the plea that his brother-in-law is very sick having been suffering from blood pressure, anemia, palpitation of heart etc., and that his presence at the bed side of the patient is necessary.

The District Superintendent of Police reports that the condition of the detinue's brother-in-law is serious and that he may collapse at any time and that further stay of the detinue's at the bed side of the patient is not likely to improve matters.

He was already on parole for two months, and the District Superintendent of Police does not recommend for the extension. I agree with the District Superintendent of Police and do not recommend further extension of parole.

The petition put in by the detinue with the report of the District Superintendent of Police, Guntur, is enclosed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Report not printed

## 83: Govt. of India to all Provincial Govts – Revival of Congress disturbances

G.O.I. – Pol. Dept. Pol. Br. File No. 12(2) (S)/44  
[NAI]

Government of India  
Home Department

*Secret*

### **Express Letter**

From  
Home, New Delhi

To  
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners,  
(except) Piploda

No. 4/7/44 – Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 20th December, 1944.*

Efforts to revive the Congress organisation are being made in most (but not yet all) Provinces. In some Provinces these efforts appear to be actionable as they involve the reconstitution of bodies declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. In other Congress bodies not declared unlawful are in a position to give legal cover.

The Government of India have consulted the Governments of Bombay and United Provinces, where the signs of revival are at present strongest, and do not yet recommend action against the Congress as such. But they wish the situation very carefully watched, and plans kept in readiness in case action is necessary. If Congress leaders appear to be working up, to a conflict with Government, they should be warned informally that their activities are, or will be declared, unlawful. If action is decided upon detention under Ordinance III of 1944

against individuals may be more effective than prosecutions for breaches of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. The Government of India would like to be kept in touch with developments.

The Government of India have considered their pleas to their Express Letter No. 3/44 – Poll (I) dated 20th October 1944<sup>1</sup> concerning the release of congressmen now in detention, and have decided to leave it to Provincial Governments to apply the policy of gradual release. They do not propose at present to release the four members of the Working Committees named in that letter except possibly in one case and that on medical grounds.

(R. Tottenham)

Addl. Secretary to the Government of India

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1 Not printed

# II

## Censorship – 1943 and 1944

The documents show that the government considered it to be vulnerable to press reports or critical editorial comments with regard to its repressive measures against the rebels of 1942, adverse judgements in the Courts against the Government, the fast of Mahatma Gandhi in February and March 1943 (and the rumours of another fast around July and August), famine in Bengal, and reverses of the Allied forces at the hands of the Axis powers. When it resorted to pre-censorship of news, raided newspaper premises, or restricted the use of banner headlines, it invited non-co-operation from the editors, who stopped publication on 6 January (Doc. No. 16), and some of them refused to publish the New Year's Honours list.

At the lower levels of the imperial administration, the police officers (especially European ones) were hypersensitive to cartoons portraying Britain in an unfavourable light (Docs 35 and 38). The Communist Party had benefited from the lenient policy of the government towards it, and towards the import of hitherto banned Communist literature, but nevertheless it expressed its outrage in an editorial, although the language was tempered upon government advice (Doc. No. 29). The Punjab Government was getting worried about Communist propaganda by October 1944. (Doc. No. 149).

Some American journalists with an international reputation were taking a critical view of British policy in India, most notable among them being Louis Fischer,\* who had spent a week with Gandhi at his ashram in Sevagram in June 1942. Fischer's writings came under special scrutiny of the imperial Censor. (Docs 45, 48, 63, 68, 94, 118). Mrs John Gunther and Drew Pearson were the other writers out of favour with the Raj (Docs 137, 143, 145, 151.)

The documents included in this chapter also show the types of novels and biographies and patriotic songs that were coming within with the Censor's net.

### *Other Documents Relevant for this Chapter*

Doc. 104 in Chapter I – Sect. B.

Doc. 18 in Chapter X.

Doc. 17 in Chapter XVII.

## 1. Telegram from the Government of Bombay to the Government of Madras

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 237  
[TNA]

Reg. Ban on News of Bhansali's fast

Telegram

Telegram No. 317 – 23rd December, 1942 from the Government of Bombay described as follows:

Reference Government of India, Home Department Telegram No. 9921/Circular dated December 14th.<sup>1</sup> Wire what action your Govt. has taken regarding Govt. of India request ban news about Professor Bhansali.

Pub. (Press) Dept.  
Madras

Not printed

## 2. Press Communique issued by the Government of Central Provinces and Berar – Chimur Incidents

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 237  
[TNA]

*Nagpur, the 31st December 1942*

The criminal cases arising from the murder of Government servants at Chimur on the 16th August last have now concluded before the Special Judge and have been reviewed by the Hon'ble Judge under section 8 of the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance, 1943. During the pendency of these cases the agitation directed against the conduct of the military and the police at Chimur has continued.

2 Its communique, dated the 18th October 1942, the Provincial Government explained its reasons for not appointing a committee of inquiry into the alleged excesses at Chimur. It has now examined the judgments recorded by the Special judge in the two murder cases. The judgment in the Magistrates murder case contains the following observation regarding the general position at Chimur.

'There has, in fact, been mass perjury, and more than that, a conspiracy of silence in this village (Chimur)'

'The case shows that Chimur was for all practical purposes completely united in a conspiracy of silence, in the police officers' murder case, the Judge remarks'

'There has been mass perjury in both these cases (i.e., police officers' cases) as remarked in the other judgment'.

Those observations have been reinforced by the following observations made by the Hon'ble judge in review.

In the magistrates' murder case he says:

I do not propose to deal with the defence evidence of alibi and the 70 witnesses who have come forward to help the accused I agree with the learned Special Judge's comment on that evidence. It is clearly of no value

Again, in the police murder case he says:

I do not propose to deal with the 73 witnesses for the defence who have come forward to help the accused by giving evidence that is obviously untrue. I agree with the learned Special judge has said about this evidence.

3 Further, in the communique of the 16th October reference was made to six complaints

of rape. An examination of the judgments shows, that in all these cases the women complainants are related to, or connected with, persons involved in the events of the 16th of August. One complaint of rape can be dismissed at once, because the complainant is the sister-in-law of the person affected and that persons did not herself come forward. The alleged victim was a servant of a hotel-keeper at Chimur. The hotel-keeper is under sentence of transportation of life and his brother under sentence of death. Another complainant is the daughter of a domestic servant whose father was arrested by the police and who is employed by a person accused in case under section 388 of the Indian Penal Code. The third complainant is the wife of a person who has been sentenced to transportation for life. Her husband's employer has also been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. The fourth complainant is the wife of a teli, one of whose relatives was arrested by the police. The husband of the fifth complainant was arrested and complaint is in respect of her daughter who has herself made no complaint. Two of her sons were arrested and one has been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

4. The provincial Government has been impressed, in the case of the complaints forwarded to it by private investigators, by their evident readiness to accept blindly and without check the wildest and most sweeping allegations made against the troops by persons interested in those responsible for the crimes of murder and arson committed at Chimur. For example, in the case of one investigator who has supplied Government with the result of his investigation no names were given and no attempt was made by cross examination or otherwise to check the accuracy of the allegations. The provincial Government, on the other hand, has based its decision on a careful examination of a large mass of evidence, much of it sworn on oath before a magistrate, tendered by officials and non-officials unconnected with the troops or the police whose conduct has been maligned.

5. The provincial Government is entirely satisfied that the allegations are wholly untrustworthy and that no case been made out for constituting a committee of inquiry.

### 3. News item in *The Hindu* on Chimur Incidents (dt 1.1.1943)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 237

[TNA]

C.P. Government Refused Enquiry

Mass Perjury of Villagers Alleged

*Nagpur, Jan 1.*

After quoting in a communique the observations made by the various courts which tried the cases arising out of the happenings at Chimur, the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar observe:

The Provincial Government is entirely satisfied that the allegations are wholly untrustworthy and that no case has been made out for constituting a Committee of Inquiry.

The communique<sup>1</sup> reads:



The criminal cases arising from the murder of Government servants at Chimur on the 16th August last have now concluded before the Special Judge and have been reviewed by the Honourable Judge under Section 8 of the Special criminal Courts Ordinance, 1942. During the pendency of these cases the agitation directed against the conduct of the military and the police at Chimur has continued.

In its communique, dated the 16th October 1942, the Provincial Government explained its reasons for not appointing a committee of inquiry into the alleged excesses at Chimur. It has now examined the judgements recorded by the Special Judge in the two murder cases. The judgement in the Magistrates' murder case contains the following observation regarding the general position at Chimur:

There has, in fact been mass perjury, and, more than that, a conspiracy of silence in this village (Chimur).

The case shows that Chimur was for all practical purposes completely united in a conspiracy of silence.

In the police officers murder case, the Judge remarks — 'There has been mass perjury in both these cases as remarked in the other judgement.

These observations have been reinforced by the following observations made by the Hon'ble Judge in reviewing In the Magistrates' murder case he says:

I do not propose to deal with the defence evidence of alibi and the 70 witnesses who have come forward to help the accused as I agree with the learned Special Judges comment on that evidence. It is clearly of no value.

Again, in the police murder case he says:

I do not propose to deal with the 73 witnesses for the defence who have come forward to help the accused by giving evidence that is obviously untrue. I agree with what the learned Special Judge has said about this evidence

Further, in the communique of the 16th October reference was made to six complaints of rape. An examination of the judgement shows, that in all these cases the women complainants are related to, or connected with persons involved in the events of the 16th of August. One complaint of rape can be dismissed at once, because the complainant is the sister in law of the person affected and that person did not herself come forward. The alleged victim was a servant of a hotel-keeper at Chimur. The hotel-keeper is under sentence of transportation for life and his brother under sentence of death. Another complainant is the daughter of a domestic servant whose father was arrested by the police and who is employed by a person accused in a case under section 888 of the Indian Penal Code. The third complainant is the wife of a person who has been sentenced to transportation for life. Her husband's employer has also been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. The fourth complainant is the wife of a teli one of whose relatives was arrested by the police. The husband of the 5th complainant was arrested and subsequently discharged. The sixth complainant is the only one of superior social position and her complaint is in respect of her daughter who has herself made no complaint: two of her sons were arrested and one has been sentenced to seven years imprisonment.

The Provincial Government has been impressed, in the case of complaints forwarded to it by private investigators, by their evident readiness to accept blindly and without check the widest and most sweeping allegations made against the troops by persons interested in those responsible for the crimes of murder and arson committed at Chimur. For example, in the case of one investigator who has supplied Government with the result of his investigations,

and names were given and no attempt was made by cross-examination or otherwise to check the accuracy of the allegations. The Provincial Government on the other hand, has based its decision on a careful examination on a large mass of evidence, much of it sworn on oath before a Magistrate tendered by officials and non-officials unconnected with the troops or the police whose conduct has been maligned.

The Provincial Government is entirely satisfied that the allegations are wholly untrustworthy and that no case has been made out for constituting a Committee of Inquiry'.

1 Doc 2

## 4 Cancellation of the 'General Communist Notification' issued on 10.9.1932

File No. 41/6/42 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Finance Department (Central Revenues)

Notification<sup>1</sup>  
Customs

*Simla, the 2nd January 1943*

No. 1 - In exercise of the powers conferred by section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, 1878 (VIII of 1878), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the notification of the Government of India in the Finance Department (Central Revenues) No. 61-Customs, dated the 10th September, 1932, shall be cancelled.<sup>2</sup>

M. Salade,  
Joint Secy. to the Government of India

No 1/C No. 1230-CUS 1/42

Copy forwarded to:

All Collectors of Customs (including the Collectors of Salt Revenue, Bombay and Madras)  
The Governments of Madras, Judicial Department; Bombay, Revenue Department; Bengal,  
Finance Department; Sind Revenue Department and Orissa, Financial Department.

The Home Department

The Political Department

The Chief Censor (G.S. Branch)

The Posts and Air Department (P and T Branch) for communication to the Director-General,  
Posts and Telegraphs

The Hon'ble the Resident for the States of Western India.

The Resident for Baroda and the Gujarat States

The Resident for the Madras States

The Chief Customs Officer, Okha (Kathiawar)  
The Principal Collector of Customs, Colombo  
The Excise, Inspector, Sea Customs, Alleppey.

By order, etc.

W.A. Rose,  
for Joint Secy. to the Govt. of India

- 1 [At the request of the Govt. (letter dated 18-12-42 – quoted below) the above notification was issued – ‘It is proposed to cancel the existing ‘General Communist Notification’ (Finance Department, 1932) and to substitute for it a fresh notification under section 19 of the Sea Customs Act. Two draft notifications are enclosed accordingly (not printed – [Ed]) which the Finance Department (C B R ) are requested to issue as soon as possible. We would be glad to be informed for the date on which it is proposed to issue the notifications’
- 2 In this context See also Docs 24 and 32

## 5: Information Officer to the Convener, Madras Press Advisory Committee – Objecting to the news item published on Dr Bhansali in the *Indian Express* (Madras)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 237  
[TNA]

Government of Madras  
Public (Press) Department  
Confidential

No. 5896/4

*Chetput, Madras,  
2nd January 1943*

To  
The Convener,  
Madras Press Advisory Committee,  
Madras

Sir,

I am directed to state that the *Indian Express* in its issue dated the 2nd January 1943 (column 4, page 2)<sup>1</sup> has published a report of an interview with Prof. Bhansali contrary to the request made in this department's letter No. 5898/42-3 dated 15th December 1942 (copy enclosed)<sup>2</sup> Government consider that this is not factual news but is calculated to draw especial attention of the public to the incident by reference to the object of Prof. Bhansali in undertaking the fast. I am to request you that this subject may also be included in the agenda for the next

meeting of the Madras Press Advisory Committee to be held on Thursday the 7th January 1943.

Yours faithfully,  
Information Officer, and  
Special Press Adviser.

1. Not printed.  
2. Not printed

## 6: Pre-scrutiny of the news of disturbances – Order on the *Hindustan Times* – News item in *The Hindu* dt 3rd Jan. 1943

*The Hindu* [Indian Council of World Affairs Library – ICWA]

New Delhi January 1 – Following an emergency meeting of the Central Press Advisory Committee, the Chief Commissioner, Delhi served on Mr Devadas Gandhi, Editor, Mr Dev Prasad Sharma, Printer and publisher of the H.T. and Mr Mukti Behari Varma, Editor of Hindustan, an order requiring them to submit all matters relating to the recent disturbances for scrutiny to the Assistant Press Adviser before publication.

The order comes into force immediately -- API.

## 7: Order of the Government of Madras not to give government advertisements to certain news papers

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 12  
[TNA]

### Abstract

Confidential  
Received . . . 1943

Registered 1943

Newspapers

Suitable for Government advertisements – Certain papers – Omission from the list – Orders issued.

Public (General) Department  
G.O. No. Ms. 12, dated the 3rd January 1943  
G.O. No. 2686 – Pub. (Genl.) dated 24-11-1941  
Memo No. 21983/ dated 2-12-1942

### Order

The Heads of Departments and other officers concerned are informed that the following newspapers should not be given Government advertisements until further orders: *The Hindu*, *Indian Express*, *Free Press*, *Swadesamitran*, *Dhinamani*, *Bharata Devi*, *Andha Prabha*<sup>1</sup> and *Andha Patrika*.<sup>2</sup> Item 2 to 6 and 8 under the head 'Madras City in the list annexed to G.O. No. 2686-Public (General), dated 24-11-1941 are accordingly deleted.

(By Order of His Excellency the Governor)

for Chief Secretary to Govt.

To the Deptts. of the Sectt.

To all Heads of Deptts.

Including Collectors and District Judges.

Copy to the Hon'ble the Chief Justice

Copy to the Government of India, Home Department

Copy to the All Provincial Government

Copy to the Director of Contracts, Army Headquarters

Copy to the Director of War Publicity.

1 & 2 The original text mis-spells *Andhra Prabha* and *Andhra Patrika* - Ed

## 8. Editorials in *The Hindu* and *The Indian Express*, Madras Chimur Incidents

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 237

[TNA]

*The Hindu* dt 3.1.1943

### Unconvincing

If the C P Government thought that by the communique<sup>1</sup> they have just issued regarding the Chimur incidents they would be reassuring the public more than they had succeeded in doing with their previous communique of October last they will be sadly mistaken. That communique attempted to justify the refusal to grant an enquiry on such grounds as that the complaints of ill-treatment and molestation of women that had been made against soldiers and the police were belated, unsupported by formal attestation, discrepant in matters of detail and so on. We pointed out in these columns that these were just the reasons why an enquiry should be held, especially as the public mind was greatly perturbed because of the reports that responsible men and women who had visited Chimur had brought from there and because the Government's version of the events contained obvious lacunae. The second communique which has now been issued, reiterating the Government's refusal to grant an enquiry, neither supplies the full information which the public is entitled to know nor succeeds in making out that an enquiry is neither necessary nor desirable in the public interest.

The Government quote from the judgement of the special judge in the criminal cases arising from the Chimur incidents and also from the observations of the Judge of the High

court who reviewed these judgements to show that in the opinion of these authorities the evidence of the defence witnesses in those cases was absolutely unreliable. But it is ridiculous to jump from this, as the Government do, to the conclusion that the allegations against the police & the military, in so far as they refer to the conduct of these forces after the murders of Government Officials and other connected crimes that first brought the forces of law and order to that place, must be also untrue. No man is a liar all the time or in all circumstances. That apart there is nothing in the Government Communique to show that the allegations against the police and military rest merely on the testimony of just those persons whose evidence in the murder cases has been produced untrustworthy. Even less convincing is the Government's contention that 'one complaint of rape can be dismissed at once because the complainant is the sister-in-law of the person affected and that person did not herself come forward and that an examination of the judgement showed that in all these cases the women complainants are related to, or connected with, persons involved in the events of the 16th August.' This argument has not even the merit of novelty. That apart, how can the accident of the relationship of these women to the accused in the criminal cases justify the assumption that they would be prepared, out of sheer spite, to forswear themselves to the point of stating that they had been subjected to dishonour? There is the less reason for supposing that they perjured themselves thus, because they would have surely known that such allegations, being irrelevant, would not save their menfolk involved in the criminal cases.

The Government claim that they have based their decision 'on a careful examination of all large mass of evidence, much of it sworn on oath before a magistrate, tendered by officials and non-officials unconnected with the troops or the police whose conduct has been maligned.' If by large mass of evidence the Government mean the evidence collected for the purposes of the criminal cases and there is no indication that there was any independent attempt made by them to gather such evidence regarding the allegations against the police-we have shown that that evidence can have little bearing on the truth or otherwise of the women's case. It will not therefore do for the Government oracularly to assure the public that they are satisfied, that there is no need for an enquiry and to try to dispose of the testimony of private persons who have forwarded cases of complaint to them by accusing them of 'evident readiness to accept blindly and without check the wildest and most sweeping allegations'. Only by holding a public enquiry in which all parties will be able to produce all the evidence in their possession and have it impartially tested, will it be possible for the Government to satisfy the public that truth has been vindicated. In their October communique they said that the allegations had been put out in order to divert attention from the Chimur crimes. Well, those accused of these crimes have now been judged; but the allegations against the police and the military remain and require to be cleared up.

*Indian Express* (dt 3.1.43)

### **Chimur's Demand**

The C.P. Government have announced their decision not to constitute a committee of enquiry into the Chimur incidents. Serious allegations of excesses involving the honour of the local womenfolk have been made against the forces employed to quell the disturbances in the locality soon after the wholesale incarceration of Congress leaders. The demand for an enquiry has been made from all parts of the country and the issue has agitated public mind as no other occurrence of recent times. And yet the C.P. Government, undoubtedly backed up by Central authorities, have refused to give the question the consideration it is in their own

interests that allegations of misdemeanour on the part of forces employed by them should be properly enquired into and steps taken to assuage disturbed public mind. That alone can establish the necessary concord between the civilian population and the fighting forces – an understanding indispensable in the prosecution of modern wars. But the Government have chosen to persist in their cussedness, unmindful of consequences. It is scandalous that they should brush aside the nation-wide demand for an enquiry with the extremely unconvincing remark that ‘all the allegations are wholly untrustworthy and no case has been made out for constituting a committee of enquiry’.

The Press Note explaining the decision refers to the trial and sentence of certain people who it was alleged were responsible for the murder of certain officers in Chimur. Basing their decision on the remarks made by two special judges who tried the cases, the C.P. Government concludes that allegations by the people of Chimur could not be true. The tone of the Government communique reveals an anxiety to secure some sort of a convenient straw to clutch at, for sustaining their determination not to hold an enquiry. Assuming that the special courts had acted in all judicial propriety, it passes one’s comprehension how remarks of a general nature made in the course of judgments on a totally different issue can be torn out of the context to draw an indictment against the people of Chimur as a whole. It is an irrelevant mix-up designed to cloud the issue. We would ask if the special magistrates became seized of the matter and whether they went into the allegations of excesses on the part of the police and the military. What in fact they did go into were the charges of murder and allied offences against a number of people of the locality. As a result of this a fairly large number has been awarded capital and other heavy sentences.

1 Doc 2

## 9. Editorial in *The Free Press Journal* (daily newspaper in English) – Chimur Incidents

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 237  
[TNA]

### Strange Logic

The Government of the Central Provinces has turned down all representations made by the people for an impartial enquiry regarding the alleged excesses committed by the troops in Chimur. Certain incidents happened in August last in the village of Chimur and it was brought to the notice of the Government that the troops stationed there had committed rape on the women of the locality and that an impartial enquiry must be held regarding the allegations. As misfortune would have it, most of the complainants in this case happened to be the relatives of the accused involved in certain acts in Chimur which happened in August last. Depending mainly on this the Government now says that the allegations were untrue. How? The Government says, ‘One complaint of rape can be dismissed at once because the complainant is also the sister-in-law of the person affected and that person did not herself come forward’. The Government goes on mentioning several such instances where the complainants happened

to be the relatives of the accused. Does, it mean that if the complainant happened to be the sister-in-law of the accused the complaint should, be summarily dismissed? The fact that she happened to be the relative of the accused is only an accident. Does it preclude the Government from investigating into the allegations? Moreover, due to a sense of modesty women raped under such circumstances do not come forward openly to give complaints. A prima facie case was established and besides this the innate modesty of the Indian women alone must have induced the Government to order an enquiry into the allegations. That imperialist Lord Curzon during his Viceroyalty never allowed any complaints of police or military excesses go uninvestigated. No doubt he got into the bad books of the military authorities but this single good act of his made him rise in the estimation of the public as one who would administer justice without any race prejudice. He ordered a scrupulous enquiry into the complaints of military excesses in Burma and he punished the military officials who recall this act of one of the predecessors of Lord Linlithgow and fervently, hope that His Excellency would set aside the decision of the Central Provinces Government and order an impartial enquiry into the excesses alleged to have been committed by the military in Chimur. Let it be one of his parting gifts to India.

## 10. Editorial in *Liberator* (weekly magazine in English) – Chimur Incidents

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 237  
[TNA]

### **C.P. Government Communique<sup>1</sup>**

We do not think that we can congratulate the Government of the Central Provinces on the communique that they have issued justifying their action in not constituting a committee of enquiry to investigate certain alleged incidents. It is not frequently that Government communiques are happily worded nor is it common to expect them to throw a flood of light on any point of controversy. But the persons that were responsible for the present communique have blundered in more ways than one. We think it unfortunate that the Government should have in their communique mixed up two important issues. The criminal cases arising from the murder of Government servants at Chimur have been the subject of judicial investigation and pronouncement by two eminent courts. Observations have no doubt been made by the judges concerned on the evidence that was placed before them. Mass perjury and a conspiracy of 'silence' are not peculiar to Chimur. Every student of criminology in India is aware of the particular trend of events in such cases. We may deplore the fact, but we cannot ignore the psychology of the mass mind nor altogether forget that there may be other reasons behind such mass perjury.

But by the strangest piece of logic the Government Communique wishes the public to draw certain inferences in regard to these alleged occurrences about which complaints have been made. The Central Provinces Government ought to be aware that the Chimur incidents which were the subject of a judicial trial were not isolated events but were deplorably frequent in many parts of India during that unfortunate period in August. Yet from no other place have complaints of rape and such atrocities been made. That by itself is a phenomenon worth



explanation at the hands of the Government. The second incomprehensible feature in the Government Communique is the statement that the women complainants are related to certain of the accused in the criminal case. We find it hard to understand why this emphasis has been made and whether Government really intend us to infer that the women came forward at the risk of the worst form of social ostracism in the hope that such complaints would help to extricate their relatives from the clutches of the law. We think it most unfortunate that the Central Provinces Government should have led itself into a morass by putting forward such a plea. But the most extraordinary plea in the communique is one to which we must take strong exception. It is so fundamentally opposed to all canons of British justice and fair play that we are horrified to find such sentiments in a communique of any Government. Let it be remembered that the complaints made were of a serious and revolting nature the alleged rape of certain women. It is stated that one of the alleged victims is the servant of a hotel keeper, another a daughter of a domestic servant, yet another the wife of a *tehi* and so on. The Communique thereafter adds: 'The sixth complainant is the only one of superior social position and her complaint is in respect of her daughter who has herself made no complaint.' This last statement, in our humble opinion, disqualifies the Central Provinces Government from a claim to a judicial frame of mind which is a necessary precursor of justice. Is it suggested that the offence becomes grave only when persons of superior society positions are involved? Does not rape result in moral obloquy to every person high or low in the particular society in which she has necessarily to move? What then is behind the emphasis on superior social position a point that is so foreign to all canons of British jurisprudence and surprising still more is the fact that the Government have made it a point that it was the mother who made the complaint and not the daughter herself. This is wisdom *in excelsis*. Evidently carried away by their own maudibility and a sense of aggrieved majesty the Central Provinces Government has not cared to realise how much a statement of such a nature would inflame public opinion. The press communique makes it abundantly clear that the Provincial Government's judgement is warped and we therefore feel that its decision in this particular instance should not be the last word on this subject. At a time when it is necessary to get the support of the public at large, we feel, that a false sense of prestige should not stand in the way of the Central Government taking the lead in this matter. We are not led to these reflections by the activities of any individual or by fasts or by threats of fast. Nor do we feel that there is any need for a public enquiry which under present circumstances would only lead to more bitterness and recrimination. We feel however, that in the interests of justice and fair play an enquiry should be held *in camera* by eminent judges of ripe experience. We would suggest to the Government of India, that such a court of enquiry may well be composed of the Chief Justice of India and two other eminent Indian Judges of any of the High Courts other than the Central Provinces. We feel that such a step is very necessary to vindicate the cause of justice and fair play.

1 See also Doc. 2



# 11. Excerpts from *Dinamani* 4 Jan. 1943 (daily newspaper in Tamil, Madras) – Chimur Incidents

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 -- File G.O. No. 237

[TNA]

*Dinamani* – 4th January 1943

The Central Provinces Government's Communique<sup>1</sup> regarding the Chimur incidents.

Commenting on the Communique issued by the Central Provinces Government regarding the demand for an inquiry into the Chimur incidents, the 'Dinamani' observes:

There are some countries where men are afraid of entering a railway compartment in which a woman is travelling alone because some women in such countries are in the habit of blackmailing men by saying that they tried to molest them. The people of this country may feel surprised to hear that such allegations of molestation should be made for purposes of blackmail. The outlook differs so greatly from country to country. Some women in those countries think that there is no shame in saying publicly that they have been molested. We wish to point out that it would be sheer foolishness for the people of any country to think it that there are such women in India also. The people of this country alone know the nature of the women of this country. The women of this country regard honour as more important than life itself. So if anybody molests them, they would only think of giving up their lives and it would not easily occur to them to prefer a complaint and punish the offender. If Indian women of this nature have not come forward to make a direct complaint that they have been molested, there is nothing surprising about it. But if anybody says that those who came forward to prefer a complaint preferred a false complaint out of enmity, it is indeed doubtful whether he has any compassion. The Communique issued by the Central Provinces Government seems to have been drafted by a foreigner and not by an Indian because it contains such novel arguments. The reasons given for not holding a public inquiry are really wonderful; If those who are alleged to have been molested happen to be the relatives of those involved in cases of disturbance, can it be said that they have no right to prefer complaints? If they happen to be servants, can it be said that they have no sense of honour? If they do not make a direct complaint, can it be said that the offence which has actually been committed has not been committed at all? It all looks so strange. Riots have occurred and repressive measures have been adopted in ever so many places. Have complaints of molestation been made in all those places? No. So, the argument that villagers are deliberately perjuring for the sake of the rioters is not in the least relevant. It is particularly improper to say that Indian women will utter a falsehood that they have been raped. If the Government are not willing to appoint an inquiry committee, they may say so clearly, but it would not be fair to level improper charges in support of that position.

1. Doc. 2.

## 12: News item in *Andhra Prabha* 4 Jan. 1943 (daily newspaper in Telugu, Madras) — Chimur Incidents

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 — File G.O. No. 237

[TNA]

*Andhra Prabha* dated 4th January 1943.

Is a dispassionate enquiry unnecessary in connection with the Chimur incidents?

The Central provinces Government issued a Communique<sup>1</sup> making therein an unsuccessful attempt to reply to it in the affirmative. There is not even one strong reason urged in the Communique against an enquiry. The Central provinces Government say that in connection with the cases relating to the murder of officers the people of Chimur uttered lies and that to save their men-folk some women made unfounded allegations that the police had dishonoured women. The allegations made in connection with the murders are different from those relating to dishonouring women. Does it stand to reason to deliver judgment in regard to one allegation on the basis of evidence tendered in connection with a different charge? People tell lies not only in India but also in England when their kith and kin are involved in troubles. But, since the English are intelligent folk they tell lies intelligently while the Chimur people are brainless and therefore tell lies without any brains about them. This is all the difference. Is it just to argue that all people tell lies in respect of all things since some people have uttered lies in regard to certain matter. Hindu women value their honour than their lives. Is it then possible that some Hindu women have made unfounded allegations that they had been dishonoured? It was alleged that the officials in Asti which lies very close to Chimur behaved worse than the officials in Chimur. Why then have not the women of that place made unfounded allegations that they had been dishonoured? Dr Moonje,\* a Hindu Mahasabha leader, the wife of Mr Thampi who acted as the Governor of Central provinces and others say that the allegations of the women of Chimur village are not untrue. Such being the case, is it not necessary for the Government to conduct an unbiased enquiry in their own interests and prove to the world the innocence of their subordinates?

1 Doc 2.

## 13: News item in *The Hindu* 5 Jan. 1943 — Withdrawal of Press facilities for not publishing honours list

*The Hindu* — (I.C.W.A. Library)

*January 5, 1943*

*Withdrawal of Press facilities; permit to visit scenes of air raids cancelled*

Madras Jan. 4 For not publishing the New Year Honours list, in addition to the withdrawal

of press facilities to them at secretariat, the Madras Govt. have cancelled the identification cards issued to the representatives of the news papers concerned for visiting scenes of air raids.

# 14: Excerpts from *Andhra Patrika* 6 Jan. 1943 (daily newspaper in Telegu, Madras) – Chimur Incidents

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 237

[TNA]

6 January 1943

The following is a translation of the comment on the Chimur incidents in '*Andhra Patrika*'

The demand for an enquiry into the incidents at Chimur in the Central provinces has become a national demand. Since it was alleged that the police and the Military used not only force in excess but also behaved immorally by raping some women in connection with their putting down the riots that took place at Chimur on the 16th August, some leaders and almost all the nationalist newspapers demanded the appointment of an enquiry committee with a view to know the truth or otherwise in the allegations. Dr Moonje said that there was need to make an enquiry taking evidence from many people and asked for an opportunity to do so. But the Govt. of the C.P. issued a communique on the 16th October stating therein that all the people cited by Dr Moonje would not tender unbiased evidence and that there was no need for an enquiry. But the people still demand an enquiry. But the C.P. Govt. remarked in their communique that the allegations made against the police and the Military are unfounded and cannot therefore be believed in and that there was no need for the appointment of an enquiry committee. The C.P. Govt. may be satisfied that the reasons assigned by them in this communique are more sound than those they had advanced in their communique dated the 16th October. But it is all a delusion. This time they have examined the opinions expressed in his judgment by the special judge appointed to try the cases arising out of the riots and the opinions expressed by the appellate authority in his judgment to reinforce their Defence. The appellate judge agreed with the Special judge in the opinion that the evidence given by 73 witnesses on behalf of the accused was not believable. He appears to have believed that these witnesses came only to help the accused and that therefore they could not be believed. That means to say that their evidence was all cooked up evidence. The Govt. Communique states that there was no need for an enquiry that the evidence taken in support of the Govt. decision had been taken on oath before Magistrate and that it was evidence given both by officials and non-official unconnected with the police and the Military. Comment upon this is needless. The people are aware as to how much value can be set on the oaths taken in Courts. The reasons set out by the Govt. to refuse an enquiry into the allegations of the raping of women, are not only surprising but are also painful. The Communique says [Here is quoted the portion relating to the allegations in question and the Govts conclusions]. The communique indicated that the women made such complaints only to shield the accused with whom they were related some way or other so that no injustice was done to them. On top of this, they say that the 6th complainant belongs to a respectable family. Do they mean by this that the others do not belong to respectable families and that therefore their evidence should not be believed in or that though injustice was done to them it would not matter? But, do they care at least for the respect of the lady who belongs to a respectable family? No. She alleged that the injustice was done to her own daughter. They remarked that the daughter herself did not complain. If the Govt.

are not inclined to make an enquiry they may say so. But, are not ashamed to say that they have not made an enquiry for the aforesaid reasons? It must be said that they are not aware of the mind of the Hindu women. They give up even their lives for their honour. They cannot make the allegation that they are as dishonoured to save some of their relatives from punishment. They would not say so even though they believe by doing so they could save their husbands from severe punishment. That the C P. Govt. could not have understood this small matter as evidenced from their communique cannot but be a matter for surprise

## 15 Special Press Advisor, Government of Madras, to the Convener, Madras Advisory Committee – Chimur Incidents

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 237

[TNA]

Confidential – Government of Madras. Public (Press) Department. No. 5898/42-8. Chetpat, Madras, 7th January 1943.

To  
The Convener, Madras press advisory Committee.

Sir,

Chimur disturbances – agitation for enquiry – Fast undertaken by Professor Bhansali publication of news – Resolution passed by the Madras Press Advisory Committee at one meeting held on 7-1-1943.

I am directed to state that Government have received information that the condition of Professor Bhansall is critical and to request that should his death eventuate, news relating to it should not as agreed to by the Madras Press Advisory Committee, be published in banner headlines or in any other prominent manner, and that any other matter such as comments and notices of his life and activities should not be published without press-advice. I am therefore to request you to address newspapers in this province to this effect. The resolution of the press Advisory Committee regarding the subject is enclosed.<sup>1</sup>

A list of important newspapers in the City of Madras is enclosed for reference.<sup>2</sup> Yours faithfully,

Information Officer & Special Press Adviser.

1 Doc 18

2 Not printed



## 16: News item in *The Hindu* 7 Jan. 1943 – One day hartal by news papers

*The Hindu* – (ICWA Library)

Jan. 7, 1943

One day hartal by Newspapers – Countrywide response; Mr Sahni's statement

New Delhi, Jan. 4, Mr J.N. Sahni, Secretary, All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, has issued the following statement.

'Nearly 100 dailies, weeklies, etc. have decided in response to the call of the Standing Committee of AINEC to suspend publication of all issues on Jan. 6 as fixed by Mr K. Srinivasan, President of AINEC. They have also put into operation other parts of the Bombay Resolution. The following provincial committees have hitherto passed resolutions endorsing the decision of the standing Committee, at Bombay.

Information has been received from over 20 newspapers to the Secretary's office, either directly or through their provincial committees of their having decided to suspend publication on January 6'.

## 17: Government of Madras to the Government of India regarding stopping government advertisements to certain newspapers

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 12  
[TNA]

D.O. No. 909-1

Dated 7-1-1943

### Newspapers – Publication of Govt. advertisements

With reference to your to your Telegram No. 4/M dated the 6th Jan.<sup>1</sup> In regard to publication of Govt. Advertisements in certain newspapers that carried out a boycott of Govt. News, I am to say that at the instance of the Financial Adviser, necessary orders have already been issued in G.O. No. 12 Pub. (Genl) d/6-1-1943, a copy of which is enclosed<sup>2</sup> for information.

A.J. Bhatt, Esq., I.C.S. P.S.G.,

Signed (illegible)  
7-1-43

1 Not printed.

2 Not printed.

# 18. Proceedings of the meeting of the Madras Provincial Press Advisory Committee

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 237  
[TNA]

7.1.1943

Meeting of the Madras Provincial Press Advisory Committee held at the Chief Secretariat, on Thursday, 7th January 1943.

## *Present*

1. S.V. Ramamurti Esq., C.I.E.I.C.S Chief Secretary to Government.
2. Sri V.S. Ramaswami Sastri, Information officer & Special Press Advisor.
3. Sri C.R. Srinivasan, Editor, *Swadesamitran* & Convener.
4. Sri K.P. Viswanathan, Asst. Editor, *The Hindu*.
5. Sri R. Goenka, Editor *Indian Express*.
6. Sri S.V. Swami, Editor, *Free press*.
7. Sri Shambu Prasad, Editor, *Andhra Patrika*
8. A.A. Hayles Esq., Editor, *Madras Mail*.

## *Proceeding*

- I. This Committee does not desire any widening of the terms of the formula adopted by the standing Committee and accepted by the Madras Government. If individual cases which, in the view of Government should be dealt with, the Committee is prepared to consider such cases on merits. The use of the word 'alarming' to qualify publication of news introduces an uncertain element of opinion in judging news on which opinions are bound to vary.
- II. A formal warning may be issued to *Deshabhimani*.
- III. The Committee is of the view that whenever editors of newspapers feel that the request of the Government for withholding of Bhansali news trenches on editorial responsibility for giving the public factual news, such matter should be submitted for press advice before publication.

(The Convener may be addressed about publication of news of Bhansali's death should it eventuate. The Committee agree that Convener should address papers not to give banner head lines or publish news of his death in any other prominent manner and to submit comment or obituary notices for press advice.)



## 19: Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy about the Press<sup>1</sup>

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2336, New Delhi]

Calcutta, January 11, 1943

Dear Linlithgow

[*Omitted*: Paragraphs 1–4, dealing with the Viceroy's visit to Calcutta, air raids and the labour situation. Only paragraphs 5 and 6, dealing with the press are quoted here – Ed.]

5. I have already written to you as to the need of better local accounts of air raids in the Press. It has proved exceptionally exasperating to the men in the street here – particularly if bombs have fallen in the street – to find all his news on the subject headed 'New Delhi' or 'Cawnpore', and even more so when news so headed can fairly be described as inaccurate or callous. I cannot help thinking that the suppression in the Delhi issue of the 'Statesman' of the leading article entitled 'Bad Bungling', which appeared in the Calcutta issue of the 29th December, was unfortunate as suggesting that no criticism is permitted.

6. *Statesman* – At the same time, the general attitude of the 'Statesman' is far from satisfactory, and I feel that Stephen,<sup>1</sup> the present acting Editor, is not suitable for the job. He lacks many of the attributes of the perfect editor, being unduly sensitive to press criticism, unable to smell out items of news value or public interest and surprisingly inept at availing himself of official contacts so readily available to him here and elsewhere for obtaining 'background'. He actually confessed to me that he was seriously considering the observance of the 'hartal' proposed for January 6th by the Editors' Conference in Bombay, as he believed in the 'solidarity of the press'. I naturally put my views pretty bluntly and also sent for Richardson<sup>2</sup> immediately. Although the *Statesman* was in fact published on the 'hartal' day, neither Richardson nor Stephens seemed to appreciate the enormity of the very idea of suspending publication, as shown in the paper's 'Occasional Notes' of January 8th.

Yours sincerely,

J.A. Herbert

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<sup>1</sup> See document 23 below for the Viceroy's reply.

## 20: News item in *The Hindu* 13 Jan. 1943 Prof. Bhansali breaks fast

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 237

[TNA]

Nagpur, Jan 12 The news of settlement between Professor Bhansali and the C.P. Government leading to the former undertaking to break his fast was announced by Mr Jayaratnam, Chief



Secretary to the C.P. Government at a special Press Conference today. Mr Jayaratnam said the order issued under the Defence of India Rules banning publication of all news about Professor Bhansali on December 12 last has been withdrawn.

The Chief Secretary added that following the settlement between Professor Bhansali and the Government of C.P., the former broke his fast in the afternoon.

The terms of the formula reached are contained in an official communique.

It is understood that the C P. Government has informed all the other Provincial Governments of its decision.

The settlement was the result of the negotiations carried on by Dr N.B. Khare between the C.P. Govt. and Dr Bhansali.

The negotiations were carried on in a spirit of 'let by-gones' and vigilant watch for the future. Mention must also be made of the sympathetic and helpful attitude shown by His Excellency Sir Henry Twynam, the Governor.

The Government have allowed the publication of the letter written by Dr Khare to Prof. Bhansali and the latter's reply along with the Government communique.

### **Government Communique**

The communique says:

The Government welcomes the efforts which have been made to bring about a solution of the difficulties arising from the Chimur incidents and states that there was no intention on the part of the Government to attribute any ulterior motive to the women of Chimur generally and that the Government attaches and has always attached the greatest importance to the maintenance of discipline among the military and police engaged in the restoration of order and considers that respect for the honour of women and their protection from molestation is and shall be the first essential of good discipline.

Dr Khare, in his letter to Prof. Bhansali, says that the C.P. Government will issue a communique (text given above) and assures Prof. Bhansali that the ban on the Press relating to Chimur and the Bhansali affair will be removed, that the two letters and the Government communique will be published simultaneously in the Press and that restriction, if any, on visitors to Chimur will be removed. Dr Khare further gives the assurance that Mr Aney will join Prof. Bhansali in his visit to Chimur and suggests that the demand for a public enquiry may not be pursued in view of the difficulty of identification after this lapse of time.

Prof. Bhansali, in his reply, says that, in view of the reason given by Dr Khare, he agrees to drop the demand for an enquiry and break his fast. He states: 'As a man devoted to a religious life, I have always felt that molestation of even a single woman is a crime not only against society but against God. In fact, it has been given to me to communicate this feeling to others, may be in a small measure. I am, therefore beholden to God that He made me the instrument of awakening conscience on so vital a question as the honour of women'.

Professor Bhansali broke his fast on the sixty-third day. Until last night, he had given up even drinking water. The fast was undertaken on the Chimur issue.



## 21: News item in *The Hindu* 16 Jan 1943 — Censorship of Press messages

*The Hindu* — [ICWA Library]

### **Censorship of Press Messages Restrictions on News Going Abroad**

New Delhi Jan. 14 — The delay of several hours releasing to the press here, the Nagpur messages conveying the terms of the Khare Bhansali correspondence has caused some astonishment. Equally difficult to understand is the sensitiveness of the censorship authorities in regard to messages going abroad. No reference has been permitted to the fact that Prof. Bhansali broke his fast as a result of a settlement with the C.P. Govt. Similarly reference to Mr Nehru's letters addressed to his daughter not being delivered under the instruction of the U.P. Govt. was deleted from a message sent to the Manchester Guardian by its correspondent; it was also considered undesirable to point out the great disparity in the wages of these state labourers between Assam and Ceylon. Anything which seems embarrassing either to the Govt. or British vested interests comes under the convenient plea of information of likely value to the enemy — F.C.C.

## 22: Editorial in *People's War* (weekly magazine of the C.P.I.) dt 24 Jan. 1943

*People's War*  
[NMML]

Editorial

### **Rally for a Free Press**

The withdrawal of hunger-strike by Prof. Bhansali rings the curtain down on one of the episodes which will be long remembered in the struggle for the liberty and independence of the Press in this country. For it was on the issue of Prof. Bhansali's fast that the Government and the Indian Press came into open clash, leading to the powerful press hartal of January 6th and the black-out of certain categories of Government news by the most influential sections of the Indian Press.

The ground for this crisis was laid by Government's hostile and irresponsible policy.

The national crisis of August 9th threw the bureaucracy into panic. Again the liberty of the Press was the first casualty. This time the bureaucracy acted with vengeance, doing its best to humiliate the press for its refusal to play a subservient role. Finding that the press could not be bought over for a one-sided condemnation of the Civil Disobedience Movement, the Government chose to put undreamt of restrictions on its freedom.

The Government deliberately ignored the Advisory Committees. It flouted the Delhi Agreement. It imposed registration of correspondents which was designed to bring them completely under the control of local officials, it imposed pre-censorship of news relating to

the 'mass movement'. Through compulsory press advising and scrutiny, the Government attempted to control not only the publication but also the character of factual news.

Several newspapers closed down rather than submit to these humiliating and tyrannical conditions. The press as a whole refused to be browbeaten and intimidated. It knew it was on trial. It was aware, that only solidarity and courage could save it. Through its president it plainly told the Government: 'The press cannot abdicate its responsibility as the guardian of public interests and of the rights of citizens.' It demanded the withdrawal of these medieval restrictions.

The Government of India realised that not to make a gesture of conciliation was to invite sure trouble. At the same time, it was not in a mood to withdraw all restrictions. It, therefore, withdrew its notorious notification of August 8 declaring that provincial Governments were free to devise ways and means of dealing with the Press.

A number of provincial Governments utilised this opportunity to continue the war unabated. The Central Provinces Government came out with an order on December 12th banning all news about Prof. Bhansali, who had gone on hunger-strike in connection with the Chimur incidents. On recommendation from the C.P. Government, the Bombay Government passed similar orders besides prohibiting the mention of notorious notifications.

This was the last straw. It was a brazen-faced attempt to control factual news; to bureaucratically decide which news shall appear in the papers and which shall not. Thus no liberty whatsoever was lost to the Press.

The Press could not be expected to tolerate this attempt to extinguish all liberty. On December 18th, Bombay papers suspended publication for a day in protest. This was followed by the decision of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspapers' Editors' Conference to suspend publication on January 6th and also all Government House Circulars, New Years' Honours Lists and all statements of officials, except those parts which related to decisions of policy etc.

This was the first time that the Indian Press was hitting back in defence of its interests. It was no longer afraid of Government pressure or intimidation. It was not afraid of financial pressure. The various newspapers no longer considered themselves to be merely financial concerns, but national institutions pledged to defend the nation and the people.

Never was there such a powerful demonstration of press solidarity. The direct link between national struggle and liberty of the Press was never so clear as now.

The black-out of Government news was so successful and the Press solidarity so strong that Government realised the danger of driving the Press into open rebellion. Not one paper supported Government's retaliatory actions. All papers, irrespective of their views regarding political events, demonstrated unprecedented unanimity on the question of Press restrictions and vindictive official actions.

The crisis would have developed into a major crisis had the Government not found a way out. The withdrawal of orders concerning Prof. Bhansali temporarily removed the immediate cause of the conflict, and, things appeared to have returned to normal.

But this is only the appearance. The Press has no doubt come out victorious and strong since its demonstration of solidarity and the one-day hartal. The Provincial bureaucrats will think twice before attacking the Press in this crude fashion again. Yet all the old restrictions remain. Not one has been lifted.

Restrictions vary according to the whims of the local bureaucrats, who try to reduce the Advisory Committees to a farce. They impose even pre-censorship orders, as in the case of

'Hindustan Times', without giving any reasons. They make it difficult for the press to defend the rights and liberties of the Indian people.

Only vigilance and more solidarity will save the press from these humiliating restrictions. The Press must first demand a uniform and co-ordinated policy directed from the centre. The Press must take the initiative from the hands of the local bureaucrat whose arrogance is only matched by his ignorance of world affairs. The Advisory Committees must become strong democratic organs whose advice the Government must find it difficult to disregard. Pressmen to whatever party they belong must join the All-India Newspapers' Editors Conference to make it stronger still.

The people owe a responsibility in this connection. The attacks against the Press have not invoked that indignation which they ought to have. They must know that the Press is one of the agencies of freedom, and has to be supported as part of the national struggle. Its attacks against the Press unite all parties in defence of Press liberties, even the Government of India will find it difficult to ride rough-shod over the rights of the Indian Press.

## 23: The Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

(453–G.G. 42)

New Delhi,

(Confidential)

The Viceroy's House,

*January 24th 1943.*

My dear Herbert,

Many thanks for your letter of 11th January.<sup>1</sup> I am most grateful for all the information it contains about the general position in Bengal, and I read with particular interest what you said about the reaction of Bengal to the Japanese raids. We might all of us have expected the first actual raids to test the arrangements pretty severely, and I think that broadly speaking, we may be pretty well satisfied with the way things have gone. That the experience of the first raid was of value has, I think, been clearly shown by the way things have gone during the second series of raids while the effect on morale of the really admirable performance of the Air Force in bringing down so big a percentage of the raiders must have been very great indeed. I am sure that you and those of your officers who have worked so hard over A.R.P. in Calcutta must feel satisfied that the time and energy devoted to preparation has been shown to have been so well spent.

2. I think we have got this business of reporting of air raids pretty clear now. I quite understand and appreciate what you say in paragraph 5 of your letter. As for the *Statesman* business Kirchner<sup>2</sup> has, I understand, had a further lengthy protest from Stephens about the 'Bad Bungling' article which he has shown to Laithwaite.<sup>3</sup> I was not myself consulted about the Press advising of that leader, but, I understand, it was Press advised, not in any way

because it reflected on what Srivastava may have said at Cawnpore on Bengal but because the military authorities were definitely of the opinion that certain of the statements in it about the reactions in Calcutta were dangerous from a military point of view. For your own information I am given to understand that they would not have passed the article for publication in Calcutta for the same reason. But I agree with you of course, that it is most important to avoid any misunderstanding which would lead the people to believe that we were anxious to suppress legitimate criticism where an important member of Government was concerned.

3. As we are on that point let me only say that I quite share your view and sympathise with it about the attitude of the *Statesman* and, I fear, about Stephens' adequacy for the acting Editorship. I have touched briefly of the matter in my personal correspondence with Amery; though I have added that as we have had such excellent co-operation from Catto\* over the much more difficult and delicate case of Moore,\* I hardly feel justified in asking for pressure now to be brought upon him over Stephens. But it is a very unsatisfactory position that a paper that ought to be in a position to give a lead of real value to the Indian as well as to the European community over so large a portion of the country should now, for very many months have been either entirely silent on the general political position or (as in Moore's time) positively dangerous and misleading.

Yours Sincerely,

Linlithgow

Doc 19

## 24: P.C. Joshi, General Secretary, CPI to the Home Member

File No. 41/6/42 - Home Poll (I)

[AI]

The Home Member  
Government of India.

On lifting ban on import of Communist Literature, books, periodicals into India and the reprint thereof

Sir,

You are aware that the Government of India has for several years past banned the import of Communist literature, Communist periodicals and the organs of the Communist International and the Communist Parties of various countries.

These bans have been in the form of prohibitions under the Sea Customs Act, and by Specific orders proscribing certain books, pamphlets, etc.

In view of the changed conditions both nationally and international'y, I request you to lift the ban on all Communist literature generally and in particular bans, prohibitions or proscriptions of the following:

1. All publications of Messrs. Lawrence Wishart, publishers, London;
2. *Labour Monthly* London;
3. *Communist International*, the organ of the Communist International;
4. All literature published by the Communist International and the several Communist parties of the world;
5. The organs of the various Communist Parties, in particular,
  - a) *Daily Worker* (New York)
  - b) *Daily Worker* (London)
  - c) *New Masses* (New York)
  - d) *World News & Views* (London)
6. All publications of Messrs. International Publishers (New York);
7. *India Today*, a book by Rajani Palme Dutt.
8. Publications of Messrs. Martin Lawrence Co. (London)
9. All publications by the Foreign Languages Publishing House (Moscow)
10. All publications by the Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R. (Moscow)
11. All publication of the Left Book Club (London).

Yours truly,

P.C. Joshi  
General Secretary,  
Communist Party of India

## 25. Gandhiji's Fast – Day by day report in *Bharat Jyoti* – Excerpts (10 Feb. to 26 Feb. 1942)

Jayakar Collection, File No. 527

[NAI]

February 10 Mahatma Gandhi commenced a 21-day fast at 8 a.m. after a special prayer which was attended by all the inmates of the Aga Khan's palace (No Government communique on Gandhiji's health).

February 11 Well and cheerful till Gandhiji retired to bed (No Government communique).

February 12 Condition reported to be as good as it could be on the 3rd day of the fast. Mahatmaji gives up his daily walks. (No Government communique).

### Official Communiques

February 13 'Although Gandhiji has had some trouble with nausea and in consequence disturbed sleep, his general condition is as satisfactory as can be expected on the fourth day of the fast.'

February 14 'Mr Gandhi continues to be troubled with nausea and broken sleep and his condition is not so satisfactory as yesterday'.

February 15 'Mr Gandhi has found some difficulty in taking water and had rather restless day on Sunday. His condition has shown some deterioration.

February 16 'During the past 24 hours Mr Gandhi's condition has further deteriorated.'

February 17 'Mahatma Gandhi had a better day on the whole of Tuesday but his general condition continues to cause anxiety.

February 18 'Although Mahatma Gandhi had a total of 9 hours sleep, he is not refreshed nor mentally alert. There is other evidence of uremia which is progressive. The heart action is feebler. Anxiety as to his condition deepens'.

February 19 'Mr Gandhi's sleep was broken, as he was troubled by excessive salivation. Nevertheless, he is a little more interested in his surroundings today. There is little change in the general condition except increasing weakness.'

February 20 'Mr Gandhi's condition has changed considerably for the worse. His condition is very grave.'

February 21 'Mr Gandhi had a bad day yesterday and only four and half hours' sleep at night. During the day he is apathetic and at times drowsy. Heart sounds are weak and volume of the pulse small. He is extremely weak so that even the swallowing of water exhausts him. He drank forty ounces of water mixed with two ounces of sour lime as usual. He is too weak to be weighed but has lost 14 pounds up to 19th instant. The Uraemic condition deepens, and if the fast is not ended without delay, it may be too late to save his life.'

February 22 'After a restless day on the 21st Mr Gandhi entered a crisis at 4 p.m. He was seized with severe nausea and almost fainted and the pulse became nearly imperceptible. Later he was able to take water mixed with sweet lime juice. He rallied from the crisis and slept for about five and a half hours. Today is the day of silence. He appears comfortable and more cheerful. The heart is weaker.'

February 23 'Mr Gandhi had only broken sleep during the night but has dozed off during the day. He appears comfortable. There is no appreciable change to record.'

February 24 'Mr Gandhi's general condition shows a slight improvement. The uraemic symptoms are less prominent. He is cheerful and his strength shows no further deterioration.'

February 25 'Mr Gandhi has made no further progress. There is no appreciable change in his condition. Following the crisis on Sunday the 21st, nausea compelled him to drink sweet lime juice and water. This was continued on Monday and Tuesday and good results were manifested. On Wednesday he reduced the quantity considerably as he wishes to take the minimum quantity, enabling him to drink water.

February 26 'Mr Gandhi's condition show no appreciable change.'

## 26: News item in *The Hindu* 14 Feb. 1943 restriction on headlines of news on Gandhi's fast

*The Hindu* - [ICWA Library]

*Order served on Delhi paper - Restrictions on headlines of news*

New Delhi. Feb. The Chief Commissioner, Delhi has served an order under the Defence of India Rules on the *Hindustan Times* inter alia restricting the size of the type and headlines of news regarding Mahatma Gandhi's fast.

## 27: News item in *The Hindu* 19 Feb. 1943

*The Hindu* – [ICWA Library]

*Censoring of news about the fast*

### *Editors' Committee Protest*

The Standing Committee of the AINEC commenced its sitting today at 11 a.m. in the premises of the H.T. under the presidency of Mr K. Srinivasan.

The Standing Committee passed a resolution urging 'the Govt. of India to release Mahatma Gandhi unconditionally and immediately to enable him as a free man to help in the restoration of peaceful conditions'.

Mr Ian Stephens, acting editor of the Statesman dissented from the resolution.

Explaining his dissent, Mr Ian Stephens emphasised that he held strong personal views on the propriety of fasting on political issues; his dissent should not be regarded as necessarily reflecting the views of other British owned newspapers in India.

The Standing Committee has passed the following resolutions:

This meeting of the Standing Committee is of the opinion that in view of the restoration of normal conditions in Bihar, the order of suppression passed in August last by the Govt. of Bihar on the *Searchlight* of Patna be rescinded and that such an action will materially help in ending deadlock in Bihar.

This meeting of the Standing Committee urges that all relevant information about Gandhi's fast be incorporated daily in the bulletin which should be issued over the signatures of medical men in attendance, and full facilities be afforded to the press to publish adequate objective details about the fast from bonafide representatives.

The Standing Committee deprecates the tendency among some Provincial Govts to impose censorship and other statutory restrictions on editorial discretion and urges the Govt. of India to impress upon the Provincial Govts the fact that such restrictions constitute a violation of the Delhi agreement, especially as in the Bombay Resolution, editors are called upon to avoid the publication of anything which may irritate the public to subversive activity or convey suggestions or instructions for illegal acts or as an exaggerated report or unfounded allegation regarding the treatment and condition of detenus and prisoners. Such restriction should not be imposed and where they have been imposed it should be withdrawn.

This meeting of Standing Committee records its emphatic protest against the heavy censorship of news and comments, both internal and foreign regarding Mahatma Gandhi's fast, preventing a correct picture of the situation in the country being presented in India and outside.

The President has addressed a letter to the Govt. of India on behalf of St. Committee regarding press restrictions in general and relating to the issue arising out of the action against the Hindustan Times





## 28: News item *The Hindu* 28 Feb. 1943

*The Hindu* – [ICWA Library]

### **Reports of Fast not Press Advised**

Bombay Feb. 27. The Govt. of Bombay has served an order on the keeper of the *Janmabhoomi* Mudranalaya declaring the press to be forfeited to his Majesty because the issue of *Janmabhoomi* dated Feb. 25 and the issues of *Nutangujarat*, dated Feb. 25 and 26 printed in the above press published reports regarding the progress of fast commenced by Mahatma Gandhi without submitting them for scrutiny by the provincial press Adviser and the special Adviser, Bombay – API

## 29: Editorial in *People's War* – 'Stop Massacre of Press Liberties'

*People's War* – Vol. No. 35  
[NMML]

Editorial

7 March 1943

### **Stop Massacre of Press Liberties**

During the critical days of Gandhiji's fast the bureaucracy imposed the most atrocious and humiliating restrictions on the Press.

No news, no editorials, comments concerning the fast could be written without the previous approval of the Press Adviser. The hated pre-censorship, the most humiliating order extinguishing even formal independence of the press was imposed throughout India.

The bureaucracy had not dared in the past to black out independent news concerning the Mahatma. This time it banned every independent expression when Mahatma's life was in danger. The Press was forbidden to raise its voice to save the life of the nation's foremost leader or to demand his release. It was denied the right to lead public opinion and express public feelings. It was forbidden to assess impartially the developments leading to the fast and was categorically told that to suggest that the Government was responsible for the fast was a breach of law.

Several newspapers refused to write editorials rather than humiliate Gandhiji and themselves before the press Adviser. The entire Press protested against these restrictions as an unjustified and wanton breach of the agreement between the Press and the Government.

The bureaucracy, however was determined to muzzle the Press still more. In Bengal at a Press Conference on 23rd February, the Additional Secretary warned the Press against editorial comments of Gandhiji's fast. Com. P.C. Joshi's statement on Gandhiji was banned in to, a local paper was warned for publishing the summary of the Assembly Proceedings on release Gandhiji debate.

In Bombay forfeiture orders were passed against a big nationalist Press for publishing uncensored news concerning the fast.

By shutting out the voice of the Independent Press, at the most critical and anxious time, the bureaucrats had put a premium on Axis- and Saigaon Radio, on panic and rumour and had brought the verge of disaster. One shudders to think what would have happened if the fast had proved fatal.

The right of the Press to lead public opinion to express independent comment has to be assisted as important weapons in the anti-fascist war as weapons to build people's morale as past of national freedom itself. Only the united might of the people and the Press can compel the imprudent bureaucrats to show greater respect to the liberties of press in India. What is immediately required is complete unity of the entire Press irrespective of political affiliations, for this is an issue which affects the freedom of all. The Congress and the league and even the Anglo Indian Press must vigorously combine if they wish to make India and the world safe for democracy and freedom.

## 30: Governments attitude towards the Press in India (extracts from C.L.A. debates) – 8.3.1943

C.L.A. Debates – Vol. I, 1943

[NMML]

**Mr T.T. Krishnamachari:** Sir, I move:

... 'That the demand under the head Executive Council be reduced Rs 100.'

The object of this cut motion is not in any sense to make the position of the Press in India more difficult than what it is. Sir, the Press in this country has come to such a stage that its utility to the people of the country is getting progressively more and more limited and the people are vitally interested in having a Press which enjoys a large measure of freedom in the matter of giving news and in keeping the public informed. The House is aware that in India, in six provinces, there is now no popular Government functioning. The House is also aware that by reason of circumstances that have developed since last August ban on public meetings is fairly extensive. It exists in practice in every province and so far as my province is concerned there is no place where public meetings can be held in order to ventilate the people's grievances which are largely of a political character. Under these circumstances one naturally feels that a further restriction in the shape of press restrictions drives the people as it were to a sense of frustration. That is certainly not good for India, not good for its rulers. Nor is it good for the war effort. I shall, before I finish, make some suggestions with regard to how this matter can be tackled but I do believe that as the subject is one which is not very well known to the House and as the House is perhaps not conversant with the various situations which developed since November, 1940, in the matter of the relations between the Press and the Government, that the whole position has got to be reviewed in this House. The beginning of the relationship between the Press and the Government arose from an organisation set up in November, 1940, when the Conference of Editors of all India newspapers met in Delhi. As a result of that an agreement was arrived at between the Government and the newspapers called the Delhi agreement. There are two specific points in regard to the Delhi agreement

which I believe the House should know. One was that the Editors of newspapers on their part offered support for the war effort, qualified perhaps in the sense that they promised to do nothing to impede it and on the part of Government a categorical assurance was furnished to the Editors that the Government will do nothing to stifle normal political activity. But since the date of the agreement, there has been continuous trouble. The Delhi agreement received the blessing of the highest authority in this country and I believe that letters were sent to every Provincial Government to the effect that they must do their best to respect this agreement, so that the atmosphere in which it started was good but later on in the process of working the agreement, there was systematic and deliberate violation of the agreement in every instance on the Government side. The real trouble about the agreement seems to have been the unwillingness of the Provincial Governments to observe it and act upon it. So far as the Central Government was concerned, its views then were apparently completely in accord with the views of the Editors' Conference. It was the Provincial Governments that were not willing to give their support to the Delhi agreement. One of the provinces that set the ball rolling in this respect happens to be the United Provinces where the persecution of the *National Herald* and the *Sainik* was started. It was felt even by the Editors of papers which could not be said to profess extreme political views, by Editors of Anglo-Indian papers that the U.P. Government never concealed their dislike of the Delhi agreement and were not willing to accept the agreement.

I would like the House to remember at the same time that November 1940 was the time when the first civil disobedience campaign was in operation. The Honourable the Home Member in another connection drew the attention of the House to the first civil disobedience campaign and the Delhi agreement was inaugurated and carried on successfully at a time when normal political activity was in a state of suspended animation and consequently there was a certain amount of strain in the matter of relationship between the Government and the public. But there is one factor which the House should not lose sight of. It was that though there had been an agreement between the Editors and the Government the Government by reason of the fact that it had a scheme of Press control through a Chief Press Adviser in Delhi and Special Press Advisers in the provinces was able effectively to control the news that passed through the news agencies. So, except such papers as had their own particular service organisation, the news agencies furnished only such news that the Government of India wanted them to furnish. That is a point that has to be noted because the question of censorship, the Government doling out the news which the people have got to believe in was introduced. There is another point which I would like the House to note. The advice of the Special Press Advisers has always been voluntary and no paper was really compelled to accept it. But in the provinces trouble was caused because of the fact that a particular Editor did not accept the advice of the Press Adviser and executive action was taken against him. Legally, no action was taken because such instances are not questions of the violation of any law. But Editors who chose to brush aside the advice of the Press Adviser were always subjected to harassment by the executive. That was how the system broke down in the provinces. The system continued through various vicissitudes until May, 1942, and after the break-down of the Cripps Mission I think the Government of India first set the ball rolling in openly discarding the Delhi agreement. I want the House to mark this that a revision in the working of the Delhi agreement did not synchronise with the so-called inauguration of the civil disobedience movement in August, 1942. And the All-India Newspapers Editors Conference, I am told, had been definitely told that there has come a time when the original understanding has got to be revised because

the time at which that understanding was arrived at was less pressing. The Government were good enough to say that in the main the Editors observed the agreement and only a few of them really did not co-operate to the same extent. After paying lip sympathy to the co-operation received from the Editors Conference, what the Government of India did want was that the arrangement should be set aside and that Provincial Governments should be given power to overrule the usual method of consulting the Advisory Committees before taking action. That, Sir, was the beginning of the trouble, the trouble that has been systematically continued since May, 1942.

The House is well aware that further restrictions were imposed on the press subsequent to August, 1942. In the press note issued on the 10th August, 1942, the Government made it clear that they had no desire to suppress news and they were not unmindful of the Delhi agreement and the atmosphere in which it worked. But, then, Sir, came the question of registration of correspondents by newspapers and this question was dealt with in various ways by various provinces. At the same time, on the 11th August the then Member in charge of Information and Broadcasting, Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, expressed on behalf of the Government that arising out of the situation that was in existence on August 22, 1942, the Government did not feel that they should stifle papers which were supporting normal political activity. It is very difficult to describe now or in August, 1942, what is normal political activity and what is not unless it be that the making of speeches in this House is the only normal political activity in which we can indulge. From that day started the trouble and various restrictions were imposed by the Provincial Governments and there has been a systematic harassment of papers in various provinces. I would like the House to mark this. The restrictions imposed are of this nature. The Special Press Advisers in various provinces had sent circulars detailing the restrictions imposed. I would like to tell the House what the Bombay Press Adviser did because he behaved in quite a different manner from other Press Advisers. The Bombay Press Adviser in a circular dated the 13th August said that no registration of correspondents was required so far as the city of Bombay was concerned but the newspapers should not publish anything about conditions in jails, details of trials and allegations of police severity. That is the crux of the whole problem. We have been pleading in this House at any rate ever since I came here, about the police excesses and about severity in jails. Questions were asked and various other devices were adopted to bring these facts to the notice of the Government. How are we to tell the Government what our grievances are? You cannot have public meetings. You know there are no popular Governments in six provinces and there these Governments think that whatever they do is right. Needless to say, the sense of frustration amongst the people grows with the growth in number of reports of harassment in jails and acts of police aggression since no authentic report about the occurrences was forthcoming in the Press. The newspapers are prohibited these news even to a limited extent.

The position that came into being was followed by a regular crusade against newspapers. Bihar is one of the worst instances. So far as the United Provinces is concerned, the *National Herald* had already stopped its publication. In Bihar the *Search Light* was asked to stop publication and no reason was given. The other English paper — the *Indian Nation* — owned by the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, who, I have no doubt, gives much of his time and money to war effort, stopped publication because the publication of the paper could not be pursued under these conditions. Two Hindi dailies stopped and Hindi weekly also stopped publication. The Government has now started their own paper. They have started an English and a Vernacular paper. So far as the Punjab is concerned although it enjoys provincial

autonomy, in a way there has been trouble there too. So far as Bengal is concerned, the publication of the *Star of India* was suspended for one week and the latest victim is the Vernacular paper in Bombay Janam Bhumi. In Bombay that press was confiscated merely because some news in addition to what the Press Adviser allowed was published with regard to Mahatma Gandhi. Whether the news was of a character which was inaccurate or which tended to excite people, nobody has been told but it seems that by some queer act, whether by an apology or otherwise, the order has since been rescinded. So far as Delhi is concerned, we all know here the history of the Hindustan Times. *The Hindustan Times* has been in trouble since August last. The House knows that in August last, the editor of *The Hindustan Times* was arrested merely because he did not follow the order of the Special Press Adviser to confine the news of the Congress civil disobedience movement as they called it to two columns. But when the Editor was released, further orders were issued by the Press Adviser and that paper suspended publication. Sir, the paper revived again after what was called the Bombay Conference's resolution was accepted by Government. The Honourable the Home Member made it quite clear when an adjournment motion was moved in this House that this particular paper did not really keep within the terms of the resolution of the Bombay Conference. Sir, the Bombay Conference's resolution is nothing but a reiteration of the Delhi resolution. At the Bombay Conference the Editors agreed that they should avoid the publication of anything which may incite the public to subversive activity; or convey suggestions or instructions for illegal acts, or is an exaggerated report or unfounded allegation with regard to the excessive use or misuse of their powers by the police. In fact, the Bombay Conference did not materially alter the various instruction issued to the press to stop publication after the Provincial Governments accepted the Bombay resolution. *The Search Light* of Bihar is still banned. As regards the *Hindustan Times* after it has announced its intention to resume publication, after the Bombay Conference resolution was accepted by the Government, the trouble started again over the publication of news in connection with Bhansali's fast and precentorship over certain type of news and comments thereon was imposed. Further restrictions were imposed as a result of the banner headlines that appeared in the paper about Mahatma Gandhi's fast. The first day's headlines were, it was said excusable. The second day's headlines were considered to be an offence. On the top of it the allegation was the omission in the correspondence between Gandhiji and Government of a sentence which was considered absolutely important. Sir, one does not feel that there was anything in the paper against which action could be taken by the Government. Restrictions are still there, nothing has been done to remove them though the circumstances to meet which they were imposed have ceased to exist. That is the whole position. I would like to ask the Government to consider how and whether that relationship with the Press is going to be changed. I believe the Government can do it. It is true Government has opportunities of dealing with Editors themselves and they can, therefore, come to some agreement whenever there is a dispute. Then comes another important question and here I would like to add one more instance and it is this: Telephone orders were sent to the Hindustan Times just after the resignation of three gentlemen who were Honourable Members of this House and used to sit on the Treasury Benches not to publish their photographs in the paper by the Assistant Press Adviser. I would like the Honourable the Home Member to tell us if that was a fact.

Mr Deputy President (**Mr Akhil Chandra Datta**): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Mr T.T. Krishnamachari**: I would in conclusion, try to impress on the Government

need to realise the difficulties of the press acting under such restrictions. In part the situation could be improved by making the Press a Central subject during the period of the war. I say this not because of the excessive confidence that we have in the Central Government but because the whole scheme has been put into operation because of war and in the name of war effort. During the duration of that war it is only right that the Central Government should take up the handling of all questions relating to the press, so that there may be some standardisation and some settled place to which every Editor could go to represent his grievances. I hope I would receive an answer from the Honourable the Home Member which would be satisfactory to the Press and the public. Sir, I move.

Mr Deputy President (**Mr Akhil Chandra Datta**): Cut motion moved:

‘That the demand under the head Executive Council’ be reduced by Rs 100.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell**: Sir, the Honourable the Mover has dealt with this motion in what I may venture to call extremely reasonable terms and there is very little in the speech, almost from the first to the last, with which I or Government can reasonably disagree. The only thing that surprises me is that he should have thought it necessary to move a motion of this kind to censure the attitude of the Government towards the Press.

(Here the Mover made some observations about the purpose of the cut.)

I understood that it was a token cut. But the token was intended to be a token of displeasure at the attitude of Government towards the Press. But still it is difficult for me to understand it, because, if there is one thing for which I have worked hard ever since the Delhi agreement of 1940, it was to improve the relations between Government and the Press to make their consultative arrangements more adequate and to give the Press opportunities of putting their difficulties before Government personally rather than carrying on a long distance barrage.

[At this stage, Mr President (**The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim**) resumed the Chair]

And I was under the impression that I had been to a large extent successful. I do not myself think that there has been any period during my association with this matter at which on the whole the relations between Government and the Press have been more promising than they are now. I admit there are occasional tiffs, but the House must remember that in tackling this matter we have had to face rather unfamiliar ground. There are very strong influences urging the Press in certain directions: Government at the same time have very difficult and very important objects to watch. According to the terms of the Delhi Agreement, whenever there was occasion for disagreement on some matter or other I can honestly say that I have already done my best to hear the newspaper Editors, to consult with them and consider their point of view and to put it to the Provincial Government; and to a very large extent we in the Home Department have been successful in obtaining recognition of that point of view. It must be remembered and I hope the House will always remember in discussing this subject that newspapers and the Press are a subject in the concurrent legislative list. That means that although both the Central and the Provincial Governments have power to legislate on matters concerning the Press, the whole administrative authority in dealing with the Press rests with the Provincial Governments and it is impossible to expect the Central Government to take a matter of that kind entirely out of the hands of the Provinces. The Provinces have their own problems to consider and in many of them circumstances differ entirely from those in others. Some Provinces have a Press which is predominantly friendly or open to suggestion. Other Provinces have not. Some Provinces again have Ministries, others have not. Where you have a Province governed by its own representative Ministers elected by the people of the Province, it is extremely difficult to impose a particular point of view on them from the centre.

Therefore, I hope the House will remember that the Home Department in dealing with a subject like this has only a qualified part to play. We ourselves have tried to adopt this policy, namely, that in matters of all India concern, we endeavour to place certain objectives before the Provinces, certain objects which it is desirable to secure in their dealings with the Press, but we leave it to the Provinces to decide for themselves in the light of their own relations with the Press, how those objects can best be achieved. But one thing on which we have always insisted so far as it was in our power to do so and that was that the objects in view should be attained wherever possible by voluntary agreement with the Press. I am glad to tell the House that that has actually been the case to a very large extent, ever since the Delhi Agreement of 1940. The restrictions which have been complained of have related mainly to factual news about particular sorts of events in regard to which the Government of India were directly interested from an all India point of view, or occasionally the Provinces were interested from a purely Provincial point of view. But editorial comment has from the first been I think, entirely without restriction. I am not quite sure what partial restrictions, may exist in a few Provinces, chiefly the Ministerial ones, but generally speaking, ever since the Delhi Agreement the principle adopted in regard to Editorial comment was that it was quite free, but that if any individual newspaper published something in its editorial columns which was considered to be definitely improper or dangerous from the all India point of view, then action was taken against that paper alone.

The Honourable Member has quoted the case of *The Hindustan Times*, in particular. That, I am afraid was one of the newspapers as I explained to the House earlier in this Session, from which we failed to obtain the desired cooperation.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan** (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): May I bring to the notice of the Honourable Member that some items of news published in English newspapers is not permissible so far as Urdu papers are concerned.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I was not aware of that. If the Honourable Member will give me instances, I will look into them.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** I will collect information later on and submit it to the Government.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I have already explained the whole history of the *Hindustan Times* at some length to this House earlier in this Session and I do not think it is necessary to go into the whole matter again.<sup>1</sup> But I would say that I should be extremely surprised to learn that there was any truth in this alleged telephone message about the publication of photographs of my erstwhile Honourable colleague, and considering the fact that almost day by day, the *Hindustan Times* cartoonist reproduces our lineaments with more or less recognisability, I should have said that that was a complete reply to the Honourable Member's suggestion.

**Sir F.E. James:** Is it not possible that on this occasion at least it was the 'Hindustan Times' whose leg was pulled. I believe the telephone message was a hoax.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** I have heard of such things happening sometimes to other members of the public. I should not be at all surprised if someone conceived the idea of hoaxing *The Hindustan Times*, though I should have thought that a responsible paper of that kind would have been proof against such a thing.

The present positioning regard to newspaper editors is this. In their plenary session of the all India Newspaper Editors conference at Bombay they passed a resolution dated 5th October, 1942. The Editors, while protesting against certain measures of preceptorship or measures

equivalent to precentorship which were enforced before agreed that the Press should voluntarily exercise restraint in regard to the publication of accounts of incidents relating to mass disturbances and that they should also avoid the publication of anything which offended against certain principles, a, b, c, d and e, which they stated in their resolution and which were the very principles of which the Government wished to secure observance. That resolution was a definite step on the part of the all India Editors to meet the Government point of view and the Government of India responded to it at once. They put that resolution to the Provinces and suggested that the Provinces should consider it favourable. As a result practically all the Provinces, I think all except one, accepted the resolution in the spirit in which it was offered and from that day onwards there have been no statutory restrictions imposed on the press except in certain individual cases or relating to particular incidents. I think the House will agree with me that that on the whole it is a very satisfactory situation and that it does not indicate any real breach between the Government and the Editors, and so long as that kind of cooperation is forthcoming, we shall do our best to welcome it and to meet it. That is all I have to say in regard to this motion.

Mr President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahmān): The question is 'That the demand under the head Executive Council be reduced by Rs 100'. The motion was negatived.

1 Not printed

## 31: Pre-censorship Order by the Government of Bengal on Sakti Press, Calcutta and Official Notings on it

Govt. of Bengal – (Home) Press Branch. File No. 150/43  
[Bengal State Archives]

Confidential

Government of Bengal  
Home Department  
Press Branch

Issue of a precentorship order No. 41(1)(b) of the D.I.R. on the Sakti Press, Calcutta.

### **Government of Bengal**

To  
All printers, publishers and Editors in Bengal Pr. 150/43  
Issue number 291.2  
Dated Circular, the 13-3-1943.

Sir,

In exercise of the power conferred by clause (b) of subrule (i) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor is pleased to prohibit the use of the press known as the Sakti Press situated in premises No. 27/3/1/ Hari Ghosh Street, Calcutta, for the printing of any matter



which has not been submitted for scrutiny to the Special Press Adviser, Calcutta, before being printed in the said press.

By order of the Government

A.E. Porter, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Addl. Secy. to the Government of Bengal,

Copy forwarded to the Commissioner of police, Calcutta for information and communication to the keeper of the Sakti Press.

No. 291 (2) Ps.

Copy forwarded to all District Press Advisers and Special Press Adviser, Calcutta for information.

No. 291 (3) Pr.

Copy with a copy of the above endorsement forward, for information.

- 1) All Commissioners of Divisions,
- 2) Bengali Translator to Government
- 3) Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta,
- 4) Inspector-General of Police, Bengal
- 5) Director of Public Information.
- 6) Convener, Provincial Press Advisory Committee and
- 7) Senior Censor Calcutta.

No. 29(14) Pr.

Copy forwarded to the Secretary to the Governor of Bengal for information.

*(Official Notings)* – Extracts from notes and orders in Home (Press) Deptt. File – No. 194/42 regarding Sakti Press

*[For the background to these notings see below p. 702 under 'background to the case discussed above' Ed.]*

2 We cannot dispute the legal opinion. We do not want to go on paying rent. The Press has been in custody since September. What we want to do is

- (a) To avoid further liability for rent;
- (b) To ensure if we can that the press is not further used for prejudicial purposes; and
- (c) To avoid or minimise liability for rent already liable to be claimed.

4. I can only suggest releasing the press which will secure (a); considering whether to issue an order on the printer not to publish anything without previous scrutiny (designed to secure (b). and, as for (c), trying to get the landlord to accept some sort of 'Compensation'.

A.E. Porter,  
25-2-43

We should release the press straightaway. I think that the pre-censorship order should be issued (with H.C.M's approval). A move by the landlord may be awaited.

J.R. Blair  
26-2-43

A draft relating to precentorship order will be put up for approval of A.S. and H.C.M.

A.K.  
5-3-33

This should be taken up separately and at once.

K.P. Bose,  
5-3-43.

Orders above.

A draft order 41(i) (6) of the D.I.R. is put up for approval.<sup>1</sup>

In this connection, it may be noted that an order has been addressed to all printers, publishers and editors generally because a printer is not directly connected with the Press. It will be seen from sections 3-5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867 that a printer comes in the picture only as a printer of a newspaper or of a book and not as the owner or person responsible for misusing the Press. The person directly responsible for the press is the keeper but as the Rule 41 does not make any provision for addressing an order under this Rule to the keeper, the only course possible which would be in consonance with the provision of this rule is to address it to all persons who are likely to come to the said press for printing any matter, i.e., printer, publisher and Editors generally. For the same reason, a copy of the order cannot perhaps be served on the keeper through P.M.,<sup>2</sup> Cal. It has therefore been proposed in the draft to send a copy of the order to the keeper through C.P.,<sup>3</sup> Cal., for his information.

3. An alternative draft order No. 41(i)<sup>4</sup> (a) of the D.I.R. is also put up, but it may be pointed out that this clause relates to only publishing of matter and not printing. So it is for consideration whether this clause though provides for pre-scrutiny of matter can be used against printing of any matter in the said Sakti Press.

As this is a new case of its kind, the draft order may be vetted by the Legislative Deptt. before issue.

For orders.  
A.S. Should see.  
Signed  
(A.K.) 5-3-43

Addl. Secy.

I also think that an order under D.I.R. 41(i)(b) addressed to printers, publishers and editors generally should be issued to secure that the Sakti press is not further used for prejudicial purposes. The following points, however, strike me.

Whether the order contemplated will affect us:

- [A] A person who has not made a declaration as printer of a newspaper under Sec. 5 of the press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, at the time of the issue of the order, but who may make at a future date. Such a declaration and
- [B] a person who has not made any such declaration nor will make any such declaration but surreptitiously prints objectionable newspaper or news-sheet at the press.

Legal opinion may perhaps be taken before the draft order is sent to the Legislative Department for approval.

Signed, illegible  
6-3-43

As proposed. I think the top draft (not printed - Ed.) is suitable.

As per [A] I think that the order being general applies to person who subsequently became 'printer, publisher and Editors' as well were or those who so now.

[B] Can hardly be provided against; the keeper of the press seems to be liable to penalty under draft 1 and the surreptitious printing of unauthorised newspapers or newssheets is actionable under the I.P. (E.P.) Act.

I agree.

Signed, illegible  
6-3-43

Will Leg. Department kindly scrutinise the top draft.

Signed, illegible  
8-3-43

*Legislative Department - Reference No. 173 of 1943*

The draft under clause (b) of sub-rule (i) of rule (4) appears to be in order.

Signed, illegible  
9-3-43

The draft as referred is recorded.

Signed, illegible  
9-3-43

Home Press Department

Pl. let us have a very brief precis for H.M.'s order

Signed, A.E. Porter  
9-3-43

Addl Secy's orders above.

A precis is put up.

Signed, illegible  
11-3-43  
A.S.

Will H.M. kindly see the case which is fully set forth in the precis.

Signed, A.E. Porter  
11-3-43  
Signed  
12/3

A.S.  
Home (Press)  
D.I. No. 291/4  
13-4-43

*Background to the case discussed above*

The Sakti Press situated at 27/38, Hari Ghosh Street, Calcutta, deposited a security of Rs 500 in 1932 with Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, under section 3(3) of the I.P. (E.P.) Act, 1931. With the inauguration of the new ministry the manager of the press submitted an application for the refund of the security, which was rejected on the report of the C.P. Calcutta. The paper again represented through the late Hon'ble Minister, Finance, Dr Mukherjee and while the enquiry was being conducted the press responsible for printing the three issues of the Bengali *Harijan* newspaper, dated the 2-8-42, 9-8-42 and 16-6-42 for which the Press was searched on 18-8-42 and 19-8-42 under rule 126(i) of the D.I.R. The action of the police was also prompted by a secret information against the press which was seized and sealed with all the papers, machinery, furniture, etc. that were found inside the Press.

2. In his letter dated 2-11-42 the C.P. Calcutta submitted a proposal for the prosecution of the Editor, printer and publisher of the *Harijan* and forfeiture of the three issues of the paper as well as the Sakti Press. He also reported separately that in the circumstances stated above, the security of the paper should not be refunded.

3 The tenancy held by the Sakti Press in respect of the premises was a monthly one and the rent was paid till the end of October 1942. The lease has determined by forfeiture for non-payment of rent and consequently the proprietor of the premises occupied by the Sakti Press came and saw C.S. and requested that as the press was seized by Govt., arrangement should be made for the payment of rent to him or for his getting possession of the premises. The claim of the landlord was examined in consultation with the I.R. and S.G.P. and they were of opinion that until Govt. have passed orders in regard to the disposal of the Press it will be preferable and safer for them to pay the amount of rent rather than to give possession to landlord of the premises with the press, even after removing some essential parts, since Govt. liability to pay compensation for the loss of rent by the landlord may have to be settled subsequently.

4. In view of the legal opinion, it was considered advisable that (a) the press should be released straightaway with a view to avoid further liability for rent; (b) a preceptorship order should be issued under rule 41(i)(b) of the D.I.R. to ensure that the press is not further used for prejudicial purposes; and (c) a move from the landlord should be awaited as to the amount of compensation if any, to be paid to him on account of arrear rent. With regard to (a), an order directing C.P., Calcutta, to release the press and to return it to the owner has already been issued. With regard to (c) an application has since been received from the landlord and the C.P. Calcutta, has been asked separately to report the amount of rent to be paid by Govt.

The present file only deals with the point (b) above and a draft order<sup>5</sup> which has been approved by D.R. and the Legislative Deptt. has been placed below for H.C.M.s approval.

1, 1 & 5. Not printed

2 P.M. – Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta.

3. C.P. – Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.



## 32. Intelligence Bureau's Circular dated 19.3.43 on objectionable books

File No. 41/6/42 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

No. 30/Int/43

Secret

Intelligence Bureau, Home Department  
Government of India

*New Delhi, the 19-3-43*

### **Circular Memorandum**

The undermentioned four publications are considered unobjectionable and may be passed for delivery, and any previous advice to the contrary considered as cancelled:

<i>Title</i>	<i>Author and/or Publisher</i>
1. Lenin on Religion	V.I. Lenin, Lawrence & Wishart, Ltd
2. Capital	Karl Marx All editions
3. Leninism	Joseph Stalin, Three editions Allen & Unwin, Ltd, Modern Books Ltd., Lawrence & Wishart, Ltd.
4. Workers in the Soviet Union	Andrew Rothstein

2. The undermentioned two publications are considered objectionable and should be withheld under Government of India F.D. (C.R.) Notification No. 3, dated 21-1-1943, in accordance with our Circular No. GO/Int/43 dated 13-2-1943.

Industrialisation of the Western Pacific	Kate L. Mitchell, International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York
2. India - A Marx House Syllabus	H. Palmer, Lawrence & Wishart, Ltd

3. The specific notification as under the Sea Customs Act prohibiting the import into India of the following publications are shortly being cancelled. It is recommended that copies which may come to notice in future should be examined individually and withheld under F.D. (C.R.) Notification No. 3, dated 21-1-1943, if considered objectionable. 'Labour Monthly' is particularly extremist in its views and contains frequent references to India: it should be withheld almost invariably

**Notification No. 34 – Customs dated 29.5.37**

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. The Communist International | Modern Books Ltd., London              |
| 2. Labour Monthly              | Editor R.P. Dutt Trinity Trust, London |
| 3. General News Service        | Editor Eric Cook                       |

'International Press Correspondence' which is also listed in this notification, now appears under the title 'World News and Views' mentioned in paragraph 5 below.

**Notifications No. 36 – Customs dated 17.8.40**

- |                                 |               |
|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 4. Daily Worker                 | Not on Record |
| 5. Action                       |               |
| 6. The Week                     |               |
| 7. Russia Today                 |               |
| 8. Russia Today Newsletter      |               |
| 9. Challenge                    |               |
| 10. Inside The Empire           |               |
| 11. The New Propeller           |               |
| 12. Action News Service         |               |
| 13. People's Post               |               |
| 14. Headline                    |               |
| 15. Free Press                  |               |
| 16. Angles                      |               |
| 17. The British Union Quarterly |               |
| 18. Die Welt                    |               |

**Notification No. 55 dated 23.11.40**

- |                                 |                      |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| 19. Hopkinson's News Service or | Editor, Eric Cook or |
| Hopkinson's News Letter         | Rev A.S. Hopkinson   |

4 Notification No. 60, dated 30-11-40, banning *India Today* by R.P. Dutt, publisher Victor Gollancz Ltd., is also being raised, but we recommend that it and its abridged edition, '*Guide to the Problem of India*', by the same author and publisher, should be withheld invariably under Notification No. 3 of 1943.

5. Notification No. 111, dated 27-8-1938, banning the import of 'World News and Views', published weekly by H. Bennett and printed by the Farleigh Press Ltd., will also be raised, but we recommend that it be withheld invariably under Notification No. 3 of 1943.

6. 'Labour Action' published weekly by the Labour Action Publishing Company, New York, should be given special attention and each copy judged on its merits.

7. The following are among the authors and publishers whose new publications require special attention at all times.

- 1) Kate L. Mitchell
- 2) Rajani Palme Dutt
- 3) Eric Cook
- 4) Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., London
- 5) Institute of Pacific Relations, New York

6) International Publishers, New York

Signed  
Assistant Director (R)

To

S.B.s (Bombay I; Calcutta II, Bihar; C.P., Madras; Punjab II, U.P.; Orissa and Bengal I.B.)  
C.I.D.s (Assam, Delhi, NWFP, Poona and Sind)

Copy to: SSP Quetta; I.G.P. Ajmer – Merwara; Central India Agency. W.B.V., D.I.G., W.I. and Gujarat States. Residence (Baroda, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore W.I. States) Ceylon C.I.D., S.F.P. Bombay, Home Department, Chief Censor, India, and Madras States

## 33: Government of Bengal to the Government of India – Regarding a pamphlet on Midnapore

File No. 33/9/43 – Home Poll (I)

Government of Bengal  
Home Department  
Press  
No. 308-Pr.

From  
A E. Porter, ESq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

To  
The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department  
New Delhi

*Dated, Calcutta, the 22nd March, 1943*

Sir,

I am directed to forward a copy of a notification issued by this Government declaring the publication, the particulars of which are given in the margin<sup>1</sup> to be forfeited to His Majesty.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

Signed A.E. Porter

<sup>1</sup> A Pamphlet in English entitled *Some Facts about Midnapur Tragedy* published by M.N. Mitter, General Secretary, Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha and printed at New Sharada Press, Calcutta.

## 34: Note on Nirmal Chandra Sen Gupta\* s/o Dr Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta (Ex-Vice-President of Bengal Workers Party) Calcutta

File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Went to England in 1928 to study Engineering. Attended the World Youth peace Congress, Eerde, Holland, Aug. 1928 and generally interested in the Youth movement. Member of University students' communist group. Returned to India, Sept. 1931, and conducted communist propaganda. Again went to England, Jan. 1932 and was believed to have taken a report of conditions in Bengal for Moscow's consumption. Edited the 'New Bharat' and worked as the I.S.C.G.'s<sup>1</sup> foreign agent in London. Also attended meetings of the Workers Welfare league of India. Drafted the future programme of the C.P.I.<sup>2</sup> Returned to India in Sept. 1933. A staunch advocate of mass revolution and terrorism. Married Stella Brown who arrived in India in Sept. 1934. Employed in the East India Film Co. Calcutta (1935), in A.I. Radio, Delhi, (1936) and later in Calcutta. No longer in A.I.R. Joined B.L.P.<sup>3</sup>-B.P.I. (1939). Arrested in August 1942 for prosecution under Defence Rules for his connection with an unauthorised press, but released in Jan. 1942 under Sec. 562 C.P.C. (first offender). Is working as the General Secretary of the B.P.I.<sup>4</sup> (March 1943).

[See Doc. 36 below also – Ed.]

- 1 I S C G – Indian Students Conference Group
- 2 C P I – Communist Party of India
- 3 B.L.P. – Bengal Labour Party
- 4 B.P.I. – Bolshevik Party of India

## 35: Note about a cartoon that appeared in *Ananda Vikatan*, dt 4.4.1943 (a weekly magazine in Tamil, Madras)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 1571

Attention is invited to the cartoon on p. 6<sup>1</sup> of the journal which refers to the white paper on the disturbances in India. The story behind the idea in the cartoon is taken from Indian mythology and, is as follows:

An young boy, by name Markandeya who is destined to die at the age of 16, is worshipping the image of Siva ardently. When his 16th year is out, Yama Dharmaraja, who dispenses justice according to the action of men, comes there mounted on his buffalo (his usual conveyance) to take away the life of the boy. When he throws his noose over the boy's head,



the frightened boy hugs the image and holds fast to the idol. Siva appears from the image in order to save his devotee and kicks away Yama and his buffalo.

In the picture, Mr Amery is the Yamadharma Raja, British Imperialism is buffalo, Gandhism is the boy devotee, Truth is the image of Siva and accusation (for responsibility in the disturbances) is the noose (The name of Mr Amery is punned as Yamery, suggesting Yamadharma raja, at the top of the picture).

The point of the cartoon seems to me that Mr Amery cannot make Gandhi serve from the path of Truth and that Gandhi will never die. The cartoon does not appear to be objectionable.

The editorial article endorses the resolution of the federation of the Indian chamber of commerce and re-iterates the demand for national Govt.

Attention is also invited to another cartoon at p. 13 of the journal, with the title 'How will it be cut'? It points out that while Russia is fighting hard with Germany in the joint effort to rid the world of German domination, Britain simply talking about plans for the future without opening a second front.

The criticism that Britain had not opened a second front in Europe to relieve German pressure on the Russian front is widespread. No action therefore seems necessary.

5.4.43.

A Letter from an Editor about the cartoon

15, General Patters Road,  
Mount Road, Madras,  
5th April, 1943.

Balasubramanya Mudaliar,  
Managing Editor,  
The Sunday Observer.

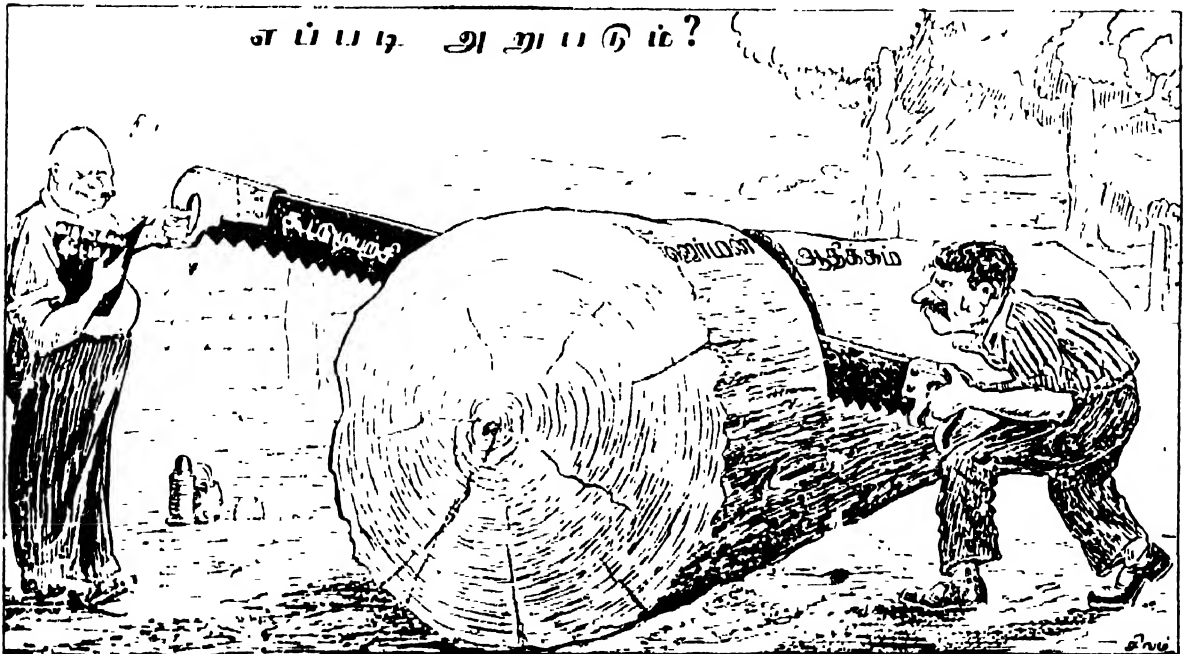
Dear Mr Platt,

I am sending herewith yesterday's *Ananda Vikatan* a Tamil weekly, which is largely circulated among the ordinary folk of this province, in which 2 cartoons have been published on pp. 6 and 13. These are highly prejudicial to the war effort and intensely anti British. In the first cartoon on p. 6. Mr Gandhi is depicted as Saint Markandeya of the Hindu mythology, who was about to be taken away by Yama, the God of Death. He embraces the Sivalinga, and Shiva appears and destroys Yama, the God of Death. Lord Shiva is represented as Truth which Mr Gandhi embraces, and Mr Amery as Yama on the buffalo of British imperialism. Mr Amery flings the rope (charge- sheet against the Congress) on Mr Gandhi. The reader is expected to draw the conclusion that truth will destroy British imperialism and save Gandhism.

There cannot be a more mischievous, malicious, more anti-British and more prejudicial propaganda against the British Government.

In the other cartoon on p. 13, there is a huge log of wood representing German supremacy which is being cut by a saw by Stalin on one side and Mr Churchill on the other. Stalin alone is making a serious attempt at cutting the log, whereas Mr Churchill is making a pretence of cutting it. The saw is 'joint effort'. The cartoon attributes insincerity to Britain. That is the clear impression sought to be conveyed to the reader.

I am drawing your attention to this so that you may place it before his Excellency for any



action that may be considered necessary. This journal is openly carrying on a campaign against the war effort with impunity, and only the other day the Madras Government demanded a security of Rs 500, on which itself it wrote an editorial holding up the Government to the ridicule and contempt of the public. The tolerance shown to such mischievous and venomous journals, I beg to submit, makes the work of war propaganda mores difficult.

Yours ever Sincerely,

Bala Subramanya Mudaliar

To  
A.J. Platt, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Private Secretary to H.E. the Governor of Madras,  
Government House, Guindy.

*Note* Cartoons referred to in the document are appended below – Ed

## 36: Official Notings – Nirmal Sen Gupta's plea for Soviet deputation (dt 6.4.1943-7.4.1943) (extracts)

File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Mr Nirmal Sen Gupta<sup>1</sup> of the 'Labour Party of India' came to see me by appointment today. He is a well-mannered young man with good understanding of English. His main complaint was that although the Bengal Government had no prejudice against his party and appreciated its work, local officers and particularly the police, were taking vexatious action against their workers on false charges. I said that if the Bengal Government or its high officers did not regard the Party with suspicion they would surely take action to protect its members if they know that they were being harassed by the police (apparently especially in Barrackpore area). I suggested, therefore, that they should make contact with the officers of the local Government and explain their difficulties. Apparently Mr Gupta had not thought of this and he promised to do so.

2. He then referred to a proposed deputation of certain members of his party, including peasants, with an interpreter to the Soviet Union and asked if travel facilities would be granted. I said that the Home Department did not deal with such matters and referred him to the External Affairs Department whom he will probably approach. I explained, however, that there were considerable difficulties about getting deputations to Russia and that I do not suppose that External Affairs Department would be willing to promote a number of visits of that kind, more especially as another such deputation had recently been under discussion.

3. He finally mentioned the difficulty which he was having in obtaining paper for the propaganda work. Apparently the paper wanted is made in India and the mills have informed him that they would supply it if they had an authorisation from Government. I understand that the bulk of paper manufactured in India has been requisitioned by Government but that

there is a certain residue available for allotment for private purposes. But I do not know the arrangements under which this is done and presume that they are handled by the Commerce Department. The latter Department may be asked if they can help.

Addl. Secy.

Maxwell

6-4-43

Please refer to point in para 3 separately to the Commerce Department. If there is a residue for sale to the public, is there any control over its distribution in the quantities in which it can be bought by individuals? It seems to us that Congress get all the papers they want, somehow other parties can get nothing.

EAD<sup>2</sup> may see the file with regard to para 2 of H.M.'s note.

Addl. Secy.

7.4.43

Issue the note placed on the file to Commerce Department separately.

1 Doc 34

2 External Affairs Department.

## 37: Official Notings regarding paper quota to Press (dt 7.4.43–8.4.43) (extracts)

File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Labour Party of India which has its headquarters at Calcutta have represented to us their difficulties in obtaining paper<sup>1</sup>. They say that the paper mills have told them that paper can be supplied to them if permission to do so is afforded by Government. The party says that they publish a Daily paper in Bengali which has at present been converted into a weekly because of shortage of paper, an English Weekly now similarly converted into a Fortnightly and a Hindi Weekly. Their demand is for 40 reams of double crown paper every month.

2. The propaganda carried on by this party is in the interests of the war effort and we would like to know the position regarding the supply of paper to it. We understand that the bulk of the paper manufactured in India has been requisitioned by Government, but that there is a certain residue available for sale for print purposes. If this be so, we would like to know whether there is any control over the distribution of this residue or over the quantities in which it can be bought by individuals. A point for consideration is whether arrangements could not be made for making paper available in reasonable quantities to parties who carry on propaganda in the interests of the war effort. It seems to us that there is no shortage of paper for anti- Government propaganda.

V. Sahay

7-4-43

Commerce Department

With effect from 1-4-43, Govt. have released 30% of the annual production of Indian Paper

mills for distribution to civilian consumers. The amount that will be available for this arrangement will be about 30,000 tons per annum. This distribution will be made through a joint organisation run by the Indian Paper Makers' Association and the Indian Paper Mills Association. These two associations comprise all the paper mills. Paper will be distributed by the joint organisation at fixed prices through their distributors. Govt. have agreed to let the experiment work for some time and have warned the Industry that Govt. may have to take over control if as a result of the arrangement paper finds its way into the black market.

The Labour Party should be advised to approach Mr Mellor of the Titagarh Paper Mills who will put them wise as how to obtain paper through the joint organisation. A press note on the subject will appear within the unit few days.

S N. Roy  
8-4-43

Home Deptt.  
C D A/c No. IC 13 dt/8-4-43

Mr Nirmal Sen Gupta may be informed of the position,<sup>2</sup> regarding paper, as set out in the Commerce Department note.

1 Doc 36

2 Doc 39

## 38. Legal opinion about the cartoons that appeared in *Ananda Vikatan*

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 1571  
[TNA]

Legal Department

dt 12.4.43.

The cartoon at page 6 appears under the caption 'The vain effort of Yamen'.<sup>1</sup> A pun is obviously intended on the word 'Yamen' so as to suggest a reference to Mr Amery, the Secretary of State for India. The cartoon is based on the Hindu legend of Markandeya whose unswerving devotion to Shiva saved him from Yama the inexorable God of Death. In the cartoon Mr Gandhi takes the place of Markandeya and the Lingam, which is the symbol of Shiva is represented as 'truth'. Mr Amery riding on British imperialism takes the place of Yama. The point of the cartoon is that the accusation made against Mr Gandhi by Mr Amery representing the British Imperialism was ineffectual as Mr Gandhi was the devotee of truth. According to the Hindu legend the God of Death is the inexorable adherent to the laws of fate and consequently he is called Dharmaraja. His usual mount is a black buffalo. The representation of British imperialism and Mr Amery as the God of Death on his favourite mount is calculated to inspire in the Hindu mind (which alone can fully grasp the symbolism) only awe and dread and not contempt. The criticism of the Secretary of State and the Imperialistic policy cannot be taken as bringing into hatred or contempt 'the Government established by law in British India' within the meaning of rule 34 (6) of the Defence of India

rules or Section 4(I) of the Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931. It has been held in various decisions of courts that the 'Government established by law in British India' is not the same thing as an individual member of the Government however important a member he may be and that consequently an attack on a member of the Government which may have the effect of bringing him into hatred or contempt would not be actionable under the provisions of the law afore said. I am afraid therefore that action under the Defence of India Rules or the Press Act cannot be taken in respect of the cartoon. In recent years criticism of the so called imperialistic policy of Britain has become very common both in literature and in the press and no notice is ordinarily taken of such criticism.

The cartoon at page 13<sup>2</sup> of the journal represents Mr Stalin pulling his full weight (with both hands) at one end of the saw and Mr Churchill at the other end is represented as applying to only his left hand while he is preoccupied with the book entitled 'Plans for the Future' which he holds in his right hand. The point of the cartoon seems to be that the present is not the time for consideration of plans for the future but that every effort should be concentrated on putting an end to German domination by a whole hearted and united effort with Russia. The cartoon only voices the criticism which has become all too common and is freely expressed in most of the countries forming the United Nations. As far as I can see there is nothing in it which brings the Government established by law in this country into hatred or contempt and consequently I am afraid it is not possible to take any action on it under the Defence of India Rules or under the Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931.

1 & 2 See Doc. 35

## 39: Government of India to Nirmal Sen Gupta Paper quota

File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Home Department Office

No. 12/1/43 – Poll (I)

*Dated: 14.4.43.*

Mr Nirmal Sen Gupta,  
C/o The Post Master,  
G.P.O., Delhi.

Sir,

At your interview with the Hon'ble the Home Member on the 6th April 1943<sup>1</sup> you represented that the Labour Party of India, of which, you are secretary, was having difficulty in getting paper for the newspapers published by it. With effect from the 1st instant Government have released 30% of the annual production of Indian paper mills for distribution to civilian consumers. The distribution will be carried out by a joint organisation of the Indian paper Maker' Association and the Indian paper Mills Association which together comprise all the

paper mills. It is suggested that your Party should apply to Mr Mellor of the Titagurh paper Mills for further information about the purchase of paper.

I have, etc.,  
D.S. (I).

Doc 36

## 40: Official Notings regarding paper quota (dt 29.3.43 - 20.4.43) (extracts)

File No. 7/7/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of India  
Political (Internal) Sec

Mr M.N. Roy's interview with the Home Member for the allotment of paper quota for the *Weekly Independent India*.

At his interview with me on the 27th March Mr M.N. Roy mentioned that the treatment given to the *Weekly Independent India* as regards the allotment of paper quota was not the same as that given to the *Daily Independent India*. Apparently the full amount asked for was allotted to the latter but the former was treated as an old publication and its quota has been cut down in the same way as other previously established papers. I understand that the treatment given to the *Daily Independent India* was the result of a strong recommendation from the U.P. Govt. If the Controller of Imports can take such recommendations into account I think that the full quota should be recommended for the *Weekly Independent India* which in the view of Home Dept is performing a very useful function. I should like his note to be referred to the Commerce Dept. in order to ascertain their intentions as regards the *Weekly Independent India*.

Maxwell  
29-3-43

Addl Secy R. Tottenham  
29.3.43

Commerce Department-Chief Controller of Exports  
H.D. UO No. 7-7-43 - Poll (I)/dt 31-3-43

Apparently Mr M.N. Roy was referring to the drastic cut that had to be made in the newsprint quotas of old newspapers for January-March, 1943, as compared with the quotas for the preceding half year July-December, 1942. New newspapers, such as, the *Daily Independent India*, the *Dawn* and the *Peoples War*, were treated as an exception and were not subjected to this cut. Here it may be added that the *Daily Independent India* was given the original quota on the recommendation of the Information and Broadcasting Department.

2. With effect from the 1st April, 1943, a new system of rationing has been introduced,

and permits have been granted for three months consumption. The quota of the *Weekly Independent India* has been restored to the same level as in July–December, 1942. While its quota for January–March, 1943, was only 262 lbs., the permit issued for April–June, 1943 is for 1068 lbs., i.e., four times the previous figure.

Signed

13-4-1943

Ram Chandra

Home Department

No. 461/c.c.bop/30 dt 14-4-43

This ought to suffice – V. Sahay 14.4.43

Addl. Secretary R. Tottenham

H M. 14.4.43

Good. But I should rather like to know what the new rationing system is. Has it been published?

Maxwell.

Addl. Secretary

Could CCI let us know?

R. Tottenham

16/4

Commerce Deptt. (P.S. Ram Chandra)

HD UO No. 7/7/43 – Poll (I) dt/17-7-43

Under the new rationing scheme a newspaper is given a permit specifying the quantity of newsprint which it may use (and, if necessary, purchase) every month. There are a few newspapers which have very large stocks. They are not allowed to purchase, and the quantity which they may use is restricted to a certain percentage of their previous consumption and is specified in the permit.

2. A copy of the press note issued by the Commerce Department on the 27th March is enclosed. As regards the sliding-scale referred to therein it may be mentioned that in the case of the smaller newspapers, i.e., those whose consumption according to the returns submitted by them was less than 10 tons a year in the pre-control period, their monthly ration i. 100% of the previous monthly quota during July–December, 1942. The *Weekly Independent India* falls in this category.

17-4-1943

(Ram Chandra)

Home Department,

(Sir Richard Tottenham).

CC UO No. 461/c.c.Imp/43, dt/20-4-43

This arrangement could be used for the effective control of newspapers from the political point of view. Whether it should is another matter.

R. Tottenham

20.4.43



*Enclosure*

Press Note:  
Newsprint Control

Details of the scheme for equitable rationing of newsprint among the various newspapers which were upto now in receipt of quota allotment certificates have now been worked out and permits relating to the use and purchase of newsprint by the proprietors of newspapers will issue in the next few days. Government had consulted representatives of various newspaper associations and interests, advertising agents and dealers before finalising their scheme.

The quantities allowed have been worked out on the basis of statements of consumption of newsprint submitted by the various newspapers during the period July-December 1942. In cases where no such information was forthcoming the monthly quota allotted for July-December 1942 has been adopted as the basis. In view of the existing shortage in the supplies of newsprint, cuts have had to be imposed on the basic period consumption but a sliding-scale has been adopted so that papers consuming smaller quantities of newsprint during the basic period will receive comparatively larger shares than their contemporaries consuming larger quantities during the same period.

The Newsprint Control Order 1941 has accordingly been further amended and the purchase, acquisition, sale and consumption of newsprint have been brought under control. No newspapers will henceforward be allowed either to purchase or to use newsprint in excess of the quantity specified on the permit issued for the purpose.

Commerce Department  
New Delhi, March 27 1943.

## 41: News item in *The Hindu* dt 28.4.1943

*The Hindu* - [ICWA Library]

### Order on '*Hindustan Times*' Withdrawn

New Delhi: April 25 the Chief Commissioner of Delhi has withdrawn, with effect from April 22, 1943, the order Served on the *Hindustan Times* and the Hindi daily The '*Hindustan*' on January 1, 1943 imposing pre-censorship.

## 42 Official Notings on the explanation given by the Press Advisory Committee (3.5.1943)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 1571  
[TNA]

Proceedings of the Madras Press Advisory Committee held at 12 noon on Monday the 3rd May 1943.

*The Anandavikatan* – The cartoons<sup>1</sup> referred to cannot be characterised as Government have done. Neither malice nor mischief is intended. If the story illustrated is correctly appreciated, no imputation of motive is possible. In regard to the other cartoon the object is to plead for further war effort if the war is to be won and not to induce any defeatist mentality. In the opinion of the Committee no notice need be taken nor is any action called for in the circumstances. The Committee, however, deprecates the publication of cartoons likely to weaken war effort, however unintended.

It was understood that this resolution will be Communicated to the Editor, *Anandavikatan*, if Government approve of it.

3.5.43.

The above is the unanimous opinion of the editors I pointed out to them the undesirability of publishing any thing that was liable to diminish the war effort in any way.

Signed

3.5.43

I do not agree with the resolution

We may communicate it as the resolution of the Committee and say that the Government do not associate themselves with it. To the Government it is clear that such cartoons as this must inevitably bring Govt. into contempt & thereby necessarily weaken the war effort.

4.5.43.

A.H. 5.5 43.

(\* The Communication dt 7.5.1943 to *Ananda Vikatan* is appended below – Ed )

Confidential

Government of Madras  
Public (press) Department  
G.O. No. 1571

Fort St George, Madras,  
7th May 1943

To  
The Editor  
The Anandavikatan  
Madras

Sir,

The Government considered the cartoons published on pages 6 and 13 of the issue of the *Anandavikatan* dated 4th April 1943 objectionable and brought them to the notice of the Madras Press Advisory Committee. At its meeting held on 3rd May 1943, the Press Advisory Committee discussed the cartoons and passed the following resolution.

*The Anandavikatan* – The cartoons referred to cannot be characterised as Government have done. Neither malice nor mischief is intended. If the story illustrated is correctly appreciated, no imputation of motive is possible. In regard to the other cartoon the object is to plead for further war effort if the war is to be won and not to induce any defeatist mentality. In the opinion of the committee no notice need be taken not is any action called for in the

circumstances. The Committee, however, deprecates the publication of cartoons likely to weaken war effort, however unintended.'

The Government does not agree with the resolution. I am however to communicate it to you as the resolution of the press Advisory Committee and to say that the Government do not associate themselves with it. To the Government it is clear that such cartoons as these must inevitably bring them into contempt and thereby necessarily weaken the war effort.

Yours faithfully,

Chief Secretary to Govt.

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1 See Docs No 35 and 38 above

## 43: Secretary, Government of Bombay to other Provincial Governments – Ban on the book '*India Speaks*'

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 1342.

[TNA]

No. 820 – Poll

Home Department (Political)  
*Bombay Castle, 4th May 1943.*

Mr Symington, Esquire, I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay  
Home Department

To  
The Chief Secretary to the Government of  
Madras  
Bengal  
Bihar  
Orissa  
The United Provinces  
The Punjab  
The Central Provinces and Berar  
Assam  
Sind  
The North West Frontier Province  
Burma, Home and Defence Department  
The Honourable the Chief Commissioner of  
Delhi  
Coorg  
The Secretary to the Honourable the Resident at Hyderabad.

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith copy of a Notification No. 754, Poll, dated the 27th April 1943, which the Government of Bombay has issued under section 19 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, declaring the publication mentioned therein to be forfeited to his Majesty.

Your obedient servant

For Secretary to the Government of  
Bombay, Home Department

*Enclosure*

Home Department (Political)  
Bombay Castle, 27th April 1943

Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, XXIII of 1931

No. 754 - Poll - In exercise of the powers conferred by section 19 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, the Government of Bombay is pleased to declare all copies, wherever found, of the book in English entitled 'India Speaks' by Mr Mulraj Mehta, printed by Mr R.P. Shukla, at the Vaidyalaya Press, 23, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay, and published by Mr M. Mehta, for 'Kutab Minar' Publications, 23, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay, and all other documents containing copies, reprints, translations of or extracts from the said book; to be forfeited to His Majesty on the ground that it appears to the Government of Bombay that the said book contains words of the nature described in clause (bb) of section 4 (1) of the said Act.

By order of the Governor of Bombay

D. Symington, Secy.

## 44: Editorial in *The Hindu* on the Press dt 11.5.1943

*The Hindu*

ICWA Library]

### **Press and the Govt.**

Sir Sultan Ahmed, the new member for Information and broadcasting in the Viceroy's Executive Council; has lost no time in taking the public into confidence as to how he proposes to administer his departments. Although couched in very general terms as was perhaps inevitable at this stage, the sentiments he expressed in the Press conference in New Delhi last week-end show clearly that he realises the values of the co-operation of the non-official public for the success of publicity with which his portfolio is mainly concerned. As a practical expression of this, he has decided to appoint a publicity advisory board composed of officials and non-officials for consultation by him at regular intervals. Stressing more particularly his desire to secure the greatest help and co-operation from the press he said he would like to

include representatives of the press in the Advisory Committee, besides convening conferences to which would be invited representatives of the public, the provincial Govts and the local press. These are good so far as they go but they will find that the greatest problem he will have to tackle, in relation to the work of publicity and propaganda, is the strained relations that have steadily developed between the Govt. on the one hand and the most effective agency for such work, namely the Press, on the other. Sir Sultan Ahmed said he would be delighted to accept the invitation of the Standing Committee of the All India Newspapers Conference to attend its next meeting. Even at a single meeting he will hear and learn much about this problem we have mentioned above. But he should go through these proceedings of the various meetings of the Editors' conference from the date of its inception and the many letters exchanged between the AINEC and the Govt. There he will know how, starting with an assurance of good will to and the desire of the co-operation of the press, the Govt. have slowly alienated the sympathies of the latter. This, in spite of the fact that the Indian Press as a whole made a friendly gesture-by no means an early decision to take in the midst of the bitterness in the public mind that was already beginning to show itself in the political field-by agreeing not to publish anything that might have the effect of impeding the war-effort. He will find that within a few months of arriving at the well known Delhi Agreement the Govt. (which includes the Central and Provincial Govts) began the process of sabotaging it by taking unilateral action against newspapers ignoring the consultative machinery provided therefore. The work of the AINEC is the story of one long struggle vigorous and not without occasional success — to hold the Govts to their plighted word and resist officialdom's constant attempts, ranging from pin pricks restricting the size of the headlines to high handed actions such as actual suppression of newspapers. The position that has now been reached is that official attitude towards newspapers is decided mainly by political considerations. This political basis intrudes itself even more strongly in the censorship of press messages. Newspapers have found their news service handicapped not a little by excisions and suppressions, which have no bearing on the war emergency. We do not know how much of all these actions and policies of the Govt. will fall within the purview of Sir Sultan Ahmed's portfolio. We hope Sir Sultan will insist on going into them.

## 45: Legal opinion on Louis Fischer's speech<sup>1</sup> (dt 24.5.43–25.5.43) (extracts)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2761  
[TNA]

Legal Department

24.5.43

I agree with public (Press) that the speech contains very many objectionable passages. Those marked C&D may well be said to be likely directly to influence the conduct or attitude of the public in a manner prejudicial to the defence of British India or the efficient prosecution of the war. To tell the Indians that they have little to lose by the war and that nobody has said clearly what they would gain by it or to tell them that the war is no concern of them. The passages marked B & G<sup>1</sup> suggest that Cripps Mission to India was not a *bonafide* endeavour

to solve the Indian problem. These also are likely to influence prejudicially the attitude of the Indian public towards the efficient prosecution of the war. These passages therefore fall within the scope of Rule 34 (B) (K) of the D of I Rules.

The passage marked E<sup>1</sup> says that the Govt. of India has carried on the 'divide and rule' principle by giving favours to some jobs and titles to others and by financing newspapers. It suggests that all kinds of devious, honest and dishonest means are adopted in carrying on these tactics. Such statements are likely to bring the Govt. into hatred and contempt and may also influence the attitude of the people to the war. The matter thus seems to fall within the copy of rule 34 (P) (e) and (K) of the Defence of India rules.

It is of course a matter of policy whether any action should be taken for republishing the speech made in America and Published elsewhere.

Signed

24/5

(Legal Department)

Pub. (Press) Dept.

*Official Comments* – Legal has pointed out that several of the passages in this constitute offence against the Defence Rules.

But I think I would recommend no action against the paper for this re-publication, perhaps then attention may be drawn to the rules that require that even article from foreign publication sent to India need to be approved before publication in journals.

My reasons are,

- (1) That I am unsure that the views of Mr Louis Fischer carry any particular weight.
- (2) That I have gone through the lecture and that many of the statements that he makes as facts are in my opinion untrue.
- (3) That most people will not read a long lecture of this kind & that those who do read it will be of a mental calibre sufficient to enable them to note for themselves when Mr Fischer fails.
- (4) That any prosecution or definite action against *the Hindu* for this will probably only serve to rescue the lecture from the oblivion into which it has probably already fallen.
- (5) That in any case, I incline to deprecate taking action against long and apparently thoughtful articles of this kind. It would give rise to accusations that the Govt. is stifling discussion which would probably be far more harmful than are the reprints of lectures of this kind which probably are read only by a limited public.

25.5.43

1 Speech of Louis Fischer – See Doc. 11 in Chapter XVII.

2, 3 & 4. Refers to passages in the speech of Louis Fischer.



## 46: Report on a Tamil book entitled *Rashtrapati Subhas Chandra Bose* — Report

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 — File G.O. No. 1741  
[TNA]

Confidential

Office of the Tamil Translator  
to Government, Madras.

No. 120.

*Enclosures:* One book and 4 pages of Report.

Note for the Senior Translator to Government

Subject: Tamil book entitled '*Rashtrapati Subhas Chandra Bose*' — Report — Memorandum  
No 7880-2, Public (General), dated the 5th April 1943.

A report on the above-mentioned Tamil book together with an English rendering of the passages to which exception may be taken is furnished herewith as required.

2. The book under reference is also returned herewith.

Madras,  
24th May 1943.

Forwarded to the Under Secretary to Government

A report on the Tamil book entitled '*Rashtrapati Subhas Chandra Bose*'

This is a book written by Mr T.S. Chockalingam, editor of the 'Dhinamani'. It was printed at the Model printing press, Madras, Published by the Alliance Company, Mylapore, Madras. The book deals with the life of Mr Subhas Chandra Bose up to the period during which he was the president of the Indian National Congress for the first time. Though the author who appears to be a follower of Mr Gandhi does not entirely agree with the political policy of Mr Bose, he refers in highly appreciative terms to his character, abilities, ideals, fortitude, patriotism, spirit of sacrifice and national service, his determination to put an end to foreign domination in India and the various efforts he made to achieve this purpose. He then describes his political and other activities both in India and Europe, the differences of opinion that prevailed between him and Mr Gandhi and the several terms of imprisonment, detention and deportation which he had to undergo in India and elsewhere on account of his political predilections. In this connection, he condemns the 'merciless' attitude adopted by the Government towards Mr Bose on several occasions and asserts that his incarceration was responsible for his being afflicted with tuberculosis. He also gives extracts from some of the speeches and writings of Mr Bose in order to indicate his views on political, economic and social questions and concludes the book with the hope that, during his term of office as president of the Indian National Congress, he will enable India to secure Swaraj.

In the speeches and writings referred to above, Mr Bose is reported to have stated that India must become a Federal Republic enjoying complete independence, that she cannot be satisfied with Dominion Status, that there is no reason why she should remain within the British

Empire, that so long she remains there, it will indeed be difficult to prevent the British from exploiting her, that there can be no settlement between India and Britain, that the Indians should get ready to launch a mighty struggle on lines which are both expedient and rational and that a policy based on both Fascism and Communism is the most suitable one for India.

The following observations to which exception may be made, also find place among others in this book:

The Government servants alone did not hear the call of mother India. They did not feel the injustice done by the Government in not having punished General Dyer, who committed massacre in the Punjab, and Governor O'Dwyer who helped him. The shame caused by the presentation in England of 18 thousand pounds and a hero's sword to General Dyer, who shot down a thousand Indians, did not prick them.

The Government did not state what crime Subhas had committed. Even after having kept in jail for 2 1/2 years and even after he became bed ridden, the Bengal Government were unwilling to release him.

All are aware of the fact that, after breaking the heads of people by lathi charge during the time of the civil disobedience movement, the Government were saying that only the minimum of force had been used.

(Mr Bose observed at the Maharashtra Conference) – pages 53–5. Styling themselves as our trustees, our benign Britishers have been saying incessantly that we are not fit for swaraj.

If you ask for education, the Government say that they have no funds. If you wish to enact laws for social reforms, the white men here, who are the brethren of Miss Mayo, oppose them. If you strive for the improvement of the industry and economic conditions of the country, the imperial Bank or the Railway or the Supply Department of the Government does not render any help to you. If you demand prohibition, the British Government oppose it. While the people are suffering on account of famine, food-stuffs are being exported to foreign countries. You cannot prevent it. So, independence alone can remedy all these grievances . . . British rule exists in this country only on account of the co-operation of the Indians. The British are able to eke out their livelihood because you are buying British goods. If you cease to co-operate with them and also give up buying British goods, the whole bureaucracy will immediately fall down and crumble . . . Desabandhu was of opinion that we should always be opposing the bureaucracy. Unless we do so, we cannot succeed either in the constructive work or in the other spheres.

Subhas doubted whether the attitude of the British could be changed by satyagraha and non-violence and whether India could secure swaraj unless she acted in the same way as Ireland.

(Extracts from the book on 'Samyavathi', the new policy based on Fascism and Communism). In India there are both the British army and the Indian army. All the officers even in the Indian army are British. The whole of the artillery force consists only of the British. Therefore, we cannot bring over the officers to our side but the sepoys have been recruited only from the peasantry as was the case in Russia. If a peasant movement is started in this country, the army also can be brought over to our side.

If the struggle for freedom is to succeed, we must certainly do some important things,

- (1) We must keep the British army constantly engaged. It should not be allowed to be concentrated in any one place.
- (2) We must bring over at least a section of the army to our side.



- (3) The struggle should be carried on simultaneously in villages and towns.
- (4) The civil administration should be paralysed.
- (5) The people's Government (a rival Government) should be established.

Let us say clearly, firmly and boldly that our goal is only independence free from any connection with the British and that our aim is only to establish a socialistic republic.

For achieving this object, we should devise ways for obtaining the secrets of the Government. We should try to enlist in our party the majority of the people who are not influenced by the Government. We should fight with the enemy in various directions.

Tamil Translator to Government.

## 47: Note on the Congress propaganda machinery dt 2.6.1943

File No. 3/47/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Subject: 1. Counter-propaganda by Congress.  
2. Control of paper other than Newsprint.

Appendix: I. Notes.

### **Congress Propaganda Machinery**

(Secret)

The Hindu Press in India is, with few exceptions, pro-Congress and ever ready to give prominence to Congress news and views. Full use was made of the pro-Congress Press while the ground was being prepared for the 'Quit India' movement last year; and when the movement started in August, action soon became necessary to restrict the mischievous activities of this section of the Press. Since then nationalist-minded journalists have been untiring in their efforts to secure publicity for the Congress side of the case through the medium, for instance, of the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference, whose executive (including K. Srinivasan of the *Hindu*, C.R. Srinivasan of the 'Swadesamitran, K. Srinivasan of the *Free Press of India*, S.A. Brelvi of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Tushar Kanti Ghose of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and J.N. Sahni of the *National Call*) has been carrying on a ceaseless agitation, directed ostensibly against alleged encroachments on the liberty of the Press by the Central and Provincial Governments, but actually designed to secure greater freedom to publish matter relating to Congress affairs, a propaganda. A typical example of this was the agitation to secure the withdrawal of the orders of the Central Provinces Government banning the publication of news concerning Prof. Bhansali's fast.

2. In recent months two concrete attempts to initiate an active pro-Congress campaign in the Press have come to our notice. In a letter dated January 23rd, 1943, Salivati Iswaran, the Bombay correspondent of the *Hindu* of Madras and editor of the *Salivati's Newsletter*, wrote to Srinivasan, editor of the '*Hindu*':

There is a suggestion here that the Indian newspapers should now initiate a campaign urging the release of the political leaders in view of the acute situation arising in the country due to the food shortage and also developments in the eastern front . . . Now that Mr William Phillips is here, a systematic campaign by the Indian newspapers will create a great impression on him. Why not the *Hindu* start it? You can send a D.O. to the newspapers or suggest to your correspondents to informally meet the other editors and arrange for it. All friends here say that this will create a very very good impression on Mr Phillips regarding a settlement with the I.N.C. (Indian National Congress) for improving the situation in the country.

3. On May 21st, 1943, Achyut Patwardhan, a leading member of the Congress underground 'central directorate' addressed a letter to the editors of the *Tribune* and *Pratap* of Lahore, and other newspaper editors elsewhere containing the following significant passages:

I enclose a note on what I consider to be a likely development of a serious character in our political situation consequent upon Washington talks. It might seem rather far fetched but it is necessary that Nationalist Press should take a strong line whenever there is such a peace move. I have to request you to safeguard the interest of Indian freedom, as guardians of public opinion and spokesman of Rebel India, in jails and underground . . . I have to request you to demand that any settlement must be judged mainly in terms of the Congress. Let no one start deciding in advance what Congress should do about the terms of the settlement. All this may appear premature and actually no such peace offer may be mooted. It is another matter, and personally I see no reason to regret that. Britain will have to bend or else she will break. I seek your co-operation in conveying this voice in your own way. Obviously what I have written is unprintable but I shall be grateful if you can make such use of it as you can.

The enclosed note consisted of a long and pernicious tirade in the useful underground leaflet style, the burden of which was that there must be no political settlement with the British Government without first referring the terms to Gandhi for approval; 'Hold out; let Gandhiji do the deal. After all it is he who raised this storm; it is he who will have forced the British to come to terms and to offer fresh terms . . . Is it not then fair to demand that Gandhiji should look at the proposals first and deal with them in his own fashion? Let us not queer the pitch for Gandhiji.'

4. Apart from these two special instances, continuous efforts have been made since August 1942 to keep the nationalist newspapers fully informed and interested in Congress matters by sending them copies of leaflets published by the underground Congress Organisation. Bombay has been the most important production centre of underground pamphleteering and there is little doubt that it is from Bombay that copies of authentic 'Central directorate' leaflets have been regularly sent out by post or by other means, to the editors of sympathetic newspapers. Hitherto the 'Central directorate' appears to have been content with forwarding its literature to nationalist editors and leaving it to the editors themselves to decide what use to make of it. Achyut Patwardhan's personal appeal indicates that a more direct approach may be made in future.

5. Supplementing the underground propaganda activity of Congress there have been various forms of overt propaganda, such as; – I. *Salivati's Newsletter*, II. The Hindus Press Service, III. The Hamara Hindustan publications and IV. Miscellaneous publications, usually in the form of pamphlets, calculated to arouse sympathy for the Indian nationalist demand, the Congress Party or individual Congress leaders. A typical example of this last form of propaganda is a recent book entitled *Jawaharlal Nehru: The Man and His Ideas* by Y.G. Krishnamurthi, containing introductory notes by Dr R. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Bhulabhai J. Desai

and Mrs Rameshwari Nehru, published by the Popular Book Depot of Bombay. Another Padma publications booklet of interest is 'The Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps' by Ram Manohar Lohia, published in September 1942.

### **I. Salivati's Newsletter**

6. This Newsletter was first put into circulation in June 1942, and was issued from Bombay every Tuesday or Wednesday with the object of supplying: 'background news' to a few of the producer journalist and other friends. Extracts from these Newsletters were reproduced in Congress bulletins and Congress news and propaganda were disseminated through the medium of the Newsletters, which were in effect little more than Congress bulletins in disguise. They were produced by M. Salivati Iswaran of Bombay, Special Correspondent of the London *Daily Herald* and of the Madras *Hindu*. The Newsletters, which were in cyclostyled form and were marked 'Private and Confidential', contained both political and commercial news. In October 1942, it was reported that Salivati had been promised financial assistance in this venture by Walchand Hirachand and that the cyclostyling of the Newsletters was being done in the office of Walchand's Scindia Steam Navigation Company. Early in April 1943, the Bombay Government issued orders revoking the authority to publish the Newsletters granted by them to N. Salivati Eswaran under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931. It is possible that Salivati may try to circumvent the ban on his Newsletters by writing objectionable personal letters to individual friends.

### **II. The Hindus Press Service**

7. The Hindus Press Service, Delhi, is run by Dharam Yash Dev and is a kind of Features Syndicate which receives Press material from the U.S.A. and sends news about India to the U.S.A. At the time of the Non-Party leaders Conference in Delhi in February, 1943, the Hindus Press Service issued a small booklet, entitled 'Crucifixion of the Flesh', dealing with Gandhi's fast. In a letter to N.C. Chatterji, working President of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha, Dharam Yash Dev subsequently stated that he was planning to bring out another publication describing the country's reactions to the Government of India's 'latest stunt', viz., the Home Department pamphlet, *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*. He added: 'In the publication which we intend placing before the public, we as well as American and other foreign correspondents now in India, we intend giving a complete resume' of the entire Indian Press as well as criticisms of important public men of the Government of India's publication.' We invited Chatterji's suggestions for making the publication more useful. In a letter dated 1-3-43 one Nariji Govil of New Delhi wrote to V. Raj, editor of the *Indian Home*, Bombay, that the writer had discussed with Dharam Yash Dev the advisability of preparing a manifesto on behalf of 'America-returned' Indians to be addressed to President Roosevelt and sent to him through his personal Representative, Mr Phillips that Yash Dev was prepared to cooperate in this work; and that after the manifesto was ready, it should be signed by at least fifty prominent 'America-returned' Indians before it was forwarded to the President. (Neither of these two schemes has, so far as is known, matured so far). On 10-4-43 the Delhi C.I.D. reported that Dharam Yash Dev had started the Hindus Press Service in October 1941, and was furnishing articles of a general nature on different subjects, chiefly political, to various newspapers. In August 1942, some fourteen newspapers in different parts of India were subscribing to this Service but, although the Press Service is still in existence, it is not functioning properly, Dharam Yash Dev having meanwhile accepted an appointment as a publicity and advertising

agent of the Dalmia Concerns. Dharm Yash Dev was arrested on 24-8-42 under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules on suspicion of acting behind the scenes of the Congress disturbances and of associating with and harbouring absconders. This suspicion was not fully substantiated and Yash Dev was released after a month; he has not come to notice since his release but it is doubtful if he has altogether severed his connection with the movement.

### III. The Hamara Hindustan Publications

8. The Hamara Hindustan Publications, Bombay under the general editorship of J.C. Gupta, form an important cog in the Congress propaganda machine. So far, six booklets published by Hamara Hindustan Publications have come to our notice:

- (1) 'Hamara Hindustan Special 3' entitled 'The Ordeal Begins,' which deals with Gandhi's fast. The headlines and general set-up of the material in this booklet are objectionable.
- (2) Hamara Hindustan Special entitled 'Imperialism Unmasked', By Louis Fischer.
- (3) 'Babajiki Tapaniddhi' in Hindi and English.
- (4) 'Nehru Flings the Challenge', which has been proscribed by the Bombay Government.
- (5) 'They Speak for India', edited by G.N. Acharya and printed and published by S.K. Kombrhail at the Caravan Press, Bombay. This is a collection of Pro Congress Articles by English and American Writers.
- (6) 'Fifty Facts about India', printed by R.R. Bakhale at the Bombay Vaibhav Press and published by J.P. Gupta for Hamara Hindustan publications. Its proscription is under consideration of the U.P. Government.

In this connection it is of interest of note that on May 17th, 1943, simultaneous raids were carried out by the Police on the Navrashtra Printing Press, 33, Home Street, Bombay (the address of Hamara Hindustan publications), and at the Mewar Printing Press at 291a, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, on receipt of information that these two Press were jointly engaged in the printing and publication of an objectionable booklet, entitled 'Whose is the Guilt' which was intended to be a rejoinder to the Government of India's publication '*Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances 1942-43*'. The information was found to be correct and from the Mewar Printing Press the police seized 1000 newly printed copies of pages 9 to 24 of the proposed publication. At the Navrashtra Printing Press were found composed types-some of which had already been dismantled from which the copies seized at the Mewar Press had been printed, together with the typed manuscript and the proof copies of the remaining pages of the booklet, and also proof copies of the cover, which indicated that the booklet was to be issued as 'An Arpee Publication'. In addition to the printed matter mentioned above, five books were intended for the printing of 'Congress Bonds' over the signature of Ram Manohar Lohia on behalf of the 'All-India' Congress Committee' which were to be issued to the public in exchange for loans, ranging from Rs 10 to Rs 10,000 to Congress funds under the 'Swaraj Karj' scheme. The blocks were quite new and had not been used before they were seized. The finding of these Blocks in the Mewar Printing Press suggests that its keeper, Bhupendra Ramshanker Trivedi, was in close touch with the A.I.C.C. 'Central directorate'. Madanlal Agarwal, the declared keeper of the Navrashtra Printing Press, and Bhupendra Ramshanker Trivedi, the declared keeper of the Mewar Printing Press, were found together in the latter Press when it was raided, and both were put under arrest under Defence Rule 129. Although he was the keeper of the Navrashtra Press, Agarwal also had a half interest in the Vidyalaya Press, situated in the same premises, which closed down in

March last when its keeper, Rampratap Shukla, failed to deposit the security demanded from the Press for printing 'Nehru Flings a Challenge' (No. (4) above).

Further investigation into this matter has disclosed that the author of 'Whose is the Guilt?' is one Ramanatha Padmananda Aiyer, Madras Brahmin, aged 33 years, residing at Sarasvati Nivas, Bombay. This person was arrested under Defence Rule 129 on 18th May, 1943. He is a known Congressman and was convicted and sentenced to 6 months R.I. in 1930 in Madras for taking part in the civil disobedience movement. He secured employment as senior clerk in the Supply Department in May, 1942, but resigned in September, 1942 as a protest against what he termed 'the repressive policy of the Government'. In March, 1943, he commenced a publishing business under the name of 'Arpee Publications' of which he was the sole editor and manager. Shortly afterwards, Arpee Publications published a booklet, entitled 'The Great Challenge, which dealt with Gandhi's fast. The author admits that 'Whose is the Guilt?' was intended to be a rejoinder to 'Congress Responsibility for the disturbances 1942-43', but denies that he received any advice or financial assistance from Congress quarters in connection with its publication. As he refused to divulge the sources from which he received the necessary funds to commence his publishing business, it can reasonably be assumed that he was paid by Congress and is a hireling of its underground propaganda department.

(1) While the Bombay centre, for the most part, controls internal Congress propaganda, external propaganda appears to be controlled from Delhi by Devadas Gandhi, probably with G. D. Birla's support. Devadas Gandhi has also been concerned in internal propaganda activity, particularly in the Delhi area, but his most important work from the Congress point of view has undoubtedly been propaganda among foreign journalists, particularly American journalists who were provided by him with copies of illegal Congress productions. A secret report dated 2-1-43 stated that he was keeping the American correspondents informed about Prof. Bhansali's fast in order that the widest possible publicity could be given to it in America and that the atrocities of the Government could be exposed. An intercepted letter dated 18-1-43 from a writer in Delhi to the 'Sind Observer', Karachi, revealed that the (highly objectionable) book, 'India Ravaged', was obtainable only from 'Hindustan Times' office and that Devadas Gandhi had made special efforts to have it circulated among the Americans. Finally, a report dated 24-5-43 discloses that on the occasion of the last meeting of the Eastern Newspaper Society at Delhi, John Rippley Morris of the United Press of America approached some of the editors who attended particularly Devadas Gandhi, Tushar Kanti Ghosh and J.N. Sahnî and requested them to make greater use of the U.P.A. Service. Subsequently Morris, at the express request of Devadas, is stated to have agreed to receive items of Indian news which might prove helpful to the Congress cause and to transmit them to the U.S.A. In response to this arrangement, the 'Hindustan Times', 'Amrita Bazar Patrika', 'Hindu', 'National Call' and 'Tribune' are said to have agreed to continue to make use of the U.P.A. Service.

Devdas has also played a large part in organizing the production of the cyclostyled Delhi Congress Newsletters in English, while these were being published Narain, Assistant Editor of the 'Hindustan Times' (since arrested),<sup>1</sup> was responsible for editing Congress Newsletters; but the general responsibility for organising the production of Congress Bulletins and Newsletters was Devadas Gandhi's who obtained much of the material published in them from his reporters and similar sources. Although the 'Hindustan Times' suspended publication in August, 1942, it is significant that the management circulated instructions to its provincial correspondents directing them to send uncensored reports of all events connected with the Congress movement and promising suitable remuneration for the work.

10. Reference has already been made to the support and encouragement given to Devadas Gandhi by G.D. Birla. His three newspapers, the '*Hindustan Times*', the '*Hindustan*' (Hindi) of Delhi and the '*Searchlight*' of Patna have taken a leading part in disseminating Congress news and views; it remains to be seen whether his latest venture, the '*Eastern Economist*' of Delhi, will take its tone from them. Herbert Mathews, the Delhi correspondent of the '*New York Times*', in a despatch to his newspaper reported how he has interviewed J.R.D. 'Tata,' G.D. Birla and Walchand Hirachand' and Birla had told him that reports of Indian industrialists help to the Congress had been grossly exaggerated. Birla is known to have kept in touch with W.E. Fisher and Gillespie, two other American Journalists in Delhi with the object of keeping the American Press well informed about the Indian problem from the nationalist point of view. In a letter dated 7-1-43 Birla told Mathews that in his opinion Indian independence was a major war problem and that sooner or later, under the pressure of public opinion, England would have to tackle the problem.

11. Among other persons who have come to notice in Delhi in connection with Congress propaganda, is Raja Rao who, according to a report dated 16-2-33, was sent from Bombay to Delhi by the 'Central directorate of the A.I.C.C.' to get into touch with leading public men, members of the legislature, the American and Chinese Missions and others in Delhi, and generally to collect news relating to the activities of the Central Government which might serve as suitable material for inclusion in Congress bulletins. Raja Rao had his headquarters in Delhi where he remained for twenty days in a month, spending the remaining period in Bombay, and was provided with ample funds to keep himself and his work going. He was, however, regarded as indiscreet and unrealistic by the Delhi underground leaders and was removed. Mir Asaf Ali, on some occasions, appears to have been in touch with the American Journalists personally. B.P. Sinha of Patna was called to Delhi in December, 1942 to take up Congress propaganda work, including the collection of information for the Congress organization and the passing on of suitable news items to foreign journalists; but he was arrested before he could set to work. These persons were, however, of comparatively lesser importance, Devadas Gandhi being the mainspring of the Congress propaganda machine in northern India.

12. No mention has been made in this note of B. Shiva Rao, the Delhi correspondent of the '*Hindu*' and the '*Manchester Guardian*', whose part in ensuring internal and external publicity to Congress news and views is well known.

2-6-43

### Appendix I - A Note

Report on Mrs Kusuma Nair, of 10, Aurangabad Cantonment.

Mrs Kusuma Nayyar (Nair) is the daughter of Jwala Prasad, M.A., Ph.D. (Edin) who was till recently the Principal, King Edward College, Amraoti. She is aged about 24 years and is Graduate of the Nagpur University and obtained her Degree from the Robertson College, Jubbulpore. It is believed that her family originally hailed from the United Provinces. After completing her education in the Central Provinces, she was at Karachi for some time where she got acquainted with Mr P.N. Nair (Prem Nath Nair) and subsequently married him in Karachi. Mr P.N. Nair, aged about 29 years, is an M.A. of the Punjab University and is now the Executive Officer, Aurangabad Cantonment. He comes from Gujarat District.

Mr and Mrs Nair, on their arrival at Aurangabad Cantonment in Sept. 1941, showed considerable interest in ameliorating the conditions of the poor in the Cantonment. Mrs Nair,

sent for all the menials of the Cantonment service, and promised them that she would better their conditions and would also establish night schools for them but nothing has been done so far in this direction. Both of them attended meetings in the city in Khadi and on one or two occasions, last year, she delivered speeches which seemed to contain extreme views. The idea to start a paper seems to have been present in her from a long time. In Nov. 1940, after obtaining a letter of introduction to Abdulla Brelvi, Editor, *Bombay Chronicle* from Prof. Ibrahim of the Intermediate College, Aurangabad City, Mr and Mrs Nair left for Bombay with a view to Mrs Nair getting training in the Editorial section of the *Bombay Chronicle*. They were not successful in this attempt.

Mrs Nair is interested in the Aurangabad Students Union. The workers of the Union are believed to be communist minded. G.B. Deshmukh, Secretary, Students, Union and V.D. Deshpande visit Mrs Nair now and then. It is learnt that when she was in Central Provinces, she was in touch with the workers of the Sevagram (Gandhi's Ashram).

Note on Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, alias Bachchu, L.L.B. (Alig.) s/o Khwaja Ghulam Segalaim, of Panipat, Karnal.

While a student in M.A. class in the Muslim University, Aligarh, he came to notice in local communist circles. Delivered lectures on Socialism in Poona and Bombay during his visit to these places in Jan: 1935 as a member of the Lucknow University Debating Team. Created a disturbance in the official Silver Jubilee Darbar at the Aligarh University when the resolution congratulating His late Majesty King George V. on his long reign was moved by the Vice Chancellor. Since 1936 he has been employed as sub-editor of the 'Bombay Chronicle'. Was a fellow boarder with Mahmud-Uzzafar of the 'National Front', Bombay sailed from Bombay by the s.s. 'Conte Vewrde' on 28-6-38 on a world tour at his own expense, holding passport No. 112867, issued by the Bombay Government on 27-6-38 and valid for the British Empire, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Turkey, Egypt, China, Japan and the U.S.A. As he was expected to be in Europe about the time of the IIInd World Youth Congress he was elected a delegate from Bombay to the said Congress.

2 On 14-7-38 Ahmed Abbas arrived in Japan where (and also in China) he established connexions and thereafter proceeded to New York where he attended the IIInd World Youth Congress held in August. In New York he also made contact with the American Communist Party and the 'Daily Worker's office. On 31-8-38 he left America for Paris where he was in touch with well known Communist leaders. Later, he proceeded to Geneva where he attended the session of the Assembly of the League of Nations and met Nehru and V.K. Menon, of the latter he formed an unfavourable opinion owing to his dictatorial manner. Subsequently he toured Italy in the company of Anver Qureshi, an Indian Communist now studying journalism in England. Both arrived in Paris towards the end of September where Ahmed Abbas introduced Qureshi to sundry friends as a comrade working with the Communist Party of India. Arrived in Karachi in December, travelling by the overland route. His luggage, was sent direct to Bombay where it was examined on arrival but, was not found to contain any objectionable literature.

He is the author of a book entitled 'Let India Fight for Freedom', and is a Progressive writer.

Zabakis presumably Zahir Baber Kureishi nom-de-plume 'Zabak' s/o Muzaffaruddin Ahmed Kureshi, a Sunni Muslim, aged about 29 years, hailing from Lahore in the Punjab. He is a graduate of the Aligarh University (U.P.). He was an assistant editor of the (1) 'Evening Post' (English Daily) and (2) 'Advertiser' (English Daily) at Tientsin in North China from 1935 to

1938. Towards the end of 1939 he returned to India and joined the English Weekly of Bombay entitled 'Sunday Standard' as its sub-editor. In 1941 he joined the English Weekly entitled 'Blitz' of Bombay as its sub-editor. In October 1942 he became the editor of the English Monthly Magazine 'Sound' of Bombay which deals mainly with cinema news and is nationalist in tone. He resides at 'Suman Kunj', North Keluskar Road, Shivaji Park, Dadar, Bombay.

K. Punniiah. Editor of the *Sind Observer*, a Madrasi intensely communal at heart and anything but pro-British. Like the majority of Hindus he follows the Congress principle of harping on the effect, on matter how falsified or exaggerated, without in any way considering the cause. It is said about him, that to suit his principles and policy he would shut his eyes against the obvious and say 'There is no sun.'

1 This refers to Edatala Narayanan, for whom see biographical index under Narayanan

## 48: Comments in *Swadesamitran* and *Bharata Devi* about the ban on Louis Fischer's articles

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2761.

[TNA]

Articles by Louis Fischer  
*Swadesamitran* – dt 5-6-43  
*Bharata Devi* – dt 6-6-43

Commenting on the recent order of the Govt. of India regarding articles on India by Mr Louis Fischer, the *Swadesamitran*<sup>1</sup> observes: Why should Govt. of India be so afraid of Mr Fischer's articles? Is it fair to try to suppress the truth? As soon as Sir Sultan Ahmed took over the Information Deptt. he stated that he would maintain closer relationship with the Press. This led people to believe that a new policy would be followed. But all this censorship only indicates the continuance of the old order.

The *Bharata Devi*<sup>2</sup> writes: If there is anything contrary to facts in Louis Fisher's articles or speeches, the proper thing to do is to point it out and impose the present restriction. The Govt. have not stated that there is anything wrong in them. It would not therefore be wrong to presume that there is nothing in them contrary to facts. We need hardly say what impression will be created among the public by the application of the Defence of India rule to Louis Fischer's articles when the Govt. are trying to give publicity in India to the grossly exaggerated accounts of the Indian situation given by several journalists lacking in integrity. Let us derive consolation from the fact that the Defence of India Rule does not give power to the Govt. of India to muzzle Fischer even in America.

1. *Swadesamitran* – a daily in Tamil – editor during the period – C.R. Srinivasan.

2. *Bharata Devi* – Weekly Magazine in Tamil.





## 49: Government of India to all Provincial Governments – Use of wireless by security prisoners

File No. 44/37/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India,  
Home Department

From  
Vishnu Sahay, Esquire, I.C.S.,  
Joint Secretary to the Government of India,

All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners  
Coorg, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Baluchistan.  
New Delhi, the 10th June, 1943

Subject – Security prisoners use of wireless

Sir,

It is understood that in some cases security prisoners are permitted to operate in jail their own wireless receiving sets. It is desired to call attention to the danger inherent in this of security prisoners, and through them other prisoners, obtaining free access to enemy broadcasts. It appears almost impossible to provide for effective supervision of the use of wireless receiving sets by prisoners, but we understand that it is possible for a competent wireless mechanic to render wireless receiving sets of the normal 'all wave' type insensitive on the short wave bands, while leaving them free to pick up medium wave broadcasts. It is considered, therefore, that permission should be given to security prisoners to retain and operate their own wireless receiving sets only on condition that the sets are thus rendered incapable of picking up short wave broadcasts. There is little danger in this country of enemy broadcasts on medium wave transmitters being received. It is realised that the proposed restriction in the case of prisoners who are confined at places beyond the range of Indian medium wave transmitters amounts to virtual prohibition of the use of wireless receiving sets, but this is unavoidable in view of the undesirability of allowing such prisoners to listen to enemy broadcasts. The above considerations do not, of course, apply to the relaying of wireless programmes to prisoners by means of loud speakers attached to a receiver operated and controlled by the jail staff.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

Joint Secretary to the  
Government of India.

Copy forwarded for information to the Secretary to the Governor-General (Public) political Department/ External Affairs Department/Director, Intelligence Bureau.

By order,  
Vishnu Sahay  
Joint Secy to the Government of India  
Au. (25/9-6-43)-13

## 50: Note of the Superintendent of Police regarding the book *Rashtrapathi Subhas Chandra Bose*

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 1741  
[TNA]

Confidential

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department

No 3159/C

*Dated 11th June 1943*

Reference : Memorandum No. 7880-6, public (General) Department dated 9-6-43 regarding the Tamil Book *Rashtrapathi Subhas Chandra Bose*.<sup>1</sup>

The book sent with your memorandum No. 7880-5, public (General) Department, dated 31 5-43 is returned herewith.

Enquiries show that only one more copy of this book is available at present. There is another book however, entitled 'Vangu Veerar' (Bengal Hero) by the same author and published by the Alliance Co., Madras, which contains the same matter as the one under reference but the title and the cover different. I enclose a copy for perusal.

It is possible that the book 'Babu Subhas Chandra Bose' by the same author which was proscribed in G.O. No. 976 public (General) dated 23.11.33, a copy of which is not available in my office, may also have contained the same matter and the two books mentioned above may only be reproductions with different titles.

I suggest that the book entitled '*Vangu Veerar*' should also be proscribed.

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1 Doc. 46



## 51: An account of the book *Makkal Vayiril Adikkade* (dt 26.6.43) and the order declaring the book forfeit (12.7.43)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 1934  
[TNA]

An account of the Tamil book entitled *Makkal Vayiril Adikkade* or 'Hands off the people's Food', written by B.T. Ranadive<sup>1</sup> published by the Janasakti Pracuralayam, Madras, and printed at the Janasakti Press, Madras.

The book is devoted to a consideration of the following topics:

1. The scarcity of food, the abnormal rise in the prices of food stuffs and the causes for the same;
2. The attitude of the Government towards the solution of the problem arising from the above and the motive underlying their policy of control of prices.
3. A criticism of the steps taken by the Government for solving the food-problem; and,
4. The fight against famine 'which is put a phase of the national war for self-protection.'

In the preface, the author states that there is the prospect of thousands of people starving and pining for want of food. It is also stated that people in Bombay stand before depots in an endless chain in the hot sun and in rain patiently waiting to take their turn. In the author's words, the outcome of this state of affairs will be: 'The people pining for want of food lose hope, get enraged and forcibly snatch at food wherever they happen to come across it. Theft and looting increase day by day. And even the present Government which is adept in the art of use of force, cannot with all the strength at its command, prevent such a thing happening. It is not possible to control people who ask for food, by giving them bullets instead of food'.

In the first chapter, the causes for the scarcity of food are said to be the existence of black markets which are not properly dealt with by the government but which are even positively encouraged by it, all that the Government is doing, being to charge a few innocent retail dealers for the offence of selling things in excess of the fixed rates.

In the second chapter, it is stated that the motive underlying the fixation of prices is to reduce and control the consumption of food stuffs by the people. In this connection, the author says: 'That the policy of Government is to reduce the purchasing power of the people and to reduce the quantity consumed by them to the extent possible and then to show that the supply is more than the demand, becomes crystal clear. Thus it is not the intention of the Government to provide people with food cheaply. Besides, lack of transport facilities and the precedence given for the transport of food stuffs for the army, the refusal of the Government to open a number of retail depots and lastly the Military department making its own purchases as it likes without consulting the Civil Department are among the other cause for this state of affairs'.

In the third chapter, the author criticises the policy of the Government in regard to the food problem. He says, 'The rice produced in this country being insufficient for the People even under normal conditions, large quantities were imported from Burma. And hence, if the Government should control the supply and the prices of food stuffs, it means, that the requirements of the military are attended in preference to those of the civil population. The

‘Grow More Food campaign is a ruinous policy in that the ryot who is already indebted and weighed down by taxes runs into further debts.’

In the last chapter, the author states that the war for food is but a phase of the major National war for self-protection. . . . ‘To work this out properly, according to him, a National Government should be set up and the Unity of the whole of India should be sought by bringing about Hindu Muslim Unity. He advises the Government to give up its ‘repressive’ policy and release the Congress leaders. The need for the above, it is stated, is evident ‘in as-much-as the present Government and the whole-sale merchants who make huge profits have both created this dangerous situation in the country’.

*Translations of specimen passages*

In connection with the need for solving the food problem of the country, the author observes (pp. ii and iii): ‘If India is to be saved from falling disgracefully at the feet of the invader, a way out of this impasse is to be found. That should be done in spite of the obstacles put on the way by the Government pursuing a most retrograde and foolish policy’.

While referring to the Government depots in Bombay wherein the grain millet is sold at a rate which yields them a profit of more than 50%, the author observes as follows (pp. 17-18): ‘Can there be anything more atrocious and unjust than this? In Bombay it is the Government that has stocked all the millet. It is their chief concern even at this crisis to make a profit of 14 per cent. from the citizens of Bombay, from the poor people who starve for want of food. According to the rates fixed by the Government, they make twice the profit which a retail dealer would make under the circumstances. The fun of it is that having perpetrated all this in justice, the Government pride themselves on having controlled prices and rendered great service to the people by opening depots to sell things cheap to them’.

Referring to the whole-sale merchants, the author states (pp. 19 and 20): ‘This Government which had depended upon brokers was not bold enough to attack them. How could a Government take severe measures against profiteers, when that itself follows a policy of profiteering’.

V. Krishna Rao  
Registrar of Books.

**Public (General) Department G.O. No. 1934 Abstract**

Books and Publications-Defence of India Rules – Rule 40 (1) Book in Tamil entitled ‘Makkal Vayiril Adikkade’ – Declared forfeit.

Order No. 1934 dated 12/7/43

Where as in the opinion of the Government of Madras the book in Tamil entitled ‘Makkal Vayyinl Adikkade’ written by B.T. Ramadive, printed at the ‘Janasakthi Press’, Madras, and published by the Janasakthi Prasuralayam contains prejudicial reports;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clauses (d) and (e) of sub-rule (i) of Rule 40 of the Defence of India rules, H.E. the Governor of Madras is hereby pleased to prohibit the further publication, sale or distribution of the said book and to declare to be forfeited to his Majesty all copies, wherever found, of the said book and all other documents containing copies, reprints or translations of, or extracts, from the said book.

## 52 Government order declaring the books *S.C. Bose* and *Vanga Veeran* forfeit (dt 28.6.1943)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 1741

[TNA]

Books and Publications - Defence of India Rules. Rules 40 (1) - Books in Tamil entitled '*Rashtrapathi Subhas Chandra Bose*' and '*Vanga Veeran*' Declared forfeit.

### Order

No 1741,

*dated 28/6/43.*

Whereas in the opinion of the Government of Madras the undermentioned publication contain prejudicial report,

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clauses (d) and (e) of sub-rule (1) of Rule 40 of the defence of India Rules, His Excellency the Governor of Madras is hereby pleased to prohibit the further publication, sale or distribution of the said books and to declare to be forfeited to his Majesty all copies, wherever found, of the said books and all other document containing copies, reprint or translations of, or extracts from the said books:

- (1) A Tamil book entitled *Rashtrapathi Subhas Chandra Bose* written by T.S. Chockalingam printed at the model printing press, Madras and published by the Alliance Company Mylapore, Madras,
- (2) A Tamil book entitled *Vanga Veeran Subhas Chandra Bose* written by T.S. Chockalingam printed at the model printing Press, Madras, and published by the Alliance Company Mylapore, Madras

The Deputy Inspector General of police, Railways and C.I.D. The Commissioner of police, Madras

The Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras

All District Magistrates

The Postmaster-General, Madras.

The Director-General of posts and Telegraphs, New Delhi (with C.L.)

The registrar of Book, Madras

All provincial Governments and Administrations (with C.C.L.)

Registrar, Andhra University (with C.L.).

Registrar, Annamalai University (with C.L.)

Registrar, Madras University with C.L.)

Superintendent, of police, Special Branch, C.I.D.

IMPERIAL LIBRARY, Calcutta.

Secretary to the Government of India.

Defence Department. (with C.L.)

To the D.M. of N. Arcot.  
(with one book).

## 53: Government of Assam to the Government of India – Police firing at Dhakiajuli

File No. 3/61/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of Assam

G.O. No. 6587–C

*Shillong, the 28th June, 1943*

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

Will you please refer to your D/C No. 3/61/43 – Poll (I) of the 21st June.<sup>1</sup> We will send you a copy of the (attached) judgement,<sup>2</sup> which is very lengthy, as soon as it can be prepared. The quotations appearing in the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, *Hindustan Standard* and certain other papers is one of the most blatant cases of violent tearing of a passage in a judgement out of its context that one has ever seen. We propose moving the Government of Bengal to take action against their newspapers, and also moving the High Court for enhancement of the penalty in the case of the accused.

The judgement itself after stating that the justification for the firing was not a point at issue before the Court, nevertheless proceeded to discuss the whole matter from the aspect of justification. It found that the firing was indeed justified, and queried whether, had the main body of Army police acted with more energy at an earlier stage, less loss of life would not have occurred. The Magistrate expressed himself satisfied that all but 2 constables were overborne before they could probably fire at all, and that all the damage was done by 2 remaining Constables. Then starts the passage which has been quoted in the papers and which indicates a curious attitude of mind in the Magistrate, but was very probably due to some temperamental excitement roused by the loss of life of possibly quite innocent by-standers and not intended as an attack on the Police Department. He goes on to say that the Officer in charge and the Head Constable of the Armed Police could not be held responsible for what he considers the excessive firing of the 2 Constables. This last passage, like the whole of the preceding, has been deliberately omitted by the papers.

Yours Sincerely,

H.G. Denchey,  
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Assam.

Vishnu Sahay, Esq., I.C.S.,  
Deputy Secretary to the Govt. of India,  
Home Department.

1. Not printed.

2. See also Docs 4 & 241 in Chapter III, and document 55 below

## 54: Extract from 'Communist Survey' – Activities of the Press (July–Oct. 1943)

File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

### **Propaganda**

10. Apparently the only remedies the Central Committee could suggest for the unhappy state of the Party was the issue of a series of pamphlets (which have yet to appear) designed to convince the 'demoralized patriots' of the wisdom of the Communist pro-war policy in its manifold aspects, and the transformation of the 'People's War' from a mere Party organ into a journal designed to appeal to all classes of 'patriots'. This latter project has resulted in an alteration in the layout of the paper but has as yet hardly affected its tone (the familiar mixture of good and bad). It is noteworthy that in the proceedings of the Central Committee there appears to have been no suggestion of a departure from the policy laid down in the Party Convention held in Bombay last May, nor was there any hint that a bid might be made for popularity by reverting to the consistent vilification of Government which was a feature of the 'People's War' when its circulation was at its peak. The ineptitude of the 'sun-dried bureaucrats' is, of course, featured prominently in relation to the economic situation but in general effect it is less malicious than that of the nationalist press, and it is to the communists' credit that they are infinitely more outspoken than the latter in denouncing hoarders and profiteers. To cater principally for the needs of the Party itself a new 4-anna monthly magazine, entitled the 'Peoples World', is to be brought out in November in English and, later, in other languages.

## 55: Police firing at Dhakiajuli<sup>1</sup> (Assam)

File No. 3/61/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Current comments' from '*Assam Tribune*' followed by official comments (dt 7.7.43–24.8.43)

When sometime ago the demand was made in Assam Assembly that the Government should hold an inquiry into the police firing at Dhakiajuli in that province, the Premier refused to entertain it on the ground that firing was resorted to in exercise of the right of private defence. Now comes the judgement of Mr S.K. Das who, as Special Magistrate, during the course of his judgement, the Magistrate observed:

They fired and fired at the fleeing crowd and anybody and everybody and probably someone also chased the fleeing people to the road in some distance. A dead body was found in the hatkhola to the south of the thana building, one was found to the north of the thane cu'vert, another, that of a young girl, near the culvert over the P.W.D. road in front of Satish Biswas's and a body was found later on near the Godhavari river at a distance of more than a mile from the railway station. The man

found dead at hatkhola was a beggar. These facts go to prove that the firing resorted to by the constables was indiscriminate, uncontrolled and cowardly.

The courts findings are categorical and makes most shocking reading. Is there no one in the enjoyment of authority who will be moved to action over this one of the most shameful episodes of recent times in India?

*Official Notes in the Govt. of India*

The P.G.<sup>2</sup> have presumably not thought it necessary or desirable to issue the correct version, presumably because of the proposed application to the High Court for enhancement of the sentence, it is however doubtful if giving the correct version of the Magistrate judgement could be said to prejudice such an application. We should perhaps ask Assam to keep us informed of the results of the action proposed in para one of their letters.

Signed U.S. (I)  
7.7.43

A.J.  
27/7/

For information. If a conviction could be obtained on the ground that the passages form a prejudicial report, action could surely be taken under the Press Act; for by S. 6(3) of the Defence of India Act prejudicial reports have been included in S. 4(1) of the Press (E.P.) Act

U.S. (I)

Signed illegible  
25.8.43

I agree that on the face of it, the Bengal Govts attitude, as reported by Assam is absurd. Perhaps, however, we cannot blame them for being a little off their balance in matters referring to the Calcutta High Court. This is now old history and I do not think it is worth taking up with Bengal.

S.J.L. Oliver  
24-8-43

1. See Doc 53. See also in Chapter III Docs 4, 45, 149 and 241.

2. Provincial Government

## 56 News item from *The Hindu* dt 15.7.1943 — Reg. L. Fischers article

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 2761  
[TNA]

### **Ban on Fischer's Articles Editors' Committee's Protest**

Bombay, July 14, The Standing Committee of the All India Newspaper editors' Conference met in Bombay this morning with Mr K. Srinivasan, Editor of *The Hindu*, in the chair.



The chairman reviewed the work after the last meeting of the Committee. The Convener's reports were then presented and a discussion followed.

The Committee next adopted the following resolution moved from the Chair:

The Standing Committee of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference warmly congratulates Mr Devadas Gandhi on his acquittal before the Privy Council in the contempt of court case filed against him and others by the Allahabad High Court. In successfully prosecuting the case in the Privy Council, the *Hindustan Times* has worthily upheld the liberties and the traditions of the press

Mr Devdas Gandhi thanked the Committee.

The Committee passed resolutions expressing disapproval of political censorship and protesting against the Government of India's ban on the reproduction of Louis Fischer's articles in the Indian Press

The Committee adjourned at 7 p.m. after being in session for about six hours, to meet again at 10.30 a.m. tomorrow when Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member for information and Broadcasting, Government of India, will address the Committee.

Mr B.J. Kirchner, Chief Press Adviser to the Government of India, attended the afternoon sitting by special invitation and participated in the discussion.

Other subjects that will come up before the committee are the Bombay Agreement, freedom regarding publication of cartoons and date of the next annual session of the Conference.

The following members were present, Mr K. Srinivasan (*The Hindu*, President) Sir Francis Low (*The Times of India*), Messrs. Amrithlal D. Seth (*Janmbhoomi*), J.S. Karandikar (*Kesari*, Poona), K. Srinivasan (*Free Press Journal*, Bombay), Samaldas Gandhi (*Vandematharam*, Bombay), Sambu Prasad (*Andhra Patrika*, Madras), Ramnath Goenka (*Indian Express*, Madras), A.D. Mami (*Hutavac*, Nagpur), B. Shiva Rao (*The Hindu Weekly*), C.R. Srinivasan (*Sivadevamatran*, Madras), Devadas Gandhi (*Hindustan Times*, Delhi), P.L. Sondhi (*Tribune*), F.W. Bustin (*Civil and Military Gazette*), H.R. Moharaj (*Samayukta Karnataka*, Hubli), K. Pun niah (*Sind Observer*, Karachi), Syed Mohammed (Orient press), P. Sen Gupta (United Press), Ian Stephens (*Statesman*, Calcutta), Tushar Kanti Ghosh (*Amrita Bazaar Patrika*), S.A. Brelvi, Bombay Chronicle), J.M. Sahni (*National Call*), Promoda Kumar Sen (*Hindustan Standard*), and A.S. Bharathan (Associated Press)

Mr K. Rama Rao (*National Herald*), and Mr A.S. Iyengar (*The Roy's Weekly*) were present by special invitation - A.P.I.

## 57: 'Growing Rigours of Censorship' – Mr K. Srinivasan's criticism – Reply to Sir Sultans Ahmed's address

*The Hindu* – [ICWA]

### Government and Press

Bombay, July 15, Addressing the members of the standing committee of the All India Newspaper Editor's Conference, this morning, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Information Member stated that he wished to see this country maintain a free press even in war time. He added that while

he would be a watchful advocate of its privileges, he expected the Editors to be equally watchful in discharging their duties.

Mr K. Srinivasan, President of the Conference, replying said that he could not enforce the claim advanced by Sir Sultan Ahmed that the press in India was as free from restrictions as the press of any country could be in times of war. He criticized the censorship methods followed in India and said that the picture of the existence of a free press in India had been all along been a standing plank in the propaganda campaign of the officials and reached its climax when a party of Turkish Journalists after a conducted tour began to write articles telling the world of the paradise Indians lived in. The model which the Indian Editors set before themselves was not, he said, the Turkish Press but the British and American Press.

Addressing the session, Sir Sultan Ahmed said: Let me first say how gladly I accepted your invitation to attend this meeting of the All India Newspaper Editor's conference and how much value this opportunity of meeting you all. When I met you, gentleman of the press in Delhi in May, just after I had taken over charge of the Department of Information & Broadcasting. I asked for your cooperation and good will. I take the fact you have invited me here today as a sign on your part that your cooperation and good will is extended to me. I also said, at the same time, that you could rely on having from me every help that I could render you in the discharge of your legitimate functions, I am here today to show that on my part I am ready to be as good as my word.

Proposal for a publicity advisory committee-you will first of all want to hear what I have been able to do so far to implement my undertaking to bring the press in India into close touch with work of my Department. First I am setting up a Public Advisory Committee which will meet every six months to discuss generally matters affecting the work of the Department. Its nucleus is the members of the Standing Committee of the Central Legislature for the Dept and I am inviting other gentlemen to join us, so as to secure a body as representative as possible of both British India and the Indian States.

I am also hoping to get the help of prominent Editors and have issued invitations to your Chairman and some other editors and hope also to secure the services of two representatives of the Indian language press. I am also forming a committee to be known as the press correspondents Advisory Committee, which will, I hope, provide a forum in which matters within the responsibility of my Department, which affect correspondents in their daily work can be discussed. This Committee will meet once a month.

Most of my time, since I took over charge of the Department has been spent in making myself acquainted with what is being done in it. My investigations have convinced me of one thing. Whatever our shortcomings may be – and there are, no doubt, plenty of them, – there is nothing radically wrong either with the work of the Department as a whole or with the spirit which animates its officers. The thing which has struck me most is the extraordinary variety of the activities of the Dept. in its various branches. The more I study these activities the more I am surprised, not that mistakes have not been made, but that they have not been far more frequent: not that I receive criticism and I have received plenty, but that the criticisms have not been more numerous and more serious. During the past years, it has been the policy of the Department never to turn down a suggestion for a new activity and never to refuse to undertake a job which it has been asked to do. I do not think that the Department of information and broadcasting should follow any other policy but the result, in our case, has been that the volume and complexity of the work has extended until a state has been reached when there are no longer a sufficient number of hours in the day for the superior staff of the Department

to supervise, direct and coordinate the existing work and, at the same time to think and plan for the future. I have found, therefore, that my first business was to set about changing this and in my proposals I have the whole-hearted support of the officers on the Department. I need not trouble you with the details of what we propose, but the general result of the reorganisation which is now in progress will be to relieve my senior officers, whose main business should be planning and coordination of most of the routine business of administration, finance, staff and the rest. As soon as these arrangements are completed, or earlier if possible, I propose to undertake a survey of the work and organisation of each branch of the Dept. and to satisfy myself whether any changes are necessary in order to enable the work to be carried out efficiently and speedily. Further details of changes (improvements, I hope) will no doubt be in due course extracted from us by your enterprising correspondents. You would not, I know, wish me to anticipate their discoveries.

### **Aim of Govt. Propaganda**

Now I should like to say a few words about propaganda. Propaganda is a subject on which there are any number of opinions, but few experts and even those experts are not necessarily known to the general public. They are not born, they are made by experience and experiment, and experience and experiment determine whether they are fit for their jobs. Dr Goebbels has many advantages in a country where opinion is as strictly controlled as tyranny can effect, and where the headman's axe awaits those who are detected in the crime of listening – in to the outside world. But Dr Goebbels has no monopoly of brains. We can beat him in this country. In many respects we have already checked, countered and failed him and his fellows. If we are as determined on truth and freedom as he is on untruth and domination, we have already the material for beating him utterly. But if we adopt his mental attitude we shall fail, and we shall deserve to fail.

If there are many opinions on propaganda, it follows that any Govt. body responsible for propaganda becomes the target for many sorts of criticism. I welcome it. A not inconsiderable part of our work is concerned with the assessment and analysis of public reactions, and criticism should be helpful and not merely the result of chagrin if some individual's views fall, to find expression in our propaganda. I should like to point out two cardinal errors into which critics often unthinkingly fall the first and perhaps, the commonest error lies in supposing that because the methods and operation of propaganda may not be generally discernible, propaganda is not being carried on, when I hear people say, as I sometimes do, that we are doing no propaganda, I take that as an eloquent tribute to the propaganda that we are doing, for it means that indirect methods are effective. Of all Depts of Govt. almost the only one that does not seek publicity for itself is the department which is concerned with publicity. Indeed the elements of the Department of Information & Broadcasting had been working since the beginning of the war two years before the Department was formed – working through the most difficult years that propaganda has been called upon to face quietly, and without fuss and almost entirely without money. The foundations that were laid then were good foundations and they included the devising of methods of counter propaganda in which it would be proved that India gave the lead to other countries. Even quite recently reports of certain of our methods have been made to Washington to serve as models for the tackling of similar problems. But these are not things that we publish in the newspapers and proclaim from the housetops. If we fell into that temptation, our reputation might be temporarily enhanced but our work would be permanently impaired.

The second error is concerned with misapprehensions as to the purpose of propaganda. To compare the propaganda being done in this country with that reaching India from abroad via the enemy radio is interesting, but may be misleading. It is like comparing the performance of a fighter aircraft with that of a bomber.

In defending ourselves, we do not necessarily use the same methods as the attacker. And there is a clear distinction – one of the few really clear distinctions in this complicated field – between the aggressive propaganda which we address to the enemy himself where ever we can get at him, and the propaganda, mis-called defensive, with which to seek to maintain the morale of our own people through good times and bad. To make this distinction and also to take into account, as we have to, the many difference of interest and grades of receptiveness in this great country of ours does not mean that we intend to follow, or have ever followed, the totalitarian theories of our enemies, it does not mean that we intend to imitate or have ever imitated their practice of pursuing mutually contradictory lines for different audiences, of saying anything false, half true or even occasionally true for the sake of the immediate effect. These methods are not only immoral. They are in the long run ineffective as we see now when so many of the enemy's lies are recoiling on his own head with some assistance from ourselves. Propaganda should never have recourse to distortions of the truth. That was one of the three primary principles of those British propagandists who, at Crewe House in the last war began the work whose effectiveness the Germans themselves have admitted. It is one of our principles also. We can do no less having in mind the things for which we are fighting.

The technical problems of getting the truth to some 390 million people are very much greater than the technical problem of inventing and disseminating appropriate falsehoods. The domestic propaganda of the Germans and the Japanese has in theory at any rate -- closed fields of operation, vast areas in which no other word is permitted to be spoken. In India we are in open competition with the enemy whose broadcasts the private citizens are free to listen -- and must remain so. We are in with the rumour monger, innocent malicious. There is an independent cinema industry and a press at any rate as free from restrictions as the press of any country can be in time of war. My department is concerned to protect these privileges even though in the totalitarian view they may sometime be regarded as hampering the prosecution of the war. We are concerned to protect them just because we are interested in truth, because it is truth for which we are working and fighting.

In the present state of the war, when the tide is fast turning in our favour and the enemy no longer has victories of which to boast, it may be argued that truth is having an easier time. We can not say how long this period will last, but what we can not say is that through all the dark days and they have been many and terrible, our propaganda based itself upon the truth, however unpalatable. The belief that this country can face the truth has been vindicated, that belief will continue to condition our work. It stands to reason that military setbacks make that work more difficult and military successes make it easier. But even in time of success there lurks a danger of which we have to beware. The fear of defeat we have, in large measure, been able to overcome. But there is such a thing as the fear of victory-the slackening of effort on the crest of the hill because men suddenly wonder what lies over the horizon. Our themes, simply stated are these; that this war must be won; that given sustained and unflinching effort, it will be won and finally, and perhaps most important, that it is worth winning. That, gentlemen is what I stand for, that victory over the Axis powers must be won, that it will be won if we do not slacken and that is worth winning for India. And it is here that I want your help, indeed, I claim a right to your help as good citizens. That this war is worth winning for India

seems to me mere commonsense; for which of the blessings that we already have would survive an Axis victory and which of the greater blessings which we confidently expect to have would not be buried far beyond our reach by the defeat of the United Nations? Consider President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms- freedom from want, and from fear, freedom of religion and of speech.

I grant these do not constitute any immediate political advance or a change in the present form of Govt. But they are the bases of any form of stable Govt. Our endeavor should be to preserve the Four freedoms in the strain and stress of total war. The only workable form of freedom is disinterested freedom which relates passion to necessity the passion for freedom to the compelling necessity of the moment. If you and I achieve this, we shall have succeeded in harmonising the national urge with the swift flowing current of the world outside. We are the link between the past and the future. Let us bequeath as richly as we have inherited – Let it not be said by posterity when they look back on this troublous time that we had to be drugged into unconsciousness in order that we might live to breath the air of freedom.

### **Role of the Press**

These are not platitudes, gentlemen, but hard facts, not always remembered even by the Fourth Estate. Your great concern is to preserve the freedom of the press. I believe you have it now; at least my own observation of what is written in the newspapers does not make me believe that whatever temporary handicaps the hard necessity of war may have imposed on your liberty, weigh very heavily on you. I am one with you in wishing to see this country maintain a free press even in war time. But if I am to help you, you must help me.

Liberty for the press, like liberty for anyone else carries its duties as well as its privileges. I undertake to be a watchful advocate of your privileges. Are you equally watchful in discharging your duties? If this is understood, you and I will get on famously.

If I have reminded you of the duties of the Press, believe me I have done so in the friendliest spirit and it is mainly because I dread any slackening in the will to win. Here are hard times ahead of us before our country is finally freed from the threat of attack, before China is liberated, before the Japanese are driven back to their own land. In this task, the Soldiers of India will play a prominent part. We civilians can play our part also by strengthening the determination of the country, so that the spirit of the soldiers may remain indomitable and courage of the people at home undiminished. Here is a great task awaiting you, when you could influence public opinion in moment of great crisis. Confidences and steadfastness are with difficulty sustained on an empty stomach and there are many people of India today who can not get enough of the necessities of life and have to pay a wicked price for what little they can get. I can assure that my colleagues in the Govt. of India fully realise the seriousness of the situation. We have not yet succeeded in solving the problem of mal-distribution here, of real shortage there, of inflated prices everywhere. Mistakes have been made, as you, gentlemen, have not been slow to point out. It is your duty to criticize but have you no other duty? I think you have. The most perfect arrangements by the most perfect Govt. will not succeed in bringing sufficient food to everyone at a fair price as long as hoarding, profiteering, and black markets are rampant. These practices are anti-social. They amount to war by a section of the community on the community as whole. In other countries they have been killed by public opinion, by co-operation of the citizens and the press with the Govt. Here is your chance as I have said, to show your patriotism and to demonstrate the influence of the press. I believe that in a month you could, if every paper in India took up the crusade make

hoarders, profiteers and operators in the black market so detested by their fellows that they would cease their evil ways. My department will do its best, but I believe that it is in the Press that the citizens of this country, who are in distress, can find their most effective champion & will you cry out day by day against those practices until you have eradicated them? Believe me, you will never have a better opportunity of earning the gratitude of your country. I cannot think that you will refuse.

### **Mr K. Srinivasan's Reply**

Mr K.S. Chairman of the Standing Committee of AINE Conference replying to Sir Sultan Ahmed said;

On behalf of the AINEC let me extend a cordial welcome to you to this meeting of the Standing Committee of Editors and express our appreciation of your desire to speak to us on the work connected with the Department of Information & Broadcasting. This Dept. much to the regret of everybody has been functioning ever since the lamented death of Akbar Hydari without a head, of course leaving out of account the few days Sir. C.P.R. was in charge. I am recalling this fact just to remind ourselves that this portfolio which is always looked upon as of vital importance in all well-ordered countries in times of war came into being quite a long time after the war begun, and further had the misfortune to be left to drift without steering gear. The supervision and the working of the department, as we all know came to be placed under the all pervading Home Dept. — the natural delegate of all residual responsibility — with what result we are familiar. With stringent censorship of a political nature, the functions of the Department of Information & Broadcasting were rapidly converted into a propaganda machine for launching a campaign of misrepresentation and vilification of India's leaders in Allied countries and stringent censorship was imposed on all news of political nature. The latest act in the series is the blanket censorship imposed on the writings of Louis Fischer. May I ask Sir Sultan Ahmed what assurance he will give us so that we may pursue our work as editors undisturbed by such irritating orders and instructions.

We hope Sir Sultan Ahmed will not tell us that it is somebody else's responsibility and that he should not be expected to stand surety for another Dept. Different spheres of responsibility were created for efficiency; but it appears as though they are now intended to be put forward as excuses for a policy of do-nothing; a blatant instance of recent occurrence is the manner in which the department of information & Broadcasting dealt with the question of celebrating the Tunisian Victory. Editors of newspapers were asked to issue a special supplement featuring the success of the Allies in Tunisia and when we inquired of the Chief press Adviser whether he would get the necessary permission from the allied Dept. of Civil supplies for the issue of necessary permits to use newsprint for that purpose, the request was turned down; but what is more, we were asked to take a day off by declaring a holiday and then utilise that day's paper for the supplement. You cannot expect co-operation from us on these terms.

### **Proposal for Advisory Board Not Attractive**

Sir Sultan has given us today a picture, a faint one though it be, of what his plans are. I must be frank enough to say that the publicity Advisory Board which is to be set up shortly does not appear to be attractive to us and I would request Sir Sultan Ahmed to leave editors out of it. Altogether the Standing Committee of the Editors meets at least four times a year, and I shall invite Sir Sultan Ahmed to attend its sittings and exchange views with us whenever he considers it necessary. As he knows, it is a responsible and representative body and I am sure

he will find it of greater advantage to contact editors here, rather than in the mixed gathering of all talents which is to meet once in six months.

You have made a passing reference to what you have described as an independent cinema industry and a free press in India. You have claimed that the Indian press is as free from restrictions as the press of any country can be in times of war. I am sure you do not expect us here to endorse that view. This picture of the existence of a free press in India, has been a long standing plank in the propaganda campaign of the officials in India and reached its climax when a party of Turkish Journalists, after a conducted tour in India, began to write a series of articles telling the world what a paradise we live in. It is necessary to remind these friends that the model we have set before us is not the Turkish press, but the British and American press who know of no restrictions except those imposed for security reasons.

As regards the Cinema industry in India, from my knowledge of the conditions obtaining in the South, the film industry is passing through a crisis owing to the unjustifiably drastic cut imposed on the length of the films, and it is to be hoped that the recent visits of Mr Thapar to Madras will result in bringing relief to the film producers in the South.

### **Growing Restrictions of the Press**

Sir Sultan has put in a strong plea for the dissemination of truth as the supreme aim for which allies are fighting the war and condemned with unmistakable emphasis the practice of pursuing contradictory lines for different audiences. I would suggest to him to study the records of his own Dept. particularly during the last twelve months and see for himself the protest which have been made by special correspondents in Delhi and the Editor's Standing Committee against the increasing rigours of censorship of both incoming and outgoing messages. With Sir Sultan's dictum that propaganda should never have recourse to distortions of the truth, we in the Standing Committee have no hesitation in associating ourselves.

In conclusion, let me say this — it has been recognized in all quarters that the press in India has shown remarkable restraint during these difficult years of war and internal strife. So long as the Dept of which Sir Sultan has recently assumed charge will strive to put into practice the high principles to which he has given expression, he may be sure of our unstinted and helpful co-operation and support thereby fulfil our responsibilities to the public.

## **58: Governor of Bihar to Viceroy — Press control**

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2385]

*July 19th, 1943*

Most Secret.

No. 552-G.B.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

In reply to Your Excellency's letter of July the 15th<sup>1</sup> about a possible fast to death by Gandhi, I would advise that Government's attitude should be as laid down in paragraphs 2 and 3 of

your circular telegram of 30th September 1942.<sup>2</sup> I think the number of visitors should be severely limited. It is a moot point whether the same policy should be pursued as has been laid down for other prisoners who refused food i.e. provision of his ordinary diet and compulsory artificial feeding when the medical officer in charge certifies it necessary to sustain life. Forcible feeding might create a greater stir than letting him die if it leaked out. I asked Godbole<sup>1</sup> about this and in his opinion it is better to let Gandhi die if he wants to. He would only start a fast again as soon as he could if he was artificially fed against his will.

2. On the subject of publicity I would urge that only officially prepared or approved bulletins be allowed and that effective press control at the Centre and in Bombay should be exercised. Our Bihar arrangements for press control in compliance with your telegram of 7th February 1943 were completely sabotaged by the freedom given to Associated and other News agencies to spread reports of protest meetings and publicists' views, and naturally the bigger newspapers like the *Hindu* and *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* had their reporters out and reported every meeting they could. Among educated Hindus there was a great deal of anxiety as to the outcome of the last fast, but I am quite convinced that any wide-scale popular interest was worked up by the Press – in most cases deliberately – with the idea of frightening Government and the Members of your Council . . . .

Yours sincerely,

T.G. Rutherford

1 Not printed.

2 Not printed

## 59: Governor, the North-West Frontier Province to the Viceroy – Press control if Gandhiji goes on fast

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2243]

Govt. House, Peshawar,  
July 20th, 1943.

(Most Secret & Personal.)

Dear Lord Linlithow,

Will Your Excellency please refer to your letter of July 15th, about the possibility of a further fast by Gandhi?

2. I feel no doubt that, if Gandhi decides to fast, he must be left to do so, unto death. To weaken on this and to surrender to such a challenge to authority, would gravely discredit Government in the eyes of the great majority of people here and, I imagine, in many other parts of India. When Gandhi was generally supposed to be approaching death on the occasion of his last fast, I heard few expressions of sympathy with him.

3. As to publicity I do not think that any attempt to maintain complete secrecy about the fast could possibly be successful and at the best it would only succeed in postponing the excitement for a few days. Brief medical bulletin should, in my opinion, be issued by



Government regularly, without the accompaniment of any comment. Provincial Governments would have to watch for, and suppress, any undesirable comment by editors.

Yours sincerely,  
G. Cunningham

## 60: Governor of Central Provinces and Berar to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection  
[NAI – Acc. No. 2200]

*Camp, July 20th, 1943*

Dear Lord Linlithgow

I was at Wardha on the 16th instant and discussed the question of Gandhi staging another fast with the Deputy Commissioner, Rao Sahib Nargundkar, who maintains touch with the Sevagram Ashram where a dozen or so disciples of Gandhi still remain. He confirmed, what I have already reported as the views of the inmates of the Ashram, that they are of opinion that there is no likelihood of Gandhi embarking on a fast unto death to mark the anniversary of his detention. After turning the matter over frequently in my own mind, I feel confident that the rumours about a fast may be heavily discounted. There is much support for the view which I expressed in one of my fortnightly letters shortly after the last fast that Gandhi is too valuable a piece to his supporters to be risked, especially at a time when incarcerated Congressmen are just itching for any opportunity which presents itself for negotiations which might secure their release from imprisonment. In short, I feel confident that there will be no fast.

It is almost equally certain, however, – I mention the matter here although not strictly relevant because it dovetails – that something will be staged to mark the anniversary on the 9th August. There are reports of the organisation of parties of Congressmen to be sent to Poona to demonstrate. I am enquiring into the reports and taking steps to prevent any such activities from this Province. There is also the likelihood of demonstrations and further attempts at sabotage. I am circularising all Deputy Commissioners, emphasising that no latitude of any kind is to be allowed as regards demonstrations, meetings or processions and am, at the same time, warning them that all concerned must be increasingly on the alert to prevent acts of sabotage. I am holding a meeting with the Military and Civil officers concerned on Saturday, the 24th instant, at which arrangements will be made for a show of military activity by way of M.T. at selected places.

*So much by way of introduction*

3. On the two general questions propounded in Your Excellency's letter to Colville, I have carefully considered the matter and agree

- (a) as to the absolute necessity of standing firm in the event of a fast subject to unforeseen circumstances; and

(b) that a measure of publicity from the outset is virtually inescapable.

As to (a) there is no need to elaborate my views further. As to (b), I fear that we shall have to reconcile ourselves to the conclusion that Press control can only be ineffective. That does not mean that we should not exert ourselves to secure control but it means that we should not expect too much or indeed anything satisfactory, from attempts to exercise such control. The fact of the matter is that, given a fast by Gandhi, the Congress press and its personnel are prepared to run any risks and to go to almost all lengths, to publicise the matter. There are so many ways of 'marshalling' news items that it would be practically impossible to prevent editors securing the maximum publicity for any particular item of news short of assuming the editorship of every Congress newspaper in India.

4. The above consideration regarding publicity are not, in my view, of great importance, however, because I feel very confident that Gandhi does not propose to stage a fast unto death at present, although I think that he might do so if he felt that the game was really up. I am further inclined to think that the success which has attended the efforts of Congress sympathisers in regard to the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance and the hope which that success has aroused of avoiding capital sentences imposed in connection with the Congress rebellion, will influence Gandhi against a fast unto death now.

Yours Sincerely,

H.J. Twynam.

## 61: News item in *The Hindu* dt 22.7.1943 – Action against Delhi paper – Criticised

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

New Delhi – July 20 – The *Hindustan Times* commenting editorially on the action of the Delhi authorities in confiscating the security of Rs 500 and demanding a further security of Rs 2000 from Mr D.P. Sharma as publisher of the Hindi daily *Hindustan* contrasts this action with Sir Sultan Ahmed's desire to bring the press closer to the Govt. of India and his assurance to guard jealously the interests of the press.

"These orders", observes the paper, are contrary to the spirit of the Bombay Agreement and show that even at the very time when attempts are being made to establish better relations and promote good will, arbitrary orders are being issued against newspapers from the seat of the Govt. of India itself. Of what practical value are these assurances from the Govt. of India's Information Member if he is not in a position to direct and control policies and actions of provincial and other authorities who deal with the press in this manner?" – F.O.C.



## 62: News item in *The Hindu* dt 22.7.1943

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

### **Sir S. Ahmed's Address to Bihar Journalists**

Patna, July 21 – The assurances that so long as he was in charge of the portfolio of Information & Broadcasting in the Govt. of India he would do his best to protect the interests of the press as a whole and bring it closer touch with the Govt. was given by Sir Sultan Ahmad, speaking at a tea party given by the Bihar Journalist association this evening.

Sir Sultan added that soon after he took over charge of Information & Broadcasting Departments, he called a press Conference and it would always be his endeavor to establish closer contact between the press and the Govt. He also referred to the recent meeting of the Standing Committee of the All India Newspaper Editor's Conference at Bombay where he said he met the best brains in the profession and took the opportunity of discussing his scheme of setting up a press Correspondents Advisory Committee and publicity Board.

The Govt. Sir Sultan said, would always make every effort to meet the requirements of the press and appreciate their view point but he hoped that they in turn would also appreciate the limitations and difficulties of the Govt. He expressed satisfaction that the press on the whole had acted with commendable restraint during the critical days of the post year but he would also like it to be admitted that the Govt. had played fair with them. He added that if he failed to obtain the responsive co-operation of the press they would have to deal with some other department of the Govt.

## 63 Censorship on Louis Fischer's writings and speeches – Debate in the Central Legislative Assembly (26 July to 25 August) and in the council reported in *The Hindu* dt 4.8.1943 (extracts)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2761

[TNA]

### **Censorship on Mr Louis Fischers' Writings & Speeches**

155. *Mr Nabi Baksh Ilahi Baksh Butto:*

- (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state the reasons for imposing censorship on Mr Louis Fischers' writings & speeches.?
- (b) Has it been brought to the notice of the Honourable Members that the order has created a very bad impression on American public opinion.?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:*

- (a) The reason was the prejudicial & inaccurate nature of his writings & speeches about India, which have contained matter calculated to cause disaffection against Government & to prejudice relation between the United Nations.
- (b) No.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* In so far as Mr Louis Fischer's articles contained inaccurate statements, will the Honourable Member be pleased to indicate in what respects and on what points they are inaccurate.?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* That can not be done in answer to a question.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* Has any attempt been made so far to give a reply to Mr Louis Fischer's articles in so far as they may contain inaccurate statement of facts.?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* That again does not seem to arise out of this question. I have stated the reasons for imposing the ban

*Sardar Sant Singh:* Is this the reason for imposing the ban that the article contained such facts that the inference drawn from them are not very palatable to the Government of India.?

*Mr President:* (*The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim*)

That is matter of opinion.

*Mr Muhammad Nauman:* Has not the Government considered it necessary to issue some sort of communiqué from the Home Department saying that those facts were inaccurate and they have been prejudicing the minds of Indians.?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* The Home Department have to judge from time to time what kinds of contradiction are necessary. There is a great deal of undesirable propaganda published from time to time but we can not reply to all of it, the best thing is to censor it.

*Mr Lalchand Navaraj:* May I know if it has been pointed out to Mr Louis Fischer that his statements are inaccurate & that he should in future do better.?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* I think he is probably beyond passing.

*Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:* Have the Government taken any steps in the National war Front to issue a contradiction to these articles:

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* That question should be addressed to the Honourable Member for Information & Broadcasting.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* Is the Honourable Member aware that the orders of the Government as regard to this matter have invested Mr Louis Fischer's articles with special importance & that those articles are being read with great interest.?

*The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:* That is a matter of opinion.

### **Debate in 'The Legislative Council of States' — Report in *The Hindu***

*Ban on Louis Fischer's Articles*

Home Secretary Heckled.

New Delhi, Aug. 4, The ban on Louis Fischer's writings was referred to by Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru' in a question in the Council of State this morning.

The Home Secretary. Mr E. Conran Smith, in reply stated that the reason was the prejudicial and inaccurate nature of his writings and speeches about India which contained matter calculated to cause disaffection against the Government and to prejudice relations between the United Nations.

*Pandit Kunzru:* Was there anything in Mr Fischer's speech after the publication of which

in India the pre censorship order was passed, which showed that he encouraged the people to rise against the Government or not to give the utmost help during the war.'

Home Secretary: My answer to that would be that his writings included propaganda in favour of rebels or calculated to encourage or assist the operation of an unlawful association and that they falsely represented America as antagonistic to Great Britain and as supporting or in sympathy with persons hostile to the war effort of India.

*Mr Sapru:* How do the Government propose to ensure that Mr Fischer's writings do not reach the American, the Russian, and the Chinese people, and the other people of the United Nations

Chair: That is a pure speculation. Nobody can tell what is going to happen in the future.

*Mr Sapru:* I am asking a question; how do they propose to ensure that his writings do not reach the people of the United Nations, such as American, the Chinese, the Russians, and others? He is trying to prejudice the relations between the United Nations. That is a legitimate question.

Home Secretary: That matter is so obviously not one for the Government to answer that question

*Mr Sapru:* Is it a fact that the main reason for banning of Mr Louis Fischer's article in this country is that it has revealed the mind of the Viceregal Lodge?

The Home Secretary: No Sir,

*Mr Sapru:* Is it a fact that there is nothing in Mr Louis Fischer's articles to encourage resistance to the war effort but there is a good deal of criticism of the policy of his Majesty's Government and the Government of India?

The Home Secretary: The Hon. Member is merely controverting what I said in answer to a previous supplementary question.

*Pandit Kunzru:* What are the words in the speech published in India which encouraged a movement like that which was initiated in August 1942?

*The Home Secretary:* The trend of the articles was as I have described. The hon. Member cannot expect me to answer a question by quoting from memory the passages in the articles. He can himself refer to the published articles that have appeared in India.

*Pandit Kunzru:* The hon. Member made a very definite statement regarding the reasons which impelled the Government of India to issue the order mentioned in the question. Why should it not be possible to point out any passage to me which can bear the interpretation put upon the speech as a whole by the Hon. Member?

The Home Secretary: I am not prepared to argue with the hon. Member. The whole trend was of the nature I have indicated. He cannot expect me, in answer to a question, to state the actual passages.

Chair: May I suggest to the Government Member that if he does not wish to say anything, it is best for him to remain silent instead of answering the question, because if he answers he will get other questions and there will be an indefinite number of questions. If he does not want to reply the best thing is for him to remain silent.

*Mr Sapru:* What is there in Mr Louis Fischer's articles what has not been said by some British publicists?

No answer.

*Mr Srinarain Mahtha:* Has the Indian Representative in America done anything to counteract the inaccuracies in the writings of Mr Louis Fischer which the hon. Member may have in mind?

The Home Secretary: I think the question should be addressed to another Hon. Member and not to me.

# 64: Civil Secretariat, United Provinces (Press advice section) to all District Press Advisers, U.P. – Revival of August disturbances

File No. 3/68/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Civil Secretariat, U.P.,  
Press Advice Section.  
Lucknow.  
*August 4, 1943.*

Confidential  
D.O. No. 43/42-p.

Dear Sir,

I am desired to address you in connection with the possibility of disturbances on or about the forthcoming 9th August. During last year's disturbances, apart from other causes, magnification in the press of a volume of minor incidents, in themselves unimportant, was a factor of some importance in spreading disorder. It is felt therefore that the Press should not on this occasion be allowed to create a false impression of a widespread recrudescence of disorder by the reproduction of a large volume of reports of local incidents, if any unfortunately occur. Such a result can most effectively be avoided by control at the source from which the news emanates and it is hoped that you will have no hesitation in taking necessary steps to limit the volume and restrain the presentation of reports on this subject.

I am to add that though the provincial Government do not intend to pass any special orders on the occasion regarding the Press, one method, that has been suggested is the stopping or considerably delaying the transmission of all telegrams referring to any disturbances on or about August 9 or purporting to report a revival of the movement. Besides, I am to remind you of the revised confidential Memorandum on control of news and comment in the Press, dated November 19, 1942. This Memorandum is still in force and instructions contained in it are expected to be strictly obeyed by the Press. You might, if you consider it necessary, remind editors of it without summoning a regular meeting of editors to tell them this formally.

To – All Special & District Press Advisers. U.P.

*Enclosure*

Confidential, not to be Published dt 19.11.1942

Memorandum on control of news and comment in the press relating to the Congress movement and events connected with it.

This memorandum is issued in substitution of the memorandum on the same subject issued by the Provincial Government on August 14, 1942. It is intended for the personal guidance of editors and correspondents and is not to be published.

2. The general policy of Government remains unchanged. It is to deny to the Congress movement, which has been described by those responsible for it, and has in some districts

taken the actual form of, open rebellion, that advertisement which the press alone can give to it. The experience of the last three months has shown how seriously the movement, if allowed to develop, may impede the war effort, which the press have under the Delhi agreement undertaken not to impede.

3. Government appreciate the co-operation which they have so far received and expect that, in accordance with the Delhi agreement, the press will continue to co-operate with Government in withholding the publication of news or comment which is intended or is likely

- (a) to arouse public opinion in favour of the movement;
- (b) to arouse indignation against Government for measures which they have been, or may be, forced to adopt to suppress the movement;
- (c) to propagate mischievous rumours and mis-representations,
- (d) to convey suggestions or instructions for illegal acts;
- (e) to retard the restoration of the public sense of security; and
- (f) to give to the movement or to individuals participating in it any undue advertisement.

4 Reports should be confined to ascertained facts and should avoid all sensationalism and exaggeration. In preparing reports of demonstrations, hartals, riots or other incidents facts may not always be easy to determine. Correspondents are therefore advised to consult Press Advisers before compiling their reports. In giving advice Press Advisers will particularly consider the effect which the report is likely to have in other parts of India.

5 It is important that editors and correspondents should know that Government consider that the publication of the following classes of matter connected with the movement is undesirable:

- (1) the names of persons arrested or in jail unless officially announced or passed by a Press Adviser;
- (2) conditions in jails;
- (3) names or description of buildings attacked, and also any description of the composition of processions or mobs, e.g. the presence of students or mill-workers;
- (4) speeches or statements in support of the movement;
- (5) slogans supporting the movement;
- (6) allegations of undue severity in methods adopted by the authorities in dealing with the movement;
- (7) allegations of atrocities;
- (8) photographs of demonstrations in support of the movement or of persons arrested for participation in it.



## 65: Government of Orissa to the Government of Madras – Press control of the news item of cyclone and floods in Balasore

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 2739

[TNA]

Government of Orissa.  
Home Department.  
Special Section.  
No. 2511 (4) C. Cuttack,  
*August 10th 1943.*

From  
J. Bowstead, Esqr, CIE, MC, ICS,  
Chief Secretary to Government

To  
The Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras

Sir,  
I am directed to say that accounts from non-official sources regarding conditions in North Balasore and other areas affected by the cyclone of last year and by floods are frequently very much exaggerated and present a completely distorted account of the situation. I am to request that, if the Government of Madras see no objection, instructions may be issued to your Provincial Press Adviser that such accounts should not be published in newspapers in the province of Madras, unless they have been passed for publication by the Provincial Press Adviser, Orissa.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

J. Bowstead  
Chief Secretary to Government  
Public (Press) Department.

Instructions may be issued to Editor of Newspapers, as desired by the Orissa Govt.





## 66: News item in *The Hindu* dt 11.8.1943 – Raid on *Hindustan Times* – Debate in the Legislative Assembly

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

### **Raid on 'Hindustan Times' Office Adjournment Motion Ruled Out**

New Delhi, Aug. 10. In the Assembly today, the chair ruled out Mr T.T. Krishnamachari's adjournment motion to discuss the raid made by the Delhi police on the morning August 9 on the H.T. Premises and the serving of an order on the keeper of the press holding up the issue of H.T. and 'Hindustan'.

Mr Krishnamachari pointed out that these two papers had been singled out for such treatment and the order on them was issued at 4 a.m. that day.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home member, stated that it was action taken by the police under their ordinary powers. Under the Defence of India Rules they had full powers to search to satisfy themselves whether any kind of action under those rules was necessary. In most other cases order under the rules has been passed at once but in this case they used their powers for preliminary investigation. They made a search, examined copies of the *Hindustan Times* already printed and after satisfying themselves that the copies were fit for publication released them. The paper appeared as usual in the morning.

Mr Krishnamachari remarked that it appeared to be unusual action.

The president observed that the police took action under the law and it was not for the House to say whether that action under the law was justified or not. The House was not in a position to do so. The motion was out of order.

The chair also ruled out that Mr Krishnamachari's motion to discuss 'the huge loss of life in Ajmer and the deliberate withholding by the Govt. of all information on this matter'.

The President, after looking at copy of the H.T. observed that reports of the loss of life in Ajmer had appeared and the motion was therefore entirely unjustifiable.

## 67: Deputy Commissioner, Raipur to the Commissioner, Chhatisgarh Divn., Raipur – Reg. the arrest of a proprietor of printing press

Government of C.P. & Berar Pol. (Mil.) Dept. File No. 259  
(Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records)

D.O. No. 433.  
Office of the Deputy Commissioner.  
*Raipur, the 11th August 1943.*

Dear Mr Banerjee,

I forward, in original, an application from Jeorambhai Gujrathi, the proprietor of the Laxmi

Press, at which the 'Agradoot' is printed. The applicant does not deserve much sympathy because he is the printer of the offending article of August 8th and it is likely that he will be prosecuted by the police along with the editor. But I think it desirable to refer the application to you for orders. My reason for doing so is that the police had locked up the building in which the press is kept. This is of course the only way in which an immovable article like a printing press could be effectively seized. But at the same time it appears open to doubt whether it is permissible under Defence Rule 126 to lock up immovable property. I suggest that this point be referred to Government for orders. Meanwhile I have instructed the police that the applicant may be allowed to enter the building in the presence of a police officer and take out any papers or other moveable property that he may wish to have, provided that they have nothing to do with the article of August 8th.

Yours sincerely,

G.L. Watson.

R.N. Bannerjee, Esq., C.I.E. I.C.S.,  
Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Divn.,  
Raipur.

No. 191/s. Dated Raipur, the 13th August 1943.

Copy, with the enclosure, is forwarded to T.C.S. Jayaratnam, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary ... Government, C.P. & Berar, Political and military Department, Nagpur for orders with reference to the correspondence ending with my endorsement.  
have ordered the.

*Enclosure* — Application of the Proprietor of the Laxmi Press.

In the Court of District Magistrate, Raipur.

Jesambhai s/o Heerji, Gujarati,  
Proprietor Laxmi Press 'Great Eastern Road,  
Raipur

Application U/s 523 Cr. P. Code.

The applicant named above prays as under:

1. That the applicant is the proprietor and owner of the press working under the name and style of 'The Laxmi Press Raipur who is doing job work for the public.
2. That as a press owner and proprietor the Applicant prints the Hindi Weekly 'Agradoot', which is published by one Kesho Prashad Verma who is its editor.

That apart from printing the applicant has nothing to do with the policy or profits of the paper

3. That on 8/8/1943 the police at Raipur headed by the City Inspector of police raided the premises of the press of the applicant and apart from seizing the copies of the *Agradoot* dated 9/8/1943 have ordered the applicant not to work the press and the same may be deemed to be seized.
4. That no order or warrant was shown to the applicant and consequently he has been unable to make out as to why the press has been seized.
5. That in the meantime the applicant is suffering pecuniary loss and is exposed to great hardship and damages as many orders of the public are to be executed, which cannot be done unless the press is allowed to be worked.

6. That in consequence the applicant is moving the court for the release of the press so as to enable him to execute the orders of the public and is further prepared to give any undertaking or security which the court may desire and deem necessary till the disposal of any case which may be pending investigation. We are prepared not to print any thing in 'Agradoot' till the decision of any case is that may be against him or till further orders. It is prayed therefore that the press be released.

D/9/8/1943. Pleader for applicant.

10/8/1943.

## 68: Official Notings regarding Louis Fischer (dt 12.8.1943) (extracts)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 2761  
[TNA]

Submitted for perusal (*refers to extracts from Louis Fischer's speech* - Ed). Attention is invited to the precensorship order issued by the Government of India in the matter of publication of articles on Indian affairs by Mr Louis Fischer of America - according to which all matter written or spoken by Mr Fischer shall before being published in British India, be submitted to the Chief Press Adviser New Delhi, for scrutiny. There is no indication that the matter published in the *Hindu* has been scrutinised, portion [A] of the matter has been published also in the *Indian Express*, and the substance of portion [B] in the *Indian Express* and the *Bharatha Devi*. For orders as to the action to be taken.

Portion [A] is from Reuters, portion [B] is from the American United press. Both the cables should presumably have been censored in Bombay. I understand that the Editor of the *Hindu* has wired to the Chief Press Adviser asking him whether the publication is regular because the cables have been censored. We may await the reply.

Signed  
Chief Secy.  
12-8-43

*Enclosure*

Louis Fischer on Indian Demand. -- Report in the *Hindu* dt 12.8.1943

### **Mediation of United Nations Urged**

(From our Correspondent).

[A] New York, August, 11. Speaking at a rally of the India league of America at the anniversary of the arrest of Congressites, the writer, Mr Louis Fischer, said that Field Marshal Wavell's arrival in India in October could be made the occasion of easy settlement of the Indian problem. Nationalists wanted nothing more than an India Nationalist Government with limited functions which would collaborate with the United Nations and help win the War. 'Neither Mr Gandhi nor any other India leader is asking the British to quit during the war.'

### **Suggestions for Settlement**

[B] Mr Louis Fischer said that as a matter of military expediency, 'It is time to realise that the white man can remain in the East as a friend, but not as a master.' He proposed the following steps for the settlement of the Indian problem: First release of Gandhiji and Mr Nehru on condition that they call off the civil disobedience movement; secondly, Britain should announce that they will help to establish a provisional Indian Government which would ally itself with the war effort, thirdly, an agreement between India and the United Nations for the conduct of military operations; fourthly, United Nations should pledge that armed forces will be withdrawn from India one year following Japan's unconditional surrender, while India would be given complete freedom.

### **Tribute to Mr Nehru**

Congresswoman Clare Booth Luce, frequent critic of the Administration, in a speech read at the meeting censured Mr Roosevelt for not championing Mr Nehru. Clare Luce, who interviewed Mr Nehru in the Orient, said, 'Mr Roosevelt is the world's best informed man so they say. He must know Mr Nehru is a man so good and great, of such a lofty mind and character that he makes most of our own leaders seem almost shabby mentally, and certainly very shabby spiritually by comparison. He must know Mr Nehru's only fault is passionate love for the Western concept of political freedom and democracy'.

Sarda J.J. Singh, President, India League, America, offered a resolution calling for resumption of negotiations between Indian parties and the British for a provisional National Government and complete post-war freedom guaranteed for India by the United Nations.

#### *Enclosure 2*

#### *'The Indian Express'*

Fischer Explains India's Stand.

New York Meeting Demands U.S. Mediation.

New York, August 9 (Delayed).

Speaking at a rally of the India League of America at the anniversary of the arrest of Congressites, the writer, Louis Fischer, said that Field Marshal's arrival in India in October could be made the occasion of an easy settlement of the Indian problem. Nationalists wanted nothing more than an Indian Nationalist Government with limited functions which would collaborate with the United Nations and help win the war. 'Neither Mr Gandhi nor any other Indian leader are asking the British to quit during the war.'

Fischer outlined a series of concrete steps leading up to complete freedom for India during the year following the surrender of the Japanese.

The meeting passed a resolution moved by the President, M.J.J. Singh, urging the mediation of the United States with a view to establishment of a provisional nationalist Government committed wholeheartedly to the war.



## 69: Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division to the Secretary, C.P. & Berar — Regarding *Agradoot*

Govt. of C.P. & Berar Pol. (Mil) Dept. File No. 259  
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

Office of the Commissioner,  
Chhattisgarh Division,  
Raipur.

Endorsement on Deputy Commissioner, Raipur's, Demi-official letter No. 437, dated the 13th August, 1943.

No. 678, dated Raipur, the 16th August, 1943.

Forwarded to T.C.S. Jayaratnam, Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Central Provinces and Berar, Political and Military Department, Nagpur, with reference to the correspondence ending with my endorsement No. 491/S, dated the 13th August, 1943.<sup>1</sup>

2. In this connection please refer to the second sub-paragraph of paragraph 3 of my demi-official letter No. 649, dated the 10th August, 1943.<sup>2</sup> I can hardly believe that the quotation in extent so of the subversive programme published by the 'Lok Yudha' of Bombay was intended only to warn people against the adoption of this programme! As I have already stated the quotation was obviously tendentious. The young Editor must have felt — in consultation with his colleagues in local public life — that something spectacular should be done and this article was the result. I agree with the District Magistrate that he should be prosecuted.

Commissioner,  
Chhattisgarh Division.

### *Enclosure 1*

D.O. No. 437. Office of the Deputy commissioner,  
Raipur, the 13th August 1943.

Dear Mr Banerjee,

I forward herewith a report dated 12/8/43 from the City Inspector, Raipur, with the Dist. Supt. of Police's endorsement of the same date, and its enclosures (the issue of the *Agradoot* dated August 8th last and a translation of the article 'Kal nao August hai' appearing on the front page). The article is most objectionable and I entirely agree that the editor and the printer should be prosecuted. Since however the offence has been committed by a newspaper, I think the approval of Government for the prosecution is necessary. I therefore request that Government orders any be obtained.

R.N. Banerjee, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Divn., Raipur.

### *Enclosure 2 — Report of the City Inspector*

I beg to enclose herewith the *Agradoot* newspaper dated the 8th August 1943. On the front

page and in bold letters, of the newspaper in question, appears an article, which in my opinion is highly prejudicial. I have translated the article in English for favour of your perusal, and I am herewith enclosing it.

2. On 8th August'43, on the strength of a search warrant issued by the District Magistrate under Rule 126 (1) (b) of the D.I.R. I searched the office and the press of the *Agradut* and have seized the following property:

<i>From &amp; where</i>	<i>Details of property seized</i>
The office of the <i>Agradut</i> Editor Kesho	1. 14 copies of ' <i>Agradut</i> ' newspaper dated 8/8/43
P.D. Verma of Raipur	2. A Letter from People's War office, Bombay, dated 4/8/43
	3. A register showing names of <i>Agradut</i> newspaper subscribers.
Luxmi Printing Press	1. The Luxmi Printing press where ' <i>Agradut</i> ' newspaper was printed
	2. Six copies of ' <i>Agradut</i> ' newspaper, dated 8/8/43
	3. One 'Sarnama' ' <i>Agradut</i> ' newspaper, dated 8/8/43.

Besides these, 147 copies of the newspaper have been seized in the course of transmission by post under section 95 of the Cr. P.C. Editor Kesho Parshad Verma was arrested on the night of 8/8/43 at 10.30 p.m. under Rule 129 of the D.I.R. and has been detained in Jail.

2. A case under Rule 38 (a) (2) read with 34 (6) (2), (k) (1) and (7) of the D.I.R. has been registered and investigated.

In my opinion the case against the Editor '*Agradut*' Kesho Parshad Verma is proved. I give below my reasons:

- (1) He published the article just on 8th August last and gave out a most dangerous programme to be followed on 9th inst.
- (2) From the beginning of the article he has tried to create a feeling of hatred in the minds of the people against the Government and thus tried to create a situation leading to disorders.
- (3) The article is most objectionable and highly prejudicial.

I am of also of the opinion that the Proprietor Jioram Babu of the Luxmi Printing Press, where this prejudicial report was published is also liable under Rule 38 (4)

May I, therefore, solicit your permission to prosecute the Editor Kesho Parshad Verma under Rule 38 (I) C1 (a) & (c) and (2) read with Rule 34 (6) (e) (k) (I) and (7) and Jioram, the proprietor of the Press, where prejudicial report was published under Rule 38 (4) for favour of order.

City Inspector, Raipur  
12/8/43.

*Enclosure 3*

*Agradoot*

Editor: Kesho Parshad Verma, M.A.B.T.  
Raipur, Sunday the 8th August 1943.

An appeal by a congress man to the patriots.  
It is 9th August tomorrow.

*In this history of India, 9th of August last has an immortal place. Oh! How we passed this year. Can it ever be forgotten? Last 9th of August and the subsequent days of repression and black laws; on remembering them the heart burns and hair stands.*

On last 9th August, Gandhi and the All India Congress Committee raised their voice that Britishers should Quit India and that we should be allowed to rule our own country:

Congress leaders demanded National Government. In the opinion of the Congress, for the defence of the country and the success of war efforts, the constitution of National Government was an absolute necessity.

But Mahatmajee and other eminent leaders of the Congress were thrown into the prison. In order to strength the bonds of slavery, the Government in India wanted to suppress the noble aspirations of Nationalist leaders.

And what happened later on — is it worth while recapitulating? Have we even been to-day relieved of those sufferings, lest they be forgotten? That pain is still fresh. Even now the reports of the bullets, the screams of innocent people, and the painful cries of helpless females, are still singing in our ears, as if it were only yesterday's incident. Have the Lathi marks yet disappeared?

The Government was not satisfied even by putting the leaders of the country behind the bars and cutting off their contact with the public. It (Govt.) made all possible mean efforts to lower the prestige of the Congress in the eyes of the World. In order to 'Badname' Gandhijee and the congress, booklets were printed and distributed not only in America, Britain and China but also in India.

Not only this, but Govt. also insulted Indian opinion. All parties in India, political, religious, and commercial raised their voices and are yet doing so, for the release of Mahatma Gandhi. Newspapers in India are daily reporting the demand, but he is neither released nor prosecuted.

Leaving apart redressing our grievances, one after another black-laws and ordinances are being imposed upon us from time to time. We are being killed but not allowed even to give vent to painful cries.

And thus, tomorrow is the anniversary of our period of sufferings. Hardly would any country have had so bitter an experience of slavery as we had during this on year.

But we should have patience. Our leaders are behind the prisons. We are debarred of their advise. We should not do any such act as might bring disgrace on their names. We ought to know that Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress have no faith in violence.

According to 'Lokyudh' (Peoples War) published from Bombay, the following programme of action in India has been chalked out for tomorrow by some persons:

- (1) A big procession to march towards Poona
- (2) Hartals in factories and work-shops
- (3) Bazaars to remain closed.
- (4) Demonstrations all over.

'Lokyudh' has also published that some people in the Punjab have the slogan:

'If there is love for the country, every Britishers should be murdered'.

'Country men are dying of starvation. If it is intended to feed them, shoot English men before 8th'.

'Long live revolution'

But we consider it our duty to warn our country men, patriots and true congressites that they should not participate in any violent movement. To those who have faith in Mahatma Gandhi

who consider that the honour of the country lies in the honour of Mahatma Gandhi, we strongly urge not to take part in violent activities.

Congress had never any interest or faith in sabotages or any other similar acts of violence. Mahatma Gandhi has observed an epic-fast last year as a penance for crimes of violence committed by the country men. To our great luck he has survived. Even through inadvertence you should not act in a manner that due to your folly, sufferings may be caused to the country and its eminent leaders.

1 Not printed.

2 Not printed.

## 70: Resolution passed by the Madras Press Advisory Committee

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2739  
[TNA]

Confidential

Proceedings of the urgent meeting of the Madras Provincial Press Advisory Committee held on Monday, 16-8-1943 at Kasturi Buildings, Mount Road.

Present: Messrs. K. Srinivasan, C.R. Srinivasan, Ramanath Goenka, Abdul Hameed Khan, Shambu Prasad, S.V. Swamy, and A.A. Hayles.

By special invitation: Messrs. P.K.U. Kidav (A.P.I.), S. Sen Gupta (U.P.I.), and Raza Khan (C.P.I.)

Communications (\*) from the provincial press advisor, madras, Nos 2605/43-1 and 2645/43-1 dated the 13th august 1943, were read. After discussion, the committee unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The attention of the committee has been drawn to the request addressed by the government of Madras to the members in their two communications Nos 2605/43-1 and 2645/43-1 dated the 13th August 1943. The committee is concerned to point out that the request contained therein is contrary to the terms and spirit of the resolution adopted by the government. That resolution made it clear that the members were opposed to any form of pre-censorship and preferred to voluntarily impose on themselves certain restrictions in the matter of the publications of certain categories of news specified in that resolution. In the light of the above, the committee suggests that the communications referred to above be withdrawn.

(\*) Copies of the two communications from the Madras Government, dated 13th August 1943, are enclosed.

Letter No. 2645/43-1 Dated 13-8-43.

To

The Editor of Newspapers in Madras City (which publish political News) and Managers of News Agencies.



Sir,

Accounts from non-official sources regarding conditions in North Balasore and other areas affected by the cyclone of last year and by floods, published in the papers are frequently very much exaggerated and present a completely distorted accounts of the situation. I am to inform you, that such accounts not to be published in Newspapers in this Province, unless they have been passed for publication, by the Provincial Press Advisor, Orissa.

Yours faithfully,

Confidential

Endorsement No. 2645/43-2 Dated 13-8-43

A copy of the letter issued to Editors of Newspapers in Madras City is forwarded to all District Press Advisors, for information and for Communication to Editors of Newspapers in their jurisdiction,

To,

All District Press Advisers.

Copy to the Commissioners of Police.

Copy to the Director of War Publicity.

Copy to the Hindustani Translator thro' Senior Translator to Government.

Confidential

Letter No. 2645/43-3. Dated 13-8-43

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Orissa,  
Home Department, Special Section, Cuttack.

Letter No. 2645/43 - Dated 13.8.43

Sir,

Condition in North Balasore and other areas affected by Cyclone and floods – Accounts from non-official sources-Publication of. – Ref: Your letter No. 2511(4) C. dated the 10th August 1943.

I am directed to say that instructions have been issued to Newspapers in this Province not to publish accounts reporting in North Balasore and other areas unless they have been passed for publication by the Provincial Press adviser, Orissa. A copy of the letter issued is enclosed for information.

Y.O.S.



# 71: Counsel for the Editor *Agradoot* to the Government of C.P. & Berar

Govt. of C.P. & Berar Pol. (Mil.) Dept. File No. 259  
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

16-8-43

To  
The Provincial Government  
The Central Provinces and Berar,  
Nagpur

Applicant: Kesho Prasad Verma S.O. Harihar Prasad Verma aged about 26 years, Editor and publisher of Hindi Weekly '*Agradoot*', Raipur Tahsil and District Raipur.

Application against the arrest and detention of the above named applicant under Rule 129 Defence of India Rules on 8.8.1943 by Mr Mohanlal Pande, City Inspector of Police, Raipur C.P.

The applicant, above named, submit as follows:

1. That the applicant is the Editor and publisher of the Hindi Weekly '*Agradoot*' which is published at Raipur, for the last one year.
2. That in the editing and publishing of the aforesaid newspaper, the conduct of the applicant has been above reproach or criticism.
3. That the applicant has, so far, never been warned nor was any security demanded from him, for the editing or publishing of his said weekly newspaper.
4. That the applicant has never taken any part, in any subversive or unconstitutional activity.
5. On the other hand he has always preached through his paper respect for law and order and always warned his readers against taking part in any violent or destructive activity calculated to harm the fair name of the country and the people.
6. That the applicant apprehends that his arrest and detention may be in connection with an article printed on the front page of '*Agradoot*'s' issue dated 8.8.1943.
7. That all the copies of that day's issue have been seized and the press where they were printed has also been sealed and locked up.
8. That the applicant submits that in doing so the authorities concerned have taken unreasonable view of the whole thing.
9. That a perusal of the aforesaid article of that date will clearly show that instead of being a source of trouble, it was a source of strength to the authorities, in that it advised people against taking part in any demonstration calculated to the endangering of law and order.
10. That the main thesis of that article was to draw the attention of the people from taking part in senseless acts of violence: which the country and its leaders have never, and could never approve of. The following three extracts will bear out the truth of this assertion.

(Translation of the passage).

But we must have patience Our leaders are in jails. We do not get any guidance from them. We should not do anything which may tarnish their names. We must remember that Mahatma Gandhi and Congress have no faith in violence.

(2) But we feel it our duty to warn our countrymen, our patriots and all real congressmen that they should not take part in any violent agitations. Those who have faith in Mahatma Gandhi, those who believe (that) the prestige of Gandhiji is the prestige of the country, to them we exhort not to take part in any violent activities.

(3) Congress never showed any inclination nor has it any faith in destructive or violent activities. Last year Mahatma Gandhi undertook the great fast by way of penance for the violent acts of his country-men. It was our great luck that he survived the ordeal-Pray commit not such acts even by mistake for your foolishness the great leaders of your country may have to suffer.

11 The above extracts will amply prove that if anything the activities of the applicant have been for the maintenance of law and order and against the forces of destruction and violence and therefore his arrest and detention is misconceived and improper.

12. That the applicant himself, in a note on the leader page of the same issue (page 6, of issue of 'Agradoot' dated 8-8-43 has also advised the people not to commit breach of peace. The whole note is given below:

#### Maintain Peace

To check any sudden outbreak of rowdism police arrangement is being made in the town. We appeal to the public of Raipur that they could refrain from taking any part in any type of rowdyism, nor should they take part in any violent demonstration. Raipur is leaderless today, therefore the responsibility of the public becomes all the more great. It is hoped that the public will realize its responsibility.

13. The applicant submits that he has always been very careful to see that nothing is published in his paper which may smack of incitement to subversive activity or to the committing of the breaches of peace

14. That under the circumstances, the applicant contends that he should not unnecessarily be penalized, for opinion he does not hold, and does not disseminate through his paper.

That the applicant therefore prays that if in abundant caution he has been arrested and detained, the misunderstanding about him may be cleared and he be ordered to be released.

16.8.43.

T.P. Asik

Counsel Applicant.

## 72: The C.P. Press Advisory Committee to the Provincial Press Adviser – Reg. *Agradoot*

Govt. of C.P. & Berar Pol. (Mil.) Dept. File No. 259

[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

Office 'Gokhale Memorial Hall',  
Ajni Jail Road,  
Nagpur.

*The 18th August 1943.*

Dear Rai Saheb Shrivastava,

May I write to you on the subject of the arrest of the Editor of the 'Agradoot' in, Raipur? I

see from press report, the press in which the 'Agradoot' was published has also been seized. We do not know for what offence the Editor of the 'Agradoot' was proceeded against. Even if it is for an offence connected with his duties as a journalist, I think that this is a fit case in which information might be given to the members of Provincial Press Advisory Committee. I have already received a letter on behalf of Mr Verma, requesting the Provincial Press Advisory Committee to intervene on his behalf. I should be much obliged to you if you can kindly call an emergent meeting of the press Advisory Committee for this purpose. May I look forward to an early reply?

ADM/SWP.

Yours sincerely,  
Convener.

## 73: Government of Assam to the Government of India police firing at Dhakiajuli

File No. 3/61/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Assam Schedule V, Form No. 9  
Revised 1942

Government of Assam  
Home, Department, Confidential Branch

No. C.150/42/72

*dated Shillong, the 20th August, 1943.*

Confidential

From  
H.G. Dennehy, Esqr, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam

To  
The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

Subject: Publication in the *Hindustan Standard* and the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* Newspapers of references to a Judgment by the Special Magistrate at Tezpur constituting prejudicial reports.

Reference: Home Department Express letter No. 3/61/43 - Poll (I) of the 7th August 1943.<sup>1</sup>

Sir,

I am directed to say that the Government of Bengal were reluctant to order forfeiture of the deposits furnished on behalf of the above newspapers as they considered that such an order would be unlikely to survive an application to the High Court under section 23 of the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act. Complaints under Defence of India Rule 130(1) were therefore laid with the District Magistrate, Dibrugarh, who was requested to take cognizance of the contravention of Rule 38 (1) c), read with rule 34(6) (b) and (p) of the same rules by the Editors, publishers and local distributors of the above mentioned newspapers and of the Assam Tribune.

2. The result of this Government's movement of the High Court for enhancement of penalty will be communicated when known.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

H.G. Dennehy  
Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam.

1 Not printed, but see Doc No 53

## 74: News item in *The Hindu* dt 25.8.1943

*The Hindu*  
[ICWA Library]

### **Famine Photographs Reproduced**

Photographs of Bengal famine taken from '*The Statesman*'.

'We publish on this page photographs<sup>1</sup> showing typical daily scenes in and around Calcutta to illustrate the present plight of thousands of human beings throughout India's distressed province, Bengal. Such scenes are commonest on the 'Second city's' out skirts, where a moving population wanders pitifully in search of food'. — *The Statesman*

1 Four photographs that appeared in the *Statesman* have been printed in the photograph supplement (selected from the Album in NMML) -- Ed

## 75: Government of India to the Government of Bihar enclosing a list of pamphlets containing objectionable matter

File No. 33/33/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Secret

D.O. No. 3/47/43 - Poll (I),  
Government of India  
Home Department  
*New Delhi, the 26th August, 1943*

My dear

I write in continuation of Vishnu Sahay's D.O. No. 3/47/43 - Poll (I), dated the 23rd June 1943,<sup>1</sup> regarding Congress propaganda, to say that a number of further pamphlets have come

to our notice which while not in most cases individually very objectionable, are in their cumulative effect in our opinion definitely harmful. A list of these pamphlets is enclosed. We should be glad if you would examine the extent of the circulation of this type of literature in your Province and the effect which this is likely to have; and we would suggest the desirability of proscribing such of these pamphlets as appear to be achieving any wide circulation, if you are satisfied that there are sufficient legal grounds for taking that action. We should be glad to receive in due course your views on the effect, if any, which pamphlets of this type have produced and to have details of the action you propose to take.

2. We are examining the question whether powers should not be taken by the necessary amendment of the Press and Registration of Books Act and the Press (Emergency Powers) Act to enable Security to be taken from publishing companies in addition to presses and the editors and publishers of newspapers. We should be glad to have your early views as to whether such powers would be of service and whether in your opinion an amendment of the law in this sense should be proceeded with. Meanwhile, we would invite your attention to the powers to prohibit or regulate the working of any press provided by Defence Rule 41 (1) (b) and would suggest that you should consider whether the continued production of pamphlets of this nature does not warrant the closing down of or at least strict control over, the Press concerned.

Yours sincerely,

R. Tottenham

*Enclosure*

*Hamari Hindustan Publications*

Unity Series

1. 'Jinnahsaheb Please' by J.P. Gupta
2. 'Youths Unit' by Jawahar Lal Nehru
3. 'He Follows Christ', Edited by J.P. Gupta

Brochures

1. 'Bapu's Boswell' (reprint)
2. 'Two eyes of India'
3. 'Bavajiki 'Tapsiddhi' (Hindustani) (Proscribed by U.P. Government)
4. 'Bapu' (a photo)

Specials

1. 'Imperialism Unmasked', by Louis Fischer.
2. 'Nehru Flings a Challenge' edited by 'A Student' (Proscribed by the Bombay Government).
3. 'The Ordeal Begins'. (Proscribed by the U.P. Government)
4. 'They speak for India', edited by G.N. Acharya.
5. 'Fifty Facts About India', edited by Some Students. (Proscribed by the Bombay Government).

*Padma Publications*

Current Topics Series

1. 'In War Torn China', by Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.

2. 'Leaders of India', by Y. Meherally.
3. 'Quit India', by Mahatma Gandhi — edition Yusuf Meherally. (Proscribed by the U.P. Government).
4. 'Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps', by Dr R.M. Lohia.
5. 'Lenin's Russia', by Louis Fischer.
6. 'Stalin's Russia', by Louis Fischer.
7. 'Inflation in India', by Ayaz S. Peerbhoy.
8. 'Jawahar Lal Nehru The Man and his Ideas' by Y.G. Krishnamurthi
9. 'Sarat Chandra Chatterjee', by Humayun Kabir.
10. 'India's Place in Post War Reconstruction', by K.T. Shah
11. 'Japan — Its Weakness & Strength' by Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.

*Hindsa Press Service Publications*

1. 'Crucifixion of the Flesh'
2. 'Delhi Doings', edited by Dharam Yash Dev. First National Publishers, Sant Nagger, Lahore.
3. 'Churchill on India, Let his Past Records Speak'. Edited by Hira Lal Seth.

1. See enclosure to Doc 80

## 76: Government of India to all Provincial Governments

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 2761  
[TNA]

Confidential

Government of India,  
Home Department.

### **Express Letter**

From  
Home, New Delhi

To  
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners, Delhi,  
Ajmer-Merwara and Baluchistan.

No. 33/19-II/43 - Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 3rd September, 1943.*

Provincial Governments will doubtless have seen the Home Department notification No. 33/19/43 - Poll (I), dated the 3rd June, 1943, which appeared in the Gazette of India dated the 5th June, ordering that all matter relating to India written or spoken by Mr Louis Fischer should be submitted for pre-censorship. It has been found that the working of this order, which makes it necessary for any newspaper wishing to publish any writing of Louis

Fischer to refer the matter personally to the Chief Press Adviser in New Delhi is (a) inequitable, owing to the varying delays which newspapers at a greater or lesser distance from Delhi must incur in making these references, and (b) undesirable, in that if strictly observed it would involve the Chief Press Adviser's office in a great deal of unnecessary labour.

2. It has accordingly been decided to amend the order so as to allow the publication without specific submission for scrutiny to the Chief Press Adviser of any such matter received in this country by inward terminal press telegram. Such press telegrams are, of course, subject to 100 per cent censorship on entering the country and it is not, therefore, necessary that the messages they contain should be subject to the further scrutiny which the present order necessitates. A copy of the revised order, which will be notified in Gazette of India dated the 11th September, 1943, is enclosed for your information.

*Enclosure 1*

No 33/19/43 Poll (I)

Government of India.

Home Department.

New Delhi, the 3rd September 1943.

### **Order**

In exercise of the powers conferred by Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, and in supersession of Home Department Notification No. 33/19/43 – Poll (I) dated 3rd June 1943 which is hereby cancelled the Central Government is pleased to direct

- (a) that all matter relating to India, written or spoken, by Mr Louis Fischer, the American journalist and author, other than matter contained in inward foreign terminal press telegrams, shall, before being published in British India, whether in the original or in a translation, in any book, pamphlet, newspaper or other document, be submitted by the printer, publisher or editor of the document to the Chief Press Adviser, New Delhi, for scrutiny and (b) that no such matter as aforesaid shall be published by any printer, publisher or editor in British India except with the written permission of the Chief Press Adviser, New Delhi.

R. Tottenham

Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

*Enclosure 2*

Extract from the Gazette of India, Part I–Section 1, dated June 5, 1943, page 592:

Home Department:

New Delhi, the 3rd June 1943

No. 33/19/43 – Poll (I). The following order is published for general information:

### **Order**

In exercise of the powers conferred by Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules the Central Government is pleased to direct

- (a) that all matter relating to India, written or spoken or purporting to have been written or



spoken, by Mr Louis Fischer, the American journalist and author shall before being published in British India, whether in the original or in a translation, in any book, pamphlet, newspaper or other document, be submitted by the printer, publisher or editor of the document to the Chief Press Adviser, New Delhi, for scrutiny and

- (b) that no such matter as aforesaid shall be published by any printer, publisher, or editor in British India except with the written permission of the Chief Press Adviser, New Delhi.

## 77: New item in *The Hindu* dt 11.9.1943 on Louis Fischer

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2761  
[TNA]

### **Fischer's Articles on India Government Modify Ban on Publication**

New Delhi, Sept. 11. Under the Defence of India Rules, it is announced that 'all matter relating to India written or spoken, by Mr Louis Fischer, the American journalist and author, other than matter contained in inward for terminal press telegrams, shall, before being published in British India whether in the original or in a translation, in any book, pamphlet, newspaper or other document, be submitted by the printer, publisher or editor of the document of the Chief Press Adviser, New Delhi, for scrutiny and that no such matter as aforesaid shall be published by printer, publisher or editor in British India except with the written permission of the Chief Press Adviser, New Delhi.

The earlier notification on this subject is cancelled. – A.P.I.

(The earlier notification covered all articles by Louis Fischer including foreign press telegrams).

#### *Official Comment on the Above*

These papers relate to the ban, imposed by the Government of India, on the publication of articles on India, etc., by Mr Louis Fischer of America. No further action is called for. These may be recorded in a G.O. for facility of reference.

G1. 25/9/43.

G.O. No. 2761 Dated 27.9.43

Press Control – Articles on India

By Mr Louis Fischer of America

Publication-Ban imposed by Govt. of India – papers recorded.



# 78

## D.V. Tahmankar to C. Rajagopalachari

C. Rajagopalachari Papers

[NAI – Acc. No. 1422]

D.V. Tahmankar,  
Special Correspondent of London Newspapers:  
'*Reynolds News*'  
*News Chronicle*  
*Evening Standard*  
c/o United Press Of India  
Hornby Road,  
Post Box 73-A,  
Bombay, 13th Sep. 1943.

My dear Rajaji,

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 11th inst. I was glad to note your appreciation of the small service the *News Chronicle* is rendering to our cause. I want to do much more but the Censors here are not only rigid but very unreasonable. Only two days ago they killed my messages to the 'Reynolds News', dealing with Bengal's misery. I feel so depressed having to work in this unhealthy atmosphere.

You observe, 'the position is deplorable but I see no light'. I entirely agree with you. It has been my feeling for some time past. However I believe something could be done if we proceed to attack the deadlock from the other end. I don't think that Lord Wavell's assuming the Viceroy's House will make any difference unless he comes with fresh instructions from the Cabinet, which I doubt very much. Under the circumstance therefore, I would like to see something done on the lines I have suggested in the document enclosed herewith.<sup>1</sup>

In one word the idea is to advertise India's demand of independence and try to make India a burning issue before the next General Elections in England, which are sure to take place immediately the war in Europe is over. Out of this campaign of advertising might emerge the idea of contesting a few seats by Indian candidates. I feel confident that at least four seats could be contested with the cooperation and support of the Liberal, Labour and the newly formed Party, Common Wealth Party. I have detailed some of these ideas in my scheme and I wanted to discuss them with you.

Another important suggestion which leaders like you could make is the fresh elections of the Central Legislative Assembly. Of course I need hardly add that the Congress Party should take part in the elections and thereby show to the world that it has the complete confidence of the people of India.

I discussed the advertising scheme with Mr M.R. Jayakar and I was happy to note that he liked it. He has promised to put it before his friends and let me know their reactions. I shall feel grateful if you will kindly let me have your views on the scheme. Please amend it as you think fit; I have put it out as tentative proposals and suggestions from experienced and farseeing leaders like you are very welcome.

If you think I should see you I will be glad to come down to Madras. Please write at your early convenience.

Yes, I feel much better now although I am not quite free from skin trouble; I hope though that it will be alright very soon.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,

D.V. Tahmankar

C. Rajagopalachariar Esq.  
48 Bazlullah Road,  
Tyagarajnagar,  
Madras.

1 Not printed

## 79: Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar to the DIG of Police enclosing the letter of the Government of India dt 26.8.1943

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) Dept. File No. 123 (1)/1943  
[Bihar State Archives]

Secret

Memo No. 2643 C. 123(1)/43  
P.O. Hinoo, Ranchi,  
*the 15th September 1943.*

D.O. Letter No. 3/47/43 - Poll (I) dated the 26th August 1943<sup>1</sup> from the Addl. Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar.

Copy, with enclosure, forwarded to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D. Bihar for information in continuation of memo No. 1734C.249/43 dated the 3rd July<sup>2</sup> 1943 with the request that his views on the proposals of the Government of India may be forwarded to the Provincial Government at a very early date.

By order of the Governor of Bihar.

Chief Secretary to Government.

1 See Doc. 75.

2 Not printed.



# 80: Resident, Madras States to Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer\* – Regarding Congress Propaganda

Government of Travancore (Madras State Agency) File No. 544/43  
[Kerala State Archives]

## **Government of Travancore**

Confidential Section

*No. D. Div. 544/43/C.S. dated 20-9-1943*

Subject: Congress propaganda Resident' Letter re.

Secret

*D.O. No. C. 2835/43*

*Trivandrum*

*20th Sept. 1943.*

My Dear Sir, C.P.

### **Congress Propaganda**

I enclose for your information and guidance a copy such of two demi-official letters on the above subject. No. 3/47/43 Poll (I), dated 23rd June and 26th August, 1943, addressed to all Provincial Governments by the Government of India, Home Department.

Yours sincerely,

Sachivottama

Sri C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, KCSI

Diwan of Travancore

Copy

Secret

No. 3/47/43 – Poll (I)

Government of India

Home Department

New Delhi, the 23rd June 1943.

### *Enclosure 1*

My dear,

We have been examining the sources of Congress propaganda appearing in the Press and in pamphlets, and I am writing to draw attention to three organisations which appear to play a prominent part in the provision of this propaganda. These are the Hindu Press Service of Delhi and the Hamara Hindustan publications, and the Padma Publications of Bombay. It is suggested that, if they are not already doing so, your special Branch should be asked to keep a look-out for objectionable literature produced by these agencies and such literature should be proscribed without hesitation. (In particular, the Hamara Hindustan Publishing company has recently published a number of harmful pamphlets which are being used for propaganda with the Americans among others and we would like you to consider whether apart from proscribing these, something cannot be done to curb the Company itself).

Another means of circulating Congress propaganda was a cyclostyled newsletter issued last

year by one N. Salivate of Bombay, the special correspondent of the London '*Daily Herald*' and the '*Hindu*'. This was suppressed by the Bombay Government and then Salivate conceived the idea of carrying on the enterprise by sending the newsletter in the guise of 'personal' circular letters to individuals. This also has stopped but it is possible that the idea may be revived. We think that a watch should be kept for any attempts by other persons to circulate Congress propaganda by these means.

Yours sincerely,  
Vishnu Sahay.

All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners.

1 Doc 75.

# 81: DIG of Police, Bihar to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar – Reply to the letter of 15.9.1943<sup>1</sup>

Government of Bihar Pol. (Spl) Dept. File No. 123(1)/43  
[Bihar State Archives]

Office of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,  
Criminal Investigation Department,  
Bihar.

Memo No. 2938 S.B./142-43 Patna,  
*the 22nd September, 1943*

To The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar .

Please refer to your Memo No. 2643 C. 123(I)/43 of 15-9-43 enclosing a list of publications received from the Government of India.

Nos 2, 4, 7, 10 and 11 of the current Topics series have come to our notice. No. 2 was found in the possession of Rambriksh Benipuri in September 1940, when he was transferred to Hazaribagh Central Jail; a few copies of each of the four others were recovered during the search of a bookshop in Patna City in June 1943.

Nos 3 of the 'Brochures', 3 of the 'specials' and 3 of the 'current topics series' have been proscribed by the Government of the United Provinces and Nos 2 and 5 of the 'Specials' by the Government of Bombay.

The circulation of this type of literature in this province is limited. Subversive elements are much more interested in the really scurrilous type of literature, in the shape of leaflets and pamphlets, which is produced within the province. Should it subsequently be found that the evil influence of pamphlets such as those specified in the Government of India's list is on the increase, it would be useful to have in reserve the powers proposed in paragraph 2 of their letter.

C.R.B. Murray  
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,  
C.I.D., Bihar.

1 Doc. 80

## 82: The Viceroy of India to the Secretary of State, London

*The Transfer of Power* – Volume IV – Doc. 138

The Marquess of Linlithgow to Mr Amery

Immediate

*Simla, 24 September 1943, 5.45 p.m.*

Personal

Received: 24 September, 5.45 p.m.

No. 372-S.C. Following telegram No. 166, dated the 23rd September,<sup>1</sup> from Governor of Bengal is repeated:

...  
3. Other matters are also dealt with dilatorily, for example, Stevens' staff. I think Ministry would hate to lose their jobs. Have I your permission to hint that there are bones beneath the glove? Section 126-A could be used over rationing if necessary as Food Department is supplying our needs. Reuters asked unofficially for advice whether they could cable home today's editorial in Statesman. I refused to act as censor

[Para 1 & 2 on food situation omitted para 4 on the impossibility of taking part in savings drive omitted -- Ed.]

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<sup>1</sup> Not printed

## 83: Govt. of Bihar to the Govt. of India

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) Dept. File No. 123(1)/1943  
[Bihar State Archives]

Government of Bihar,  
Political Department  
(Special Section).

D.O. No. 2890 C.123/(I)1/43

*Patna  
The 7th October, 1943*

My dear Tottenham,

Would you please refer to your secret demi-official letter No. 3/47/43 – Poll (I) dated the 26th August 1943<sup>1</sup> regarding objectionable pamphlets dealing with congress propaganda.

2. Very few of the pamphlets mentioned in the list appended to your letter have ever

appeared in circulation in this Province. This Government have not themselves proscribed any of them but they are informed that some of them have been proscribed by the Governments of the United Provinces and Bombay. The proscription notifications issued by other Governments are usually republished in the Bihar Gazette if there is reason to believe that the publications in question are circulating or are likely to circulate in this Province. If any of the particular publications named in your letter or similar other publications appear in circulation in this Province, the Provincial Government will proscribe them. As publications of this kind have seldom been found circulating in the province it is difficult to give any estimate of the effect they produce. According to one view subversive elements in this Province are more interested in publications of the scurrilous type

3 The Provincial Government see no objection to amendment of the Press and Registration of Books Act and the Press (Emergency) Powers Act to enable security to be taken from publishing companies in addition to presses and editors and publishers of newspapers. They are of the opinion that it might be of advantage to have it on the Statute Book as this will serve the object of the checking the publication of literature of the kind mentioned in your list.

4. Powers under Rule 41 (1) (b) of the Defence of India Rules have been used by this Government in the case of the 'Saraswati Press' of Patna which was found to be producing subversive literature for circulation during the civil disturbances and that order is still in force. Power under this rule will be availed of whenever necessary.

Yours Sincerely,  
Signed (illegible)

Sir R. Tottenham, CSI, CIE, ICS,  
Secretary to the Government of India  
Home Department.

Do 5

## 84: News item in *The Hindu* on Press pre-censorship dt 16.10.1943

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

### **Imposition of Pre-censorship — Text of order on 'Amrita Bazaar Patrika'**

We publish below the text of the order issued by the Govt. of Bengal imposing pre-censorship on the A.B. Patrika and prohibiting the printing or publication within Bengal of any document containing a reference by way of comment or otherwise to the order of pre-censorship.

Order No. 927 of the Govt. of Bengal Home (Press) Dept. news: In exercise of the power conferred by clause (b) of sub rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor is pleased to prohibit the printing or publishing within the Province of Bengal of any document containing a reference by way of comment or otherwise to order No. 928 dated the 8th October, 1943, of which a copy is hereto annexed.'

The annexure referred to above containing order No. 928 Pr. runs:

In exercise of the power conferred by clause (a) of sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor is pleased, for the purpose of securing the public safety and the maintenance of public order, to order that any matter relating to economic conditions in Bengal, the food and supply situation, relief and distress and the Civil Defence Services or organisations shall before being published in the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* newspaper till further orders be submitted for scrutiny to the special Press Adviser, Calcutta.

‘Provided that nothing in this order shall be deemed to apply to –

- a) any matter communicated to the Press for publication by the Govt. of Bengal or any other Govt. in India.
- b) any matter already submitted for press advice and ‘passed press’ by a Press adviser in Bengal or elsewhere in India and
- c) any matter constituting a factual report or factual news and published in type of the same size and face as are in general use for the presentation of news without display or any kind.’

The order was communicated to the Convener, Bengal Press Advisory Committee and to all Printers, Publishers and Editors in Bengal.

## 85: Editorial in *The Hindu* about censorship orders on *Amrita Bazar Patrika* dt 16.10.43

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

### Arbitrary

We reproduce elsewhere the text of the two orders passed by the Govt. of Bengal<sup>1</sup> – one of them imposes pre censorship on the *A.B. Patrika* :— regard to the publication of certain classes of matter; the other prohibits any reference, whether by way of comment or otherwise to this imposition of pre-censorship in any ‘document’ (which is obviously a generic term standing for newspaper, periodical and so on) printed or published within the province of Bengal. The first order does not indicate the reasons, if any which prompted the Bengal Govt. to take this drastic & invidious action against a prominent newspaper. But we understand that on the very day on which the order on the Patrika was issued, the Provincial Advisory Committee was requested to hold an emergent meeting at which two leading articles in the issues of the paper dated Sept. 28 & 29 bearing on the food situation, which the Govt. considered objectionable, were placed before the Committee for its views. Though the Committee was informed that the Govt. contemplated some action against the paper on account of these articles, it came to the unanimous conclusion that the articles were appropriate to the convictions and were in no sense aimed at inciting the people against authority. The Committee further advised the Govt. that no action should be taken. Nevertheless the Govt. issued the same day the order imposing pre-censorship on the *Patrika* and, what is even worse, prohibited, by what seems to us a grossly improper use of the Defence Rules, any publicity being given in the Bengal Press to this restrictive order. We have read the two articles above referred to with some care and have been unable to find in them anything to which reasonable objection could be taken



as exceeding the bounds of fair comment in the conditions existing in Bengal to-day. When the fully representative Provincial Press Advisory Committee unmistakably expressed this view the Govt. should have accepted it without demur. Instead they chose to act in accordance with a decision which had apparently been taken already, consultation with the committee being thus reduced to an empty formality. The order imposing pre-censorship covers a comprehensive class of matter—everything bearing on economic conditions in the Province, food and supply situation, relief and distress and Civil Defence services or organisations—subject only to three exceptions. These are Govt. communiques, Central or Provincial, any matter submitted for Press advice and passed by the Press Advisor in Bengal or elsewhere in India and, lastly 'any matter constituting a factual report or factual news and published without special featuring. The first two categories of exceptions are self-explanatory, but the third raises more than one question. Who is to decide whether a report or item of news is 'factual' or not? If the Govt's view is to prevail in case of difference of opinion and if the Editor is to be penalised for not submitting for pre-censorship an item that he honestly believed was purely factual, what earthly use would this exception be, either as a safeguard for the Editor or a concession to the rights of the Press? Further, it will be noticed that the exception is so worded as to bring automatically all expression of editorial opinion within the purview of the pre-censorship order. Rather than submit to this encroachment on the liberties of the Press, 'The Patrika', as our readers will have noticed, has preferred to omit leading articles altogether. The Bengal Govt's action constitutes a flagrant violation of the understanding reached with the Press right at the very beginning of the war, that while it might be desirable to impose certain restrictions in regard to the publication of news which might help the enemy, no attempt should be made to fetter responsible newspapers in the discharge of their basic duty of informing and guiding public opinion. Not one of the classes of matter which are required to be submitted for pre-censorship can be rightly regarded as liable to prejudice the public interest if the light of publicity and the comment were constantly to play on it. On the contrary even the British Press has condemned with one voice the hush-hush-policy followed by the Central & Provincial Govts regarding the food situation as being primarily responsible to the rapid and disastrous deterioration in the conditions of unfortunate Bengal. Of course criticism is unpalatable to those who are criticised, but that does not justify the smothering of critics. Even Mr Amery, who contended, apparently speaking to a brief, that the work of the Bengal Ministry had not been made easier by the vehemence of local party and communal feeling, did not go further in his championship of the Ministry than to say that it would be only fair to give it a reasonable chance of fulfilling its responsibility. In other words, if the Ministry fails he concedes it will have to be scrapped. Whether the Ministry has failed or succeeded in this elementary task, it is primarily for the people of Bengal to say: and it cannot be allowed to block the free expression of public opinion by arbitrarily gagging the Press.

It is bad enough to shut the mouth of the Press; but it is far worse to do that secretly and keep it carefully hid from the public that the Press, on which it relies for correct news and impartial exposition of public questions, is in fact not a free agent, so far as ventilation of questions bearing on large areas of public activity is concerned. It is from this point of view that the Bengal order prohibiting any reference in the Press of the Province to the order imposing pre-censorship on 'The Patrika' is particularly objectionable. This order purports to have been made under Sub-Rule (1) (b) of Defence Rule 41. Rule 41 confers the power to impose pre-censorship; and sub-rule (1) (b) is obviously intended to complement and make effective the power conferred by Sub-Rule (1) (a) by providing that Govts shall have also power to

prohibit or regulate publication of any document (meaning any newspaper, periodical etc.) or of inclusion in it of any matter relating to a particular subject or class of subjects. The *raison d'être* of this Sub-Rule is presumably to be sought in the fact that a power merely to require submission of any matter for scrutiny before publication will not enable the Govt. to prohibit or regulate publication of any class of matter or any document to which they might take objection on such scrutiny. It is power to do these things that is conferred by Sub-Rule (1) (b). Now the Bengal Govt's order prohibiting any reference to the order imposing pre-censorship on the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* can in no wise be considered as an order that is essential for enforcing the pre-censorship in regard to the paper generally or in regard to particular classes of news or reports that might appear in it. It is merely intended to keep it hidden from the people of Bengal that pre-censorship has been imposed on a particular newspaper. The restrictions of the freedom of the Press in India, as even a Tory M.P. like Mr Grant Ferris<sup>\*</sup> is constrained to observe, are bad enough in all conscience; what then shall we say when even these drastic powers are exceeded. For it cannot be seriously contended that such a secrecy about the operations of the censorship is essential for any of the purposes mentioned in Defence Rule 41—securing the defence of the country, the public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the war. This ban on publication, meaningless and improper if not illegal, is one that no self-respecting Press can take lying down.

1. Doc 84.

## 86: Editorial in *The Hindu* — Ban on Bharati's Songs dt 20.10.43

*The Hindu*  
[ICWA Library]

There could no grosser exhibition of the melancholy meanness and purposeless nagging that bureaucracy is capable of than the ban placed by the Adviser regime in Madras on the use of late Sri Subramanya Bharati's book of national songs in schools under local bodies. More than five years ago a popular Govt. permitted such use, presumably after full consideration. And nothing has happened in the interval to suggest that either the morals or the manners of the pupils had deteriorated under the influence of patriotic poetry. So far as we know, there have been no complaints from any section of the public about the prescription of the book for use in these schools why, then, have the Govt. launched on this witch-hunt at this late hour? No word of explanation is vouchsafed as to why they have come to the conclusion that it is dangerous for the children of the Tamil country to look at their motherland through the eyes of an inspired singer or to be thrilled by his noble rage. Bharati, the bard, is neither a chauvinist, an obscurantist. He regards all the world as kin. He celebrates the heroism of little Belgium and the valour of the Italian liberator as enthusiastically as he pays homage to Gandhi and Swami Vivekananda. The new civilisation in Russia fascinates him no less than the splendour of India's storied past. He sings the song of freedom, but with no less fervour he belabours the cowardice that invites tyranny, the ignorance that attracts exploitation and the

mutual jealousies and bickerings that frustrate purposeful activity among his own countrymen. At his best he strikes a universal note that places him among the great poets of freedom, in the company of Milton and Blake, Byron and Shelley. Apart from all question of poetic excellence, there is such a thing as national sentiment. To say that Tamil children shall not learn to sing Bharati's songs is just as outrageous as it would be if British children were forbidden to sing 'Rule Britannia' or the 'Star-spangled Banner' were proscribed in American schools. We trust that in the interests of their own reputation for common sense the Madras Govt. will cancel this ridiculous order without delay.

## 87: Memorandum of Department of Industries and Civil Supplies – (News print)

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Government of India

Department of Industries and Civil Supplies.  
*New Delhi, the Oct. 1943.*  
(Late Oct. 1943)

### Un-Official Memorandum

Reference Home Department Un-Official Memorandum No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I) dated the 1st October 1943.<sup>1</sup> This Department has the following remarks on the draft letter<sup>2</sup> which the Home Department proposes to address to the provincial Governments regarding the question of issuing licences to known supporters of Congress.

Paragraph 6 should be omitted altogether from the letter. The Control Orders referred to in this paragraph are designed to enable the economic machinery of the country to function with maximum efficiency, having regard to the fact that in every case the supplies are unequal to the demand. The better this machinery functions the better for civilian morale and therefore for the war effort. To ascertain the political leanings of applicants for licences would entail considerable delays in the administration of these Industrial Controls by the Central Government, who must necessarily consult provincial Governments in all cases, and as speed is the essence of economic controls there cannot but be loss of efficiency and a falling off in production which as a matter of war effort we can ill-afford.

The case of the Newsprint Control Order is perhaps not on par with that of the other Orders, but the enforcement of the principle laid down in the draft letter of the Home Department might have unfortunate consequences from the point of view of Government and we feel that the Information and Broadcasting Department should if it is desired to press the case of its inclusion first be consulted. We advise however that the Newsprint Control Order should remain excluded.

Secretary to the Government of India

1. Not printed.

2. See Doc. 84 in Chapter I – Section B.

## 88. News item in *The Hindu* dt 7.11.1943 — Famine news

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

Pre-censorship of famine news-  
Editors condemn Govt's Action.

*New Delhi. Nov. 6.*

The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference passed four resolutions today condemning action taken by the Govt. against *Hitavada*, Nagpur, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, *The Sind Observer*, Karachi and certain Patna newspapers. The resolutions are as follows:

"The Standing Committee of the AINE Conference has given careful consideration to the circumstances of the order under clause (a) of sub-rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules dated Oct. 1943 passed by Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal imposing Pre-censorship on *A.B. Patrika* in respect of news and articles relating to the famine situation, as also the general order of the same date under clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of Rule 41 of the DIR, prohibiting the publication of any reference in the province to the order on the *A.B. Patrika*.

The Standing Committee notes that the passing of the orders was preceded by a meeting of the provincial Press Advisory Committee called at the instance of the provincial Govt. at which two leading articles published in the paper were considered. The provincial Committee unanimously resolved that the articles were unobjectionable and appropriate to the occasion and recommended that no action was called for. The Standing Committee is definitely of the view that the action taken was entirely uncalled for and in ignoring the recommendations of the Bengal Press Advisory Committee, the Govt. have taken a needlessly alarmist view of the articles, which in the opinion of the Standing Committee reflect a very general feeling in the country and call attention to a very real danger which it is the duty of all concerned to consider seriously and do everything in their power to provide against.

The Standing Committee further feels that the Second order by the Govt. banning the publication of all reference to the original order is even more reprehensible and further protest against the prohibition of the publication of reference to the Bengal order in other parts of India.

Moved by Mr Siddiqui, seconded by Mr Srinivasan and supported by Mr Samaldas Gandhi.

### **Action against *Hitavada***

The Standing Committee of the AINEC records its emphatic protest against the action of the Central provinces Govt. in demanding from the Editor of the *Hitavada*, the source of his information in regard to the publication of a news item concerning the resignation of the Chief Secretary to the Bengal Govt. as an unwarranted interference with the well established convention governing the relations between an editor and his correspondents.

The Standing Committee notes with satisfaction that in their communique issued on Oct. 1943, the Govt. of India recognize the convention that the relations between the Editor and

his correspondents are confidential, but regret that they are prepared to concede it only to the extent that 'in all ordinary circumstances this convention honoured by time and usage' should not be disturbed. The Standing Committee further objects to the use of Defence of India Rules to compel an editor to disclose the source of his information and requests the Govt. to withdrawn the order against the Editor of the 'Hitavada'.

The Standing Committee congratulate Mr A.D. Mani' on the courage with which he has vindicated the highest tradition of the profession. Moved by Sir Francis Low, seconded by Mr Brelvi and supported by Ian Stephens.

The Standing Committee takes exception to the Bihar Govt. in demanding from certain Patna newspapers the source of information of the report about the possibility of the transfer of the present Chief Secretary, Bihar Govt. to the Board of Revenue.

Moved by Mr S.A Brelvi,' seconded by Mr Siddiqui and supported by Mr Sahni.

### **Protest against Order on Sind Paper**

The Standing Committee of the AINEC feel that the order served under the Indian Press Emergency powers demanding security from the *Sind Observer* by ignoring the unanimous recommendation of the Provincial Advisory Committee violates the assurance given by the Govt. of India that reasonable and legitimate editorial comment could not be actionable and is of the opinion that the action of the Sind Govt., apart from being unjustified on merits, was opposed to the spirit of the agreement between the Govt. of India and the Editors' Conference. The Standing Committee of AINEC therefore request the Govt. of India to draw the attention of the Sind Govt. to the understanding governing editorial comment and to request them to withdraw the order against the *Sind Observer*.

Moved by Mr Devadas Gandhi and supported by Mr B. Shiva Rao – API

## **89: Banning publication of Bengal Governor's order against the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* – CLA debates dt 9.11.43**

CLA Debates – Vol. IV, 1943

[NMML]

### **Motions for Adjournment**

**Banning Publication of Bengal Governor's Order against the *Amrita Bazar Patrika***

Mr President (*The Honourable Sir Adbdur Rahim*). Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi has given notice of a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House for discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance namely, the prohibition under sub-rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India, Rules, by the Chief Press Adviser to the Government of India, of the publication outside the Province of Bengal of an order (intended to be applied only within the Province of Bengal served on the Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* under the order of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on 8th October, 1943 under the clause (b) of the sub-rule (i) of Rule-41 at the Defence of India Rule prohibiting the printing or publishing

within the province of Bengal only any document containing a reference by way of comment or otherwise relating to the economic condition in Bengal the food and supply situation relief and distress etc.

I have not been able to understand the position clearly. I should like to know what the facts are.

*Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi* (Dacca cum Mymensingh: Muhammandan Rural) Sir, the facts are that the order of the Government of Bengal was limited to Bengal only. May I read the Order/

Mr President (*The Honorable Sir Rahim*): Yes, if it is not a very big one.

*Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi*: It is not. It runs thus:

In exercise of the power conferred by Clause (B) of Sub-Rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor is pleased to prohibit the printing or publishing within the Province of Bengal of any document containing a reference by way of comment or otherwise to Order No. 928 Pr. dated the 8th October, 1943, of which a copy is hitherto annexed.

The annexed Order is absolutely clear. it only applies within the Province of Bengal.

Mr President (*The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim*): What is that Order referred to?

*Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi*: I will read that also

In exercise of the power conferred by Clause (a) of Sub-Rule (1) of Rule 41 of Defence India Rules the Government is pleased for the purpose of securing the public safety and maintenance of public order to order that any matter, relating to economic conditions in Bengal the food and supply situation relief and distress and Civil Defence services organisation shall before being published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* newspaper till further orders be submitted for scrutiny to the Special Press Adviser, Calcutta.

It is absolutely clear that this Order was intended only for Bengal and not outside Bengal. Therefore, I submit that the Chief Press Adviser had no business to kill this news by prohibiting its publication throughout the rest of India. Of course it cannot be published in Bengal, that is admitted. The order has clearly defined that it has only to be used in the Province of Bengal and nowhere else.

Mr President (*The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim*): I would like to know why it was confined to Bengal.

*Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi*: That is the Order. I have read it to you. The Government of Bengal have only applied it to their own province.

Mr President (*The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim*): Would the same reasons apply for other parts of India?

*Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi*: Not necessarily.

*The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed* (Member for Information and Broadcasting. The assumption that an Order was passed by the Chief Press Adviser prohibiting under Rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules the meeting or publishing of any paper or document or anything like that is in itself unfounded. There is no such order.

Mr President (*The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim*): In view of the statement made by the Leader of the House I rule the motion out of order.

*Dr P.N. Banerjee* (Calcutta Suburb Non Muhammadan Urban) was there then any advice?

Mr President (*The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim*): The next motion is in the name of Mr Govind V. Deshmukh. He says that the business of the Assembly be adjourned for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the failure of the Government of India to give true and extensive publicity, in time, of the mortality in Bengal due to starvation.

It is rather general. Besides this question can be discussed on the days which will be allotted for food debate.

*Mr Govind V. Deshmukh* (Nagpur Division Non-Mohammadan): Sir, I do not wish to move this and the next adjournment motion which stands my name.

## 90 Censorship on publication of news about famine in Bengal CLA debate dt 10.11.1943 (extracts)

CLA Debates – Vol. IV, 1943

[NMML]

*Mr K.C. Neogy*: With the Honourable Member for Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state whether censorship and 'Press Advising' been resorted to for the purpose of controlling the publication of news comments in the Press about the famine conditions in the country and deaths resulting from starvation in Bengal and other places? If so, what action has been taken in this connection from time to time with reference to the Press in India as well as abroad, and to what extent has the publicity of the aforesaid news and comments, particularly in the Press outside India, been affected thereby?

*The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed*: Except in the case of one Bengal newspaper on which a pre-censorship order was served by the Bengal Government, there has been no censorship of news or comment appearing in the Indian Press about the famine conditions in the country or deaths resulting from starvation in Bengal and other places. In so far as publicity in the Press outside India is concerned the Government of India have no information either as to its volume or tone other than that contained in cabled reports to India which have appeared in the Indian Press and which have been read by members of this House. It is not in the public interest to reveal details of Censorship Policy.

*Mr K.C. Neogy*: With regard to the Indian Press will the Honourable Member state whether the practice of the Press Advisor has not been to advise News Agencies informally, sometimes over the telephone instead of giving written orders in such matters, so that no records might be left?

*The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed*: He has no power to issue any orders at all. Any advice that he gives is in answer to questions put to him and in answer to representations made to him. He may have given advice voluntarily also when he considers it necessary to News Agencies or the Press, but they are not bound to accept his advice. They are absolutely at liberty to do anything as they please.

*Mr K.C. Neogy*: Is it a fact that so far as the Associated Press is concerned it being a subsidised agency, there is a definite understanding, though it may be of an informal character, that all news of a certain kind should be submitted to the Press Adviser for his opinion is invariably expected to be accepted by that agency?

*The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed*: I have no information.

*Mr K.C. Neogy*: Is the Honourable Member aware that a statement was issued by two ex-Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council in regard famine conditions in Bengal in September last, and that this statement was supplied to the Associated Press at Delhi, and that

as a result of such understanding or advice, material portions were omitted from this statement when the Associated Press sent it out for publication.

*The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:* It is for the Associated Press to say why they did it.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* Am I to take it that the Honourable Member does not keep himself informed as to what is going on in his department?

*The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:* I am fully informed of all that is going on in my department.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* Is the Honourable Member aware, or has his attention been drawn to this particular fact which appeared in several newspapers? As a matter of fact I may inform the Honourable Member, as he appears to be ignorant about it, that I sent out letters over my own signature to some of the papers giving the portion of the statement which was omitted by the Associated Press, as stated by me, and these letters were published by them.

*The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:* I may be ignorant of many things and I plead guilty to ignorance of the letter that was written by Mr Neogy to the press.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* Does not the Honourable Member think that in regard to a statement which was issued by two responsible men like Sir Nripenda Sircar and Sir Jagdish Prasad, Government owe a duty to the public as well as to themselves to see that no material portion of such a statement is tampered with in any way by his department?

*The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:* I deny that it was tampered with my department.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* As regards the Foreign Press, has the Honourable Member's attention been drawn to certain comments which appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* protesting against the censorship that was being exercised on the transmission of news from India regarding the famine conditions in Bengal to the foreign press?

*The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:* I have stated that it is not in the public interest to reveal details of censorship policy.

*Mr K.C. Neogy:* I do not want the details. I merely want to know whether his attention has been drawn to an article which appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* and in which appeared the following observation:

'The sole and thoroughly immoral justification (namely a justification of this kind of censorship) seems to be the preservation of the Government of India's infallibility in minds of those who are ultimately responsible for its shortcomings the British public'.

*Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:* Yes, Sir.

*K.C. Neogy:* Does not that article contain a reference to the procedures followed by the press censorship authorities in India with regard to the foreign press?

*Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:* No, Sir.

*K.C. Neogy:* Will the Honourable Member be pleased to instruct his subordinates to issue a correction to that article if it is inaccurate in any detail.

*Honourable Sir. Sultan Ahmed:* I have already said that it will not be in the interest of the public to reveal details of censorship policy. But I may say that such restrictions as have had to be imposed have in no way prevented the overseas correspondents from sending objective and factual reports to their papers in giving a balanced picture of the situation as it has developed, which is apparent from the cabled reports of the comments in the press outside India.

*Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:* What did the Honourable Member mean by balanced picture.

*Mr President (the Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim):* Order, order Next question . . . . .



# 91: News item in *The Hindu* dt 10.11.1943

*The Hindu*  
[ICWA Library]

Nov. 10, Editors' Committee meeting –

Mr C.R. Srinivasan's impressions.

Madras Nov. 9. Mr C.R. Srinivasan, Editor, *The Swadesamitran*, who has just returned from New Delhi, after attending the meeting of the Standing committee of Newspaper Editors Conference last week elucidated, in an interview some of the topics discussed and decision taken at the meeting. The Viceregal tea party, Mr C.R.S. said, was intended as a gesture of goodwill towards the Press, taken entirely on the initiative of the Viceroy. The members of the Standing committee were scattered over half a dozen tables and His Excellency moved from table to table spending a few minutes at each Table talking to members. Many attempts were made to draw him out into a political discussion but His Excellency seemed anxious to avoid this from a desire not to commit himself to any statement of policy.

It is reported, Mr Srinivasan added, that His Excellency stated to one of the members later that he had been inundated with advice both at Home and here as to what he should and should not do and that he would like to have a little more time to sort out ideas for himself before disclosing his mind. Her Excellency Lady Wavell also moved freely among the members and frankly spoke of her reactions to the tragic scenes she witnessed in Bengal.

It is clear, Mr Srinivasan pointed out from the message His Excellency sent to the Indian Legislative Assembly that he has not come over here with any specific mandate; he may possibly be free to act within limits on his own discretion. Mr Srinivasan mentioned that it was noteworthy that the spirit of rigid formalism and pageantry which had pervaded the Vice-regal Lodge especially in recent years was refreshingly absent.

'The *Hitavada* Case' – Speaking of the *Hitavada* case which figured prominently in the discussions of the Standing Committee because it not merely raised the question of a specific grievance but also a principle vital to the members, Mr Srinivasan said that the case of the Govt. was that while they recognised the journalistic convention that the source of information is inviolable in normal times conditions may arise where for security reasons it is possible to contemplate violation of this principle and they were more concerned with preventing leakage from censorship sources than punishing papers giving news. When Mr Mani made it clear to the Standing Committee that his news was not derived from censorship sources, the way to effect a solution was discernible, and it is now believed that the Govt. would drop the proceedings against the *Hitavada* in the face of this assurance given by Mr Mani to the Standing Committee.

Publicity Advisory Committee – As regards the question of the association of the Standing committee with the Publicity advisory committee Mr Srinivasan said: At Bombay when this question was first raised the Standing Committee thought that the balance of advantage lay in being officially associated with the Publicity Advisory Committee through representatives

from the Standing committee. Later when the personnel of the Pub. Adv. committee was announced, it was discovered that the members of the Press were in a minority and the matter therefore came up for review whether the Standing Committee should officially associate itself with a body in whose decisions it could not claim the dominant voice; that is how the resolution withdrawing the association of the Standing Committee as a body came to be passed by the committee at its meeting on the 4th instant. It would be relevant to point out that a discussion actually arose whether the use of the words 'as a body' was necessary and it was clearly the view of the Standing Committee that what was contemplated was to disassociate itself 'as a body' but to leave it to the discretion of members to decide whether they should serve on the Publicity Advisory Committee, if they chose in their individual capacity.

## 92. DIG of Police Bihar to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar (that '*Vanguard*' may be allowed to be issued to security prisoners)

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) Dept. File No. 19/44  
[Bihar State Archives]

Confidential,

No. 20466 S.B./116 45

From  
C.R. B. Murrey, Esqr. I.P.  
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,  
Criminal Investigation Department, Bihar.

To  
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, Patna.  
Patna, the 15th November, 1943

Sir,

I have the honour to suggest that the '*Vanguard*' (formerly '*Independent India*') an English Daily issued from Delhi may be included in the list of newspapers approved by Government for supply to Division I & II prisoners.

The editorials of this journal are ably written and contain some plain statements of facts which the prisoners might read with advantage.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Signed Illegible  
For Deputy Inspector-General of Police,  
C.I.D. Bihar.

*Reply to the Letter of the DIG*

From

P T Mansfield, Esqr. CSI, CIE, I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government.

To

The Deputy Inspector General of Police,  
Criminal Investigation Department.  
Patna, the 25th January, 1944.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 20466 B dated the 15th November 1943, I am directed to say that the Provincial Government are pleased to approve of the inclusion of 'Vanguard' (formerly Independent India), an English Daily issued from Delhi, in the list of newspapers approved by Government for supply to Division I and II prisoners.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

You most obedient servant,

P.T. Mansfield,  
Chief Secretary to Government

Memo No. 215 C

Patna, the 25th January, 1944.

Copy forwarded to the Judicial Department for information and communication to the Inspector General of Prisons, Bihar.

By order of the Governor of Bihar

P.T. Mansfield,  
Chief Secretary to Government.

## 93: Official Noting – Proposal to amend the Press Registration<sup>1</sup> Act dt 30.11.43 to 4.12.43 (extracts)

File No. 33/33/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Home Department

The difference between the publisher of a newspaper filling one declaration in respect of that newspaper and between a publishing company filling declarations in respect of each book they publish. Two suggestions occur to me. One is that the obligation to make a declaration might be done away with altogether in the case of publishers of books, and that it might be sufficient to provide for the book to bear the publisher's name. There may be some difficulty in Court in proving that the publisher was in fact the person whose name the book bore, but

if we put in a provision that the printer shall be responsible for putting in the correct publisher's name, the necessary evidence out to be obtainable from the printer himself. The second suggestion is it does not meet the difficulty completely - that instead of requiring the publisher to make a declaration in person it might be sufficient to ask that a declaration signed before two witnesses be sent by registered post to the authority designated by the Local Government. Subject to the above I agree with Mr Olver's note.

(Vishnu Sahay),  
Deputy Secy., 30.11.93.

Will H.M. Please see -

- (a) my note of August 6th;
- (b) para 2 of our letter of August 26th; and
- (c) the summary of replies received to that letter.

In view of the opinion of the majority of Provincial Governments, I am inclined to think that we ought to proceed with the proposal to amend the Press Legislation of Books Act and the Press (Emergency Powers) Act to enable the taking of securities from publishing firms. I do not think we need bother about individuals who publish books. They, *ex hypothesi*, deal with a single printing press and I do not think they present the same kind of problem. The problem really is the big publishing firm which can send its publications to any of a number of different presses. I also agree that, if we are to proceed with this proposal, we should take the opportunity to amend section 9 of the Press and Registration of Book Act on the lines recommended by the Governments of Bombay, Punjab and Delhi and also section 116 of the lines proposed by Bombay. I do not think that the Punjab suggestions need be followed up.

At the same time, so long as we have the Defence of India Act and the powers provided by D.R. 41(1) (b) (even if these are not completely sufficient), I doubt whether we could honestly maintain that the emergency was sufficient to justify legislation by Ordinance. Whether H.M. would consider the matter of sufficient importance to warrant an attempt to place a bill before the Legislative Assembly, I do not know. It seems to me, however, that we should be setting a good example by endeavouring to pass legislation in the ordinary way and that it would be desirable to choose for the experiment a measure the defeat of which we could face with comparative equanimity.

I do not think it is necessary to go into the details of the amendments that would be required to the two Acts mentioned, until the principle of the proposal has been decided.

R. Tottenham,  
Addl. Secretary  
1-12-43

Legislation of this kind could only be undertaken if it was of sufficient urgency to be enacted by ordinance. There is not a hope of finding support in the Assembly for any measure designed to increase our powers of control. But if we can in practice exercise sufficient control under the Defence Rules we can hardly urge that an Ordinance is necessary. I doubt therefore whether we should pursue this proposal but am prepared to discuss further with Additional Secretary if he thinks it should be pressed.

R.M. Maxwell  
3-12-43

I have discussed further with H.M. Although it is true that the majority of Provincial Governments have supported the proposal, it is clear that only one or two of them attach very great importance to it, while the others merely concur or say they have no objection. The fact also remains that, even if the Acts were amended on the lines proposed, the taking of security from publishing firms in respect of the kind of literature under consideration, would not be an altogether easy matter. In other words, although there would be some additional control as a result of the proposal, it would not, in practice, be very effective. We cannot say that the necessity or urgency is so great as to justify an Ordinance; and H.M. thinks that an attempt to legislate in the ordinary way would not only fail as an objective lesson, but would also provide undesirable opportunities for attacks of all kinds on Government's control over the Press.

I discussed with H.M. whether he would be prepared to proceed with the proposed amendment of section 9 of the Press and Registration of Books Act alone; but his view is that this would really be converting for the purposes of control a section that was not originally intended for that purpose and, further, that for the sake of exercising control over a very small percentage of the books published, we should be imposing a quite unnecessary degree of urgency in the delivery of the majority of books published.

I think we must explain the position on the above lines to Provincial Governments and say that we have decided not to proceed with the proposal to amend the two Acts at present. Meanwhile, they must make the best use they can of the existing powers. I discussed with H.M. whether it would be worthwhile attempting to issue any kind of general order under Defence Rule 41, but we came to the conclusion that it would not.

4.12.43.

(R. Tottenham)  
Addl. Secretary.

- 
- 1 These notings arise out of provincial reply to the letter printed earlier as Doc. 75  
2 Not printed  
3 Doc. 75

## 94 Official Notings on Louis Fischer's book dt 1.12.43 -24.1.44 (extracts)

File No. 20/17/43 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

File No. 20/17/43 - Poll (I)/1943  
Government of India  
Home Department  
Political (I) section

Question of withholding in Censorship of Louis Fischer's book 'A week with Gandhi'

The publication of the book in India without the written permission of CPA would be a contravention of the Press censorship order on, L. Fischer's writing etc. which is still in force.

Thereupon, C.P.A. should see. A copy of the book must be in existence somewhere because I have seen and read it. Apart from the fact that it is 'Gandhi propaganda', I don't think as I said before that it contains sufficiently objectionable material to warrant its vanishing.

R. Tottenham

1-12-43

CPA. A.L. Kirchner

H.D. UO No. 9536/45 - Poll (I)/dt/1-12-43

I have not seen a copy of the book but I understand that it was reviewed in the *Hindustan Times* as long ago as March 22nd 1943 which indicates that copies of the American Edition have already reached India. In fact, I am almost certain that extracts from the book have appeared in the Indian press and, if my memory is not at fault, they contained nothing which need worry us being mainly a narration of rather tedious conversation between Mr Gandhi and Louis Fischer in the course of which the latter tried to elicit Mr Gandhiji's real views on the war and to reconcile these with what Mr G. had written in the *Harijan* and said to press correspondents. All this is rather ancient history now and I should not be surprised if Messrs Allen & Unwin Ltd's reprint of the book found much sale in India. I can understand the firm's reluctance to supply a copy for examination and if there is any doubt about the desirability of its contents, our only course to it seem to be to ask C.C.I. to submit a copy when the first consignment reaches India

A.L. Kirchner

2-12-43

CPA

Home Department (Sir R. Tottenham)

The contents and the effect of the book go beyond what C.P.A. says. As a copy cannot be found I agree that we should warn CCI as proposed.

R. Tottenham

3-12-43

### Notes in the Home Dept.

Office has examined the book and does not consider that it contains anything seriously objectionable which would justify an Order banning entry into India. In fact the book has already been received in India and was reviewed in the *Hindustan Times* of 22nd March 1943. A cutting is placed below.<sup>1</sup>

2. It was understood that a copy of the book was sent last year by Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai to the E.A. Department and it was seen by Addl. Secretary and D.I.B., and presumably it was this copy which Addl. Secretary recollected having read. Unfortunately the E.A. Department have not been able to trace their papers.

3. A copy of *India Today*, the organ of the India League of America, containing a review of the book, is also put up.<sup>2</sup>

A.P.

12-1-44

I agree that the book is not sufficiently bad to justify a ban; in particular the substance of the talks with Gandhi has largely appeared before in the '*Harijan*' etc; further, a ban would doubtless attract attention and provide publicity here and in U.S.A. We should, I think be justified, however, in asking censors to stop all copies while any attempt to reprint here is of course already barred.

S.J.L. Olver  
13-1-44

I do not think we stop the entry of this book into India through the Censors or otherwise. I am not clear whether it could be imported and sold in this country without the permission of C.P.A. under our order. But it does not appear that any immediate action is necessary. I would certainly do nothing to encourage the London publishers to send copies here

R. Tottenham  
13/1  
C.P.A.

There are only two passages in the book which are likely to cause any embarrassment from my standpoint.

- (a) the reference on pp. 28-29 to Subhas Bose:
- (b) a statement on pp. 33-34 that the U.S. Government tried to dissuade Mr Churchill from saying that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India.

The pre-censorship order under DR 41 applies I think to publication of Louis Fischer's writings in India and I doubt whether it could be made to cover the importation into India of such writings published outside India. This however is a technical point on which legal opinion could be obtained. Geo. Allen & Unwin Ltd. have already given India Office to understand that they will not be parties to any censorship action and I doubt whether they could be dissuaded from sending out copies of the book.

B.L. Kirchner  
Chief Press Advisor,  
24th January 1944



# 95. Secretary, Govt. of Bihar to the Secretary, Bihar Journalist Association

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) Dept. File No. 85(25)/1943  
[Bihar State Archives]

No. 3660 C. 88 (25)/43

From

Y.A. Godbole, Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Chief Secretary to Government

To

The Secretary, Bihar Journalists' Association, Patna.  
2nd December 1943.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. nil dated the 18th November, 1943,<sup>1</sup> I am directed to say that the position as regards the health and detention of Babu Murli Manohar Prasad<sup>2</sup> was explained by me to the members of the deputation from Bihar Journalists Association who met me on the 19th of November. The view of the deputation that in the present condition of Babu Murli Manohar Prasad's health and from what they knew of his politics there was no justification for his detention was placed before Government and I am directed to say that Government after full consideration of the view expressed by the deputation are unable to accept the suggestion that he should be released. As regards his health he is receiving the best medical treatment available in Bihar and from the reports received by Government up to the date of the deputation, they did not see any reason to justify the view that Babu Murli Manohar Prasad's health had so deteriorated that his release was necessary in order to restore him to health. Government have however called for a further report on his health from the medical attendants in charge of the case at the Patna Medical college Hospital.

2. The deputation also stated that the ventilation in the wards in Hazaribagh Central Jail where detenus were confined was not sufficient and that adequate facilities were not allowed to them to take physical exercise. These matters have already received the attention of Government in the Judicial Department and I am to say that Government are satisfied with the arrangements in both these respect.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours most obedient servant,

Y.A. Godbole.

Memo. No. 3660 C.88 (25)/43 Patna, the 2nd December 1944.

Copy forwarded to the Judicial Department for information.

By order of the Governor of Bihar,  
Chief secretary to Government.  
No. 7687-C



Bihar Journalists Association seeking permission to publish the above letter

'QASRUL-AIN'

Patna

19.12.1943

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, Patna

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated on 2nd December, 1943.

As the matter in question is of public importance and I am receiving numerous enquiries about the result of our talk with you, would like to release your letter together with the resolution of the Executive committee of the Bihar Journalists' Association to the press. I type you will not have any objection in my doing and communicate to me your approval of the same at your earliest convenience

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,  
General Secretary.

1 Not printed

## 96: Government of India to all Provincial Governments about Congress Propaganda

File No. 33/33/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India

Home Department

### **Express Letter**

From

Home, New Delhi

To

All Provincial Governments.

No 33/33-43 - Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 10th December, 1943.*

Please refer to my D.O. letter No. 3/47/43 - Poll (I), dated 26th August, 1943<sup>1</sup>, on the subject of action against Congress propaganda pamphlets. Replies to the second paragraph of this letter, which dealt with a proposal to amend the Press and Registrations of Books Act and the Press (Emergency Powers) Act in order to enable security to be taken from publishing companies indicated that while, with two exceptions, Provinces considered that legislation on these lines would be of some general value and that they would have no objection to our proceeding with amendments in this sense, there was no urgent general demand for powers of this nature. Further examination of the question in the light of these replies has made it clear;

- a) that the necessity and urgency of this legislation is not so great as to justify our promoting it by means of ordinances, while any effort to promote legislation on these lines in the normal manner would be unsuccessful and would only provide undesirable opportunities for attacks of all kinds on Government's control over the press.
- (b) that even the Acts to be amended on the lines proposed, the taking of security from publishing firms in respect of the kind of literature which we had particularly in view would not be an altogether easy matter.

2. We have decided, in view of these difficulties and of the wide powers existing under the Defence of India Rules, not at present to proceed with the proposal to amend these two Acts. We realise that the powers provided by Defence Rule 41(2) are dependent on contravention of an order made under sub-rule(1), and we considered whether there might not be advantage in issuing a general order under sub-rule(1) prohibiting, for instance, the making or publishing of any document containing matter of the nature defined in section 4(1) of the Press (Emergency Powers) Act. The advantage of such an order would be that it would enable Government to forfeit the press concerned in making any such document, in addition to any action which would be possible under the Press (emergency Powers) Act. We come to the conclusion, however, that the definition proposed above would be somewhat inept, as seeking to prohibit the publication of matter which was already by definition illegal, and we were unable to arrive at any satisfactory alternative definition. We should, however, have no objection to your taking action on these lines if you are able to evolve a suitable general definition and consider it worth while. We have no doubt that the confiscation of one or two important presses engaged in the production of this type of literature would have a very salutary effect.

3. In addition to the legislation referred to above, replies to our letter of 26th August put forward the suggestions that section 9 of the Press and Registration of Books Act should be amended so as to reduce the period within which copies of books published should be delivered to Government, and that the penalty provided by section 16 of the same Act for non delivery of a book should be enhanced. These proposals are subject equally to the difficulties outlined in paragraph 1 (a) above and moreover would be designed to impose control of a kind which the sections were not originally intended to secure. We have therefore decided against proceeding with them.

R. Tottenham  
Addl. Secretary to the Government of India

No. 33/33/43 – Poll (I)  
New Delhi, the 10th December, 1943

Copy forwarded to S.G.G. (Public)/D.I.B for information

By order,  
S.J.L. Olver  
Under Secretary to the Government of India



# 97: Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bihar to the Secretary Bihar Journalist Association

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) Dept. File No. 88 (25) 1943  
[Bihar State Archives]

No. 4099 C

Government of Bihar  
Political Department  
Special Section

*Dated, Patna the 25th December 1943*

From  
R.P. Ward, Esqr., CIE., DFC., MC., ICS.,  
Chief Secretary to Government.

To  
The Secretary, Bihar Journalists Association, Patna.

Sir,

Re: Mr Murli Manohar Prasad.

With reference to your letter No. nil, dated the 19th December 1943,<sup>1</sup> I am directed to say that there is no objection to your releasing to the Press Chief Secretary's letter No. 3660 C, dated the 2nd December 1943 together with the Resolution of the Executive committee of the Bihar Journalists' Association passed at their meeting on the 10th November 1943, a copy of which was received with your letter of the 10th November 1943.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Chief secretary to Government.

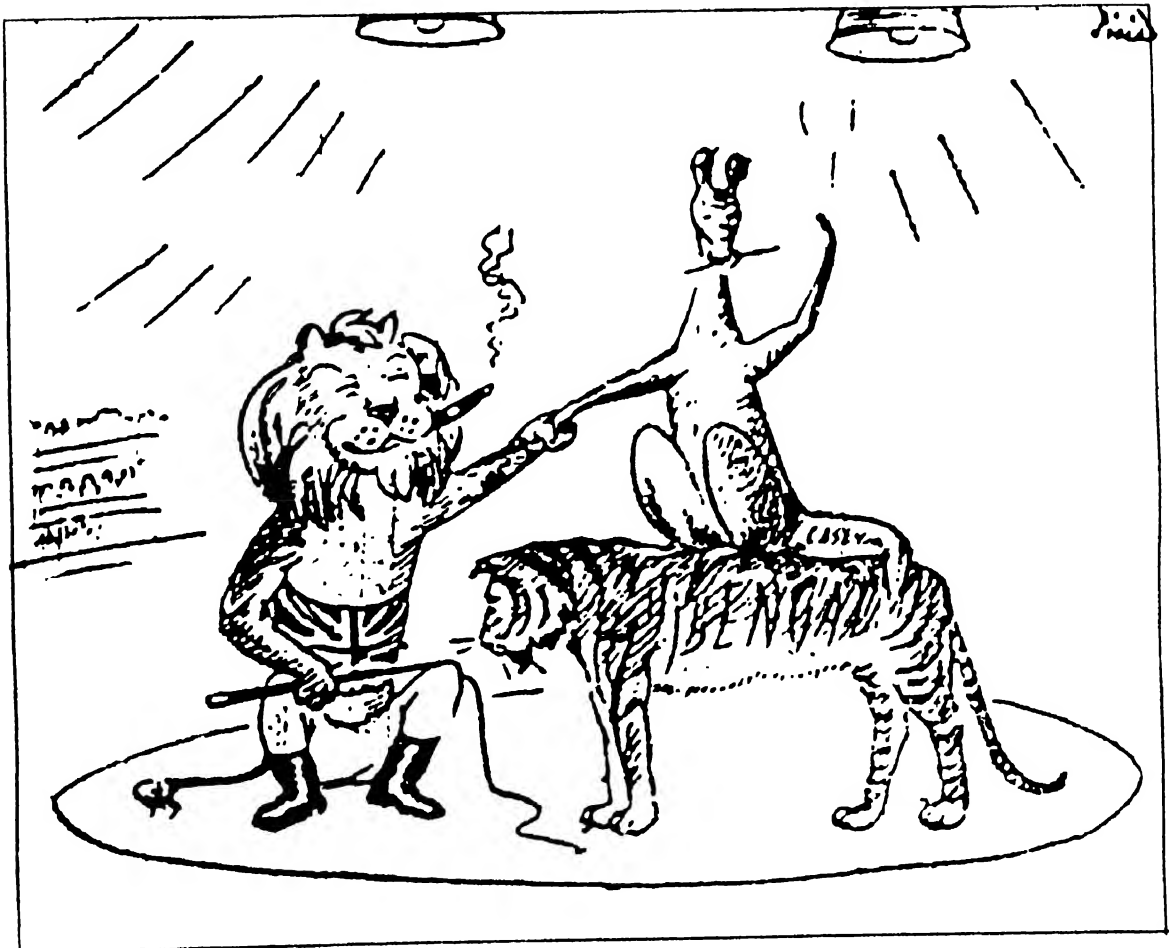
1 Doc 95 (Second letter in this document)



# 98: Cartoon in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on the appointment of the Australian Casey as Governor dt 7.1.1944

*Amrita Bazar Patrika*  
[NMML MF]

'ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE'



# 99 Government of India to all Provincial Governments — Regarding publication of Independence Day Pledge

File No. 3/2/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

No F. 12(1)-P(S)/44

Government of India  
Home Department

Secret

From  
Home, New Delhi.

To  
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners except Panth-Piploda.

No. 3/2/44 - Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 20th January 1944.*

## **Express Letters**

Continuation our Express Letter No 3/2/44 - Poll (I) dated 13th January, regarding Independence Day, 1944

2. We are advised that the normal form of Independence Day pledge previously used by the Congress is seditious (see our telegram No. 216 dated 20th January,<sup>2</sup> 1937, on this subject) and the same obviously applies a fortiori to any more revolutionary version of the pledge which may be used this year. Should any newspaper therefore publish the pledge or any revolutionary variations of it in a prominent way on January 26th, we consider that action should after such consultation as you may think necessary with your Press Advisory Committee be taken either to prosecute the newspaper for sedition or to take security from it, or to forfeit security if already given, under the Press (Emergency Powers) Act. It would in our view be hardly adequate merely to warn the newspaper, if prominence is given to the pledge.

Additional Secretary to the Govt. of India

No 3/2/44 Poll (I)

*New Delhi, the 20th January 1944.*

Copy to S.G.G. (Public), political Department, Information and Broadcasting Department, C.P.A. and Director, Intelligence Bureau for information.

By order,

( S.J.L. Olver)

Under Secretary to the Government of India.

EP(25/20-1-44)-D.

1 See Doc 98 in Chapter I - Sec B

2 Not printed

# 100: Ban on the book *Lenin's Revolution of 1905*

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br) File No. M603/44 II  
[Bengal State Archives]

Government of Bihar  
Political Department  
(Special Section).

## **Notification**

*Patna, the 21st January, 1944*

No. 167 C.42/44. The following notification issued by the Government of India, is published for general information.

By order of the Governor of Bihar,

P.T. Mansfield.  
Chief Secretary to Government.

No 41/13/43 - Poll (I)  
Government of India  
Home Department.

New Delhi, the 17th January, 1944.

## **Notification**

The following order of the Government of India is published for general information.

### **Order**

No. 41/13/43 - Poll (I). In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the making or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor in British India of any document which is a re-print or translation of, or contains substantial extracts of translations of extracts from, the book entitled 'The Revolution of 1905' by V.I. Lenin published by Lawrence and Wishart, London.

R. Tottenham.  
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of India.



# 101: Circular of the Chief Press Adviser Reg. Sarojini Naidu

File No. 29/1/44 Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Office of the Chief Press Adviser

After consulting Addl. Secy. on the afternoon of January 25th, I issued the following guidance telegram to all Provincial Press Advisers:

Mrs Sarojini Naidu's utterance to the press show signs of being prejudicial and in so far as they refer to the general political situation they must be read in the light of the illegal Congress civil disobedience movement. The Press should be reminded that the editors themselves in their Bombay resolution agreed to refrain from publicity calculated in any way to further the movement. They should be reminded also that publicity regarding the conditions in which detained Congress leaders are living is undesirable and that attempts to publicise statements or views attributed to Congress leaders in detention may amount to prejudicial report'.

The contents of the telegram were communicated on the telephone to C.P.A. Delhi who gave us to understand that a suitable warning would be issued without delay to the Delhi press. As an additional precaution, we also got in touch with the Delhi office of the recognised news agencies and gave them similar guidance, with special reference to the press conference which we understood Mrs Naidu was holding that afternoon.

At about 9.15 p.m. a report summarising Mrs Naidu's talk with pressman was received in my office from the U.P.I.<sup>1</sup> and the officer on duty, Mr De Mello, referred it to me for orders. I took the view that while portions of the report were unobjectionable, certain passages were probably prejudicial and that read in the light of the A.I.C.C. resolution of August 1942, the report as a whole should not be passed for publication. Addl. Secy. whom I consulted at about 10.30 p.m. concurred in this view and asked me to refrain from taking any action until he had consulted H.M. Later I learned from my office that the A.P.I.<sup>2</sup> version of Mrs Naidu's talk (which had been released to the press) was fuller than the U.P.'s and contained more prejudicial matter. I therefore gave instructions that the A.P.I. should be advised to hold up the report and submit it for press advice. This was done and when H.M. rang me up at about 11.30 I informed him of the action I had taken not only in respect of the agencies but also the press as a whole. I added that in my opinion Mrs Naidu's talk was obviously designed to catch the headlines on Independence Day and that if he considered it desirable to postpone a decision until the following morning, I thought there was a reasonable chance of our being able, by the action taken, to prevent the report appearing in most of the morning papers. H.M. thereupon agreed that the messages should be held over and I gave instructions to my office accordingly as regards both internal messages and outward censorship. The A.P.I. accepted this advice and put out a second cancellation of their report at 12.25 a.m. this morning.

Apart from the *National Call*, which published a long account from its special correspondent,

the talk was not reported in any of the Delhi papers this morning. I learn from Mr U.N. Sen,<sup>1</sup> however, that reports have appeared in

*The Indian Express*, Madras (by trunk telephone)  
*The Free Press Journal* (from its own correspondent)  
*The Bombay Chronicle*. (unacknowledged)  
*The Milap*  
*The Pratap*, Lahore (U.P.I.)

I have also learnt that the Punjab Government served a notice under D.I.R. on Mrs Naidu on her arrival in Lahore this morning requiring her to refrain from addressing meetings joining in demonstrations or communicating with the press.

After discussion with H.M., Addl. Secy. and I examined the A.P.I. report and marked passages which we considered prejudicial on the grounds that they

- (a) sought to justify the A.I.C.C. resolution of August 1942;
- (b) were intended to encourage support of the unlawful movement launched by the Congress; and
- (c) sought to place the responsibility for what had taken place since August 1942 on the Government and thus tended to bring Government into hatred and contempt.

H.M. agreed that it was no use tinkering with the report and that read in the context of the passages outlined above and in the light of the Congress rebellion, the report as a whole must be regarded as prejudicial.

It was agreed that the following action should be taken.

- (a) the *National Call* report to be brought before the C.P.A.C.<sup>2</sup> and a precensorship order served on the paper in respect of reports purporting to give the views of, or attributed to, the leader of and members of an unlawful association;
- (b) Prov. Govt. to be informed of the action taken in this case, with a suggestion that similar action should be taken against any other papers which had flouted the advice given;
- (c) A censorship stop to be placed on all outward reports of Mrs Naidu's talk.

A.L. Kirchner  
Chief Press Adviser,  
26th January, 1944.

Home Dept. (Sir Richard Tottenham).

- 1. United Press of India.
- 2. Associated Press of India
- 3. Central Press Advisory Committee.





# 102

## Official Notings about Sarojini Naidu dt 26.1.1944 (extracts)

File No. 29/1/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

After the warning above<sup>1</sup> had issued to the Provincial Governments concerned, it appeared that Mrs Naidu held a press conference in Delhi, no doubt with the object of getting a statement into the press on the morning of Independence Day. Late in the evening the United Press submitted an account of this conference for press advice. The Chief Press Adviser then found that the Associated Press had included a message on the subject in their service without seeking press advice. After consultation with myself and H.M., C.P.A. refused to pass the U.P.I. message and got the A.P.I. to issue warning to all its subscribers holding up the publication of its version. The next morning the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, reported that the *National Call* had published a version of Mrs Naidu's 'revelations' as from their own correspondent. It was also learnt later that Mrs Naidu, who had left for Lahore on the previous evening, was served with a notice by the Punjab Government on arrival prohibiting her from addressing meetings or communicating statements to the press.

All the different messages relating to the press conference were then examined by C.P.A. and myself and subsequently by H.M. The conclusion was reached that it would be impossible to tinker with the messages and that they must be condemned as a whole. Their author is a member of an unlawful association (the Congress Working Committee) and the whole object of her statement is to defend and encourage the action and policy of Congress as represented by the resolution of August 1942. It was also decided to ask the Chief Commissioner to summon an urgent meeting of the Central Press Advisory committee and place the *National Call* case before it with a view to issuing a precensorship order against that paper. It was thought, and the Chief Commissioner was informed on the telephone, that the terms of the order should be in respect of 'statements made by, or attributed'. C.P.A. ascertained that various other papers in other parts of India had also published accounts of the conference. It was therefore, decided further that a telegram should go to all Provincial Governments recommending action in such cases similar to the action proposed in the case of the *National Call*. The draft telegram below may, therefore, issue, if C.P.A. agrees to its wording.<sup>2</sup>

2. Before we had heard that the Punjab Government had issued an order against Mrs Naidu, I had asked Under Secretary to draft and have vetted by the Legislative Department a similar order which could be issued by the Central Government. This, I understand, has been done. The order need not now be issued immediately: but I take it that the Punjab restriction will not apply outside the Punjab and, if this is confirmed, we should send a copy of the Central Government Order both to the Punjab and to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, to be served on Mrs Naidu either before she leaves the Punjab or as soon as she arrives back in Delhi.

26.1.44,  
(R. Tottenham)  
Addl. Secretary.

1 Doc 101

2 Doc 103

# 103: Government of India to all the Provinces about Sarojini Naidu

File No. 29/1/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

Telegram R. No. 936

*dated 26th January 1944*

From  
Home Department,  
New Delhi.

To  
Chief Secretary,  
Madras  
Bombay  
Bengal  
United Provinces  
Punjab  
Bihar  
Central Provinces  
Assam  
North-West Frontier Province  
Orissa  
Sind  
Chief Commissioner, Ajmer

## **Important**

On January 25th Chief Press Advisor issued telegraphic warning to all Press Advisers regarding treatment of Mrs Sarojini Naidu's statements to the press. The same afternoon without our knowledge she held a press conference in Delhi and United Press submitted for press advice message containing summary of her statement. It was then found that Associated Press had included a fuller summary in their service without seeking press advice. Both Agencies were told that messages could not be passed for publication without further consideration and Associated Press thereupon informed their subscribers shortly before midnight that earlier message was not to be published pending a further communication. We have carefully considered various versions of her statement and have come to conclusion that it must be treated as a whole and therefore condemned as the utterance of a member of an unlawful association seeking to defend and encourage policy and action of that association. Meanwhile, *National Call*, Delhi, published account of press conference from its own correspondent and we understand that other newspapers in different parts of India have also published versions of it. We are placing case of *National Call* before Central Press Advisory committee today with view to imposing precensorship order in respect of statements made by or attributed to the leader or any member of an unlawful association. In view of warnings issued and nature of statement itself we strongly recommend that you should take similar action in respect of

any newspaper which may have published version of it and apply precensorship in same terms in absence of completely valid excuse for publication.

We understand Punjab Government have issued order against Mrs Naidu prohibiting her from addressing meetings and making statements to press. We are considering issue of Central Order to same effect which will apply throughout British India.

Additional Secretary (1)

# 104: Meeting of the Central Press Advisory Committee held at *The Statesman* office New Delhi at 6 p.m. on Wednesday January 26th 1944

File No. 29/1/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

This meeting had been convened at short notice by the Deputy Commissioner to consider the report published in the *National Call* of Mrs Sarojini Naidu's press conference on the previous afternoon.

Mr J.N. Sahni, editor of the *National Call* was present. He did not deny that he had received the circular letter issued by the Special Press Adviser warning the press about the need for caution in publishing any statement by Mrs Naidu. He pleaded however that the discretion of publication of such matter rested with the editor, that he took particular care in preparing the report himself and that the report as published in the *National Call* in his opinion did not in any way contravene the terms of the Bombay Resolution. He objected to advice being given in advance by the Press Adviser as to what a newspaper should publish and he pointed out that the report in the *National Call* of Mrs Naidu's talk went no further than a statement issued by her in Allahabad a few days earlier which had been passed for publication.

In the discussion that followed, the majority of the committee supported Mr Sahni, taking the view that Mrs Naidu had merely defended Mr Gandhi and the Working Committee against unmerited-slurs that had been cast upon them and in no way could be the report regarded as a boost for the civil disobedience movement. The committee felt that in publishing a report of this kind an editor in no way infringed the Bombay Resolution and that if the Special Press Advisers's advice was intended to have the force of an order-as appeared to be the case. It was a challenge to the Delhi Agreement and the case ought properly to be put before the Standing Committee. In their opinion no offence had been committed and no action was called for against the *National Call* on the part of the authorities.

Mr Cowley, while admitting that there were extenuating circumstances which mitigated the offence if an offence had been committed, dissented from the view of the majority. He held that the publication of the report was undoubtedly likely to disturb the prevailing tranquillity in the political situation and thus impede the prosecution of the war in India at a rather critical

stage. He did not however consider that a precensorship order against the paper was necessary. In his opinion the fact that the case had been brought to notice, coupled with the restraint order which had now been served on Mrs Naidu, would prevent any repetition of the offence and Government's object would thus be achieved.

The fact that the *Hindustan Times* in its issue this morning has published a full report of Mrs Naidu's talk, with editorial comment, and that the *National Call* has followed up its report of yesterday with a leading article, suggests that there is a deliberate attempt to challenge the Government on the whole issue and that we shall hear more of it both from the All India Newspaper Editors Conference and in the Assembly during the coming session. In justification of Government's action the main consideration is that Mrs Naidu is a member of an unlawful association and that her press talk not only sought to defend Mr Gandhi and the Working Committee but also to justify the A.I.C.C. resolution of August 1942 and to place responsibility for what had taken place since then on the Government thus encouraging support of the unlawful movement and tending to bring Government into hatred and contempt. On the principle that one cannot have the currants without the cake, the statement had to be considered as a whole and it was therefore not passed for publication.

With regard to the action taken against the *National Call* it is not denied that a warning was given by the Press Adviser and if the editors had not been warned in advance Government would have been accused of acting without any previous warning. Whether the advice given was right or wrong, most of the editors seem to have accepted it and if their judgment was right the judgment of newspapers which published the report must have been wrong. The Editors cannot have it both ways. I must mention also that the circumstances in which Mrs Naidu's press conference was arranged all suggested that it was intended to catch the headlines on Independence Day. It was denied at yesterday's meeting of the C.P.A.C. that Mrs Naidu herself had convened the conference and also that the Press Association had a hand in the affair. I understand from other sources however that members of the Press Association, and particularly Mr Shiva Rao, were responsible for rearrangement.

Weak points in the Government's case are:

- (a) That Mrs Naidu's talk contained nothing really new, despite the headlines in the press referring to 'revelation' and 'disclosures';
- (b) She was under no restrictions at the time the talk took place and
- (c) She laid emphasis on Mr Gandhi's abhorrence of acts of violence and by inference sabotage;
- (d) In her Allāhabad statement a few days earlier, which was passed for publication, she talked quite freely on the political situation with apparently no objection on Government's part.

It seems clear that the whole object of Mrs Naidu's talk to the press was to reopen the controversy about the arrest of the Congress leaders and to bring Mr Gandhi into the limelight. In meeting this challenge I think Government's best course will be to emphasize the undesirability at the present time of political controversy which would tend to cause internal disharmony and therefore impede the prosecution of the war at a critical stage; and avoid becoming entangled in arguments on the merits of the case whether or not Congress were responsible for acts of violence and sabotage. So far as the editors conference is concerned

there has been a deliberate flouting of press advice and while Government has always accepted the view that an editor alone is responsible for what he publishes it can be fairly argued that if press advice is ignored the editor must be prepared to take the consequences.

B.L. Kirchner  
Chief Press Adviser  
27th January 1944.

I have discussed with CPA and HM. HM agrees that the same action be taken against the *Hindustan Times* as against the *National Call*. On reconsideration we think a better formula for the precensorship order would be 'in respect of any statement since August 8th 1942 made by or attributed to Mr Gandhi or a member of any Congress Committee which has been declared to be an unlawful association or any government to . . . ' This will expose less surface to possible criticism and will also facilitate the work a precensorship.

R. Tottenham

### **The A.I.N.E.C. Bombay Resolution (The views of Mr Bartley')**

The publication of Mrs Naidu's statement was clearly not contrary to sections (b) and (c) of the Bombay Resolution. The questions are – was it contrary to sections (a) or (d), i.e., did it

- (1) retard restoration of the public sense of security?
- (2) incite the public to subversive activity?

I don't think (1) applies. So far as the Congress movement is concerned, the public sense of security may be said to be practically restored by Government's efficient dealing with it, and it might be argued that Mrs Naidu's emphasis on non-violence would tend to restore that sense. She did not indulge in any scare-mongering e.g. suggest the possibility of Mr Gandhi fasting again or say anything else liable directly to injure public morale. Unless it is legitimate to argue – which I doubt – that by taking a line calculated to prolong the political deadlock she damaged the public sense of security, there is no case under this section of the Bombay resolution

(2) can hardly be said to apply directly. Nothing Mrs Naidu said could be described as direct incitement, but perhaps this is just as well as it makes it necessary to look at the statement as a whole and envisage its probable effects. Taking place as it did on the eve of 'Independence Day', and urging Congressmen to 'stand fast in the faith', it undoubtedly by implication was an incitement to flag hoisting and reading the 'independence pledge'. Flag-hoisting is of course not illegal, nor is the celebration of 'Independence Day', but the pledge is a seditious document, and the activities of the Congress committees are illegal. Therefore the statement could be regarded as urging to subversive activity. In addition, her statement was calculated, not only to justify and vindicate the seditious August resolution, but to urge support for the policy laid down in that resolution, and to try to stop people from turning away from it. It seems clear that any reaffirmation of the August resolution, direct or indirect, is incitement, and particularly when made by a Congress leader. The situation would seem to be that Mrs Naidu could legally only make statement recanting or one politically neutral. In support of the resolution she could say nothing legal.

# 105: Commissioner of the Patna Division to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) Dept. File No. 1/1944  
[Bihar State Archives].

From  
B.K. Gokhale Esqr., CIE., ICS.,  
Commissioner of the Patna Division, Patna.

To  
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar,  
Political Department, Special Section,  
Bihar Secretariat, Patna.

*Dated Patna, the 29th January, 1944.*

Subject: Annual Report on the Newspapers and Periodicals published in Patna Division during the year 1943

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 3662/C.1/44, dated the 3rd December 1943,<sup>1</sup> I have the honour to submit the following report on 'Newspapers and Periodicals' published in Patna Division during the year 1943.

2. *Patna District* – Mr Hardman has not submitted any report and suggest that he 'should be exempted from submitting any report on the tone of the Press and on the disciplinary action taken against the Press, since all the information is already available in the office of the Special Press Adviser to Government and also with the Provincial Press Adviser who is also Publicity Officer. There is no information in my office available for compiling this report and as I see that the Provincial Press Adviser submits a fortnightly Press Report to Government which is published with the Chief Secretary's report to the Government of India, it is apparent that the preparation of a separate note on the tone of the Press is quite unnecessary as far as Patna is concerned.

With the marked improvement in the war situation the tone of the Press has steadily continued to improve throughout the year. The *Searchlight* as usual was highly critical and somewhat prejudicial in its tone and particularly the head-lines. But it always managed not to overstep the bounds to any marked extent, so that no disciplinary action appears to have been taken against it. The weekly review of the war appearing in the *Searchlight* has however generally been useful. The *Indian Nation* and the *Patna Times*, though critical at times, have been generally very helpful and the *Indian Nation* particularly has been doing its best to help the Savings Drive. The publisher of the *Yogi* was ordered to deposit security of Rs 1,000 by 5th May 1943 for publishing alarming and prejudicial items.

*Gaya District* – The Newspapers and Periodicals published in the District of Gaya during the year 1943, are reported to have behaved satisfactorily, except that prosecution had to be launched against Sukrit Narain Singh, proprietor, and Manabir Prasad, compositor of the Hari Press in the Jehanabad Subdivision under section 38 (c) D.I.R., 201 I.P.C., and 12 Press Act, where series of prejudicial leaflets like *Baghi Akhbar* and other papers were recovered.

4. *Shahabad District* – Has only two papers viz: a Quarterly Journal dealing solely with Jain religion, which is being published at Sadar since June 1935, and a Weekly Hindi Newspaper called '*Krishak*' published in Buxar since November 1939, giving news regarding development, education and rural uplift. The tone of the Press is reported to have remained under control and it was not necessary to take any disciplinary action.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant  
Commissioner.

1 Not printed

## 106: Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division to the Chief Secretary

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) File No. 1/1944  
[Bihar State Archives.]

From  
B C Lee, Esqr., I.C.S.  
Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division.

To  
The Chief Secretary to Government of Bihar  
Political Department (Special Section)

*Patna.*  
*Dated Bhagalpur the 31st January 1944*

Subject: Annual report on the newspapers and periodicals for the year 1943.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the following report on the newspapers and periodicals published in the Bhagalpur Division during the year 1943.

2. Bhagalpur: The District Magistrate reports that no newspapers or periodicals were published during the year under report. But it is common knowledge that some college and school magazines were published which presumably contained nothing objectionable.

3. Monghyr: The following newspapers and periodicals were published during the year.

- 1) The *Sri Narad-Monghyr Samachar*-Hindi weekly.
- 2) The *Prabhakar*-Hindi weekly.

The general tone of the presses is reported to be friendly to Government.

4. Purnea: The following two periodicals were published during the year.

- 1) *The Aina*
- 2) *The Aina Rasal Al Ahsan.*

Both the periodicals were published in Urdu. The former (*the Aina*) is a weekly paper while the latter is a quarterly one. The District Magistrate reports that the *Aina* indulged rather indiscriminately in local politics and the '*Aina Rasala Al Ahsan*' is only a literary publication.

5. Santal Parganas. Three periodicals - (1) The '*Pera Hor*' (2) *The Anjora* S.C.H.E. School magazine and (3) '*Our School*' were published in the district during 1943.

*The Pera Hor* is a Missionary periodical published every fortnight in Santali since February 1922. It is printed in Roman character. Nothing objectionable was published in it during the year under report. The other two periodicals are school magazines and are free from political or communal topics.

6. No disciplinary action was taken against any of the presses during the year under report.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
Commissioner.

### Report on the Press in Bihar During the Year 1943

The abnormal situation with regard to the press which followed in the wake of the insurrection of August, 1942, continued during the first three months of the year 1943. The Congress daily, the *Searchlight* was under a ban and the Maharajadhiraja of Darbanaga's paper the *Indian Nation*, which had voluntarily suspended publication in August 1942, did not reappear till the 9th April 1943. The daily *Aryavarta*, the Hindi counterpart of the *Indian Nation*, resumed publication almost simultaneously with the *Indian Nation*. The *Rastravani*, the Congress Hindi daily, which suspended publication in August 1942, as a mark of protest against the restrictions on the press did not reappear at the beginning of 1944. The *Navashakti*, a Congress weekly, published under the same management as the *Rastravani*, resumed publication in March 1943.

2. To meet the abnormal situation created by this newspaper famine in Bihar Government were compelled to publish the *Patna Daily News* and its Hindi counterpart the *Patna Samachar*. A report on the working of these newspapers formed an integral part of the last annual report. In the absence of the private-owned newspapers, the *Patna Daily News* and the *Patna Samachar* continued publication till the 31st March 1943.

3. The position regarding the *Patna Daily News* was summed up by Chief Secretary, Mr J.W. Houlton, C.I.E., I.C.S., who described the *Patna Daily News* as a phenomenal success', which 'becomes very popular' inspite of its being run by Government, adding that there was 'genuine regret when it closed down'.

4. The Extraordinary circumstances under which it was found necessary to ban the publication of the *Searchlight* in August 1942, being no longer existent, Government found it possible to lift the ban on March 17, 1943, and the *Searchlight* resumed publication on March 25. The *Indian Nation* reappeared on April 9, but without editorials. No explanation was forthcoming for this peculiar aspect. It may reasonably be assumed that this course of action showed that the journal was still sulking over Government's policy towards the Press, although this was never said openly. It was not till July 27 1943, that editorials began once more to adorn the columns of the *Indian Nation*.

5. A factor which provided an immediate incentive to the newspapers to resume publication was the understanding arrived at between the Government of India and the spokesmen of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference under which pre-censorship restrictions were



conditionally withdrawn. The Government of Bihar in common with most other Provincial Governments substantially accepted the formula adopted by the newspaper Editors' Conference and withdrew the previous order which had been issued under the Defence of India Rules. It was, however, considered necessary, in view of the special needs of the internal situation in the Province, to impose restrictions on the publication of certain categories of news, particularly those relating to sabotage or acts which impeded war efforts otherwise undermined security. It may be said that the restrictions have been generally observed by the English Press in Bihar and as far as it is known instance of recalcitrance have been few and far between.

6 A marked feature of the editorial policy of the *Searchlight* since it has resumed publication under a new Editor is its more responsible tone even while trying to retain its extremist traditions. It has maintained an attitude of critical indifference towards war efforts, while its weekly war review – a sober appraisal of the war situation – has consistently tended to be favourable to the Allied cause even though occasionally somewhat defeatist in tone. Coming as it does from the *Searchlight* this is particularly welcome. *The Searchlight* has been highly critical of Government, but its comments have, generally speaking, not been anything like as virulent as those with which its readers were familiar in past years. One may find the explanation in the change of editorship as also in the sobering influence exercised by the new management and proprietorship of the paper.

Sankar's cartoons reproduced from the *Hindustan Times* are a regular feature of the *Searchlight*. For their pungency, they have gained some degree of popularity.

7 *The Indian Nation* maintained its policy as an independent organ of nationalist opinion in Bihar. By publishing and displaying reports of Bihar's war efforts, it has shown itself helpful to the cause of the United Nations. During the year under report, there was no recurrence of those unfortunate tendencies which pervaded some of its articles immediately before and after the disturbances of 1942 and which became so conspicuous by contrast. This may perhaps be due to stricter control from Darbhanga. An indication of the new attitude was provided by the publication of a special Tunisia Day number.

8. An addition to the rank of English dailies in Bihar was the *Patna Times* which made its debut in September 1943, being converted from a precarious weekly into a daily. It is smaller in size than the other two English newspapers and sells for an anna per copy, which is half the price of the older dailies. *The Patna Times* is owned by Mr M. Yunus, M.L.A., an ex Prime Minister of Bihar and is an unattached journal. It has always been sympathetic towards war efforts. Its tone is nationalistic and independent.

9. The Bihar Press has been sharply critical of the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to the political 'deadlock' in the country and there has been a persistent and vociferous demand for revision of the present policy. Another matter which has loomed large in editorial comments is the price control policy of the Government. Acute disappointment and strong opposition were voiced in the Press when the Central Government lifted the inter-provincial embargo on the movement of foodgrains and created so many 'free trade zones'. The Press has always demanded a more equitable distribution of foodgrains and a vigorous price control.

*The Bihar Herald* (Patna) and the *Sentinel* (Ranchi) were the two important English weeklies in Bihar. *The Bihar Herald* was able to a certain extent to overcome the prejudice prevailing against it in some sections of the people as a sectional paper and is gaining in popularity and influence. *The Sentinel's* attitude is one of support to war efforts. It is a supporter of the Muslim League Policy.

10. The tone of the Hindi Press in Bihar showed a marked improvement over the last year's record. This may be attributed generally to the improvement in the war situation and comparative quiet that reigned in the country after a period of extreme stress and strain following the political disturbance. For the first three months the *Patna Samachar*, the Hindi counterpart of the *Patna Daily News*, was the only Hindi daily in Bihar. It closed down on the 31st March, 1943, in accordance with Government decision.

11. The *Aryavarta* owned by the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga reappeared in April, 1943, followed the same policy as the *Indian Nation* nationalistic, independent, anti-socialistic and pro-Hindi. *The Yogi* and the *Navashakti* were the two influential Hindi weeklies. The *Navashakti* appeared without editorials. It was a self-imposed restriction. Both voiced strong nationalist opinions but were cautious enough to keep within the bounds of law. The Editor of the *Yogi* was convicted under the Defence of India Rules for publishing prejudicial matters. *The Hunkar* edited by Babu Jamuna Karjee was nationalistic with communistic leaning. Among the Hindi journals whose circulation and influence are more or less confined to their respective districts are the *Tirhut Samachar* (Muzaffarpur), the *Usha* and the *Girhastha* (Gaya), the *Prabhakar* and the *Monghyr*, the *Champaran Samachar* (Motihari) and the *Narad* (Chapra). The general trend of their editorial policy was favourable to the Allied cause. They were sometimes critical of the food policy of the Central and Provincial Governments.

12. The *Sadu-e-Aam* which was born during the 1942 disturbances, continued to be the only Urdu daily in Bihar. It has been pro-League, pro-Allies and proletarian in its outlook. *The Ittehad* maintains an independent outlook even though generally supporting the League. Its pro-Allied policy is unmistakable. Among the Urdu papers, mention may be made of the *Aina*, which is pro-League and sympathetic to the Allied cause. *The Naquib* (fortnightly) is devoted to the discussion of Islamic topics. *The Hamzad* is a literary weekly journal. The Urdu Press in common with their contemporaries of other languages have voiced strong and, not unoften, bitter criticism of the Governments food policy and have been vocal in their demand for a firmer hand in dealing with the profiteers.

## 107 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

In regard to the reproduction of statements made by Mrs Naidu at her Delhi Press Conference, the Provincial Government, after a careful examination of their versions published in two or three of the leading Nagpur papers, decided not to take any punitive action against any of them. The Press has, however, been warned against publication, without Press advice, of political statements attributed to members of organisations which have been declared unlawful. The Nagpur Journalist Association passed a resolution protesting against the ban placed on Mrs Naidu's statements and the restriction order passed against her. The Provincial Press Advisory Committee also recorded a resolution to the same effect.

# 108. DIG of Police to the the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Bihar

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl) Dept. File No. 1/1944  
[Bihar State Archives].

Confidential

From  
C.J. Creed, Esqr., OBE, MC., I.P.,  
Deputy Inspector-General of Police  
Criminal Investigation Department, Bihar

To  
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar.  
Patna, the 1st February, 1944.

Sir,

In forwarding Memo No. 371, dated 21.1.44 (enclosed) from the Superintendent Hazaribagh Central Jail to the Chief Secretary, I have the honour to observe for your information that a further examination of the 'Peoples War' confirms our opinion that this Communist Journal over emphasises Congress sympathy and criticism of Government to such an extent that it does not appear to make suitable reading material for security prisoners.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

Signed, Illegible.  
For Deputy Inspector-General of Police  
C.I.D., Bihar

*Enclosure 1*

No. 371.

Petition countersigned and forwarded to the Chief Secretary through the D.I.G., C.I.D., Bihar, Patna who requested to refer to his office.

Signed, Illegible  
21.1.44.

*Prisoner's Petition*

(Permitted under Jail Manual Rule No. 571).

From (Name, number and class) Anil Mitra, old security prisoner retained in H' Bagh C. Jail  
(old)

To The Chief Secretary,  
Bihar Government, Patna.

Through: The Superintendent, Central Jail, Hazaribagh.

Sir,

This is to request once again for the favour of your permitting the entry of the 'Peoples' War' inside this jail. We see no reason why this anti-Fascist journal devoted to promoting the War efforts of the country should be banned for us when the 'Eastern Economist' which is a pro-Jap journal and which was liberally financed before by the Jap Consul-General, has been allowed in.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Anil Mitra

On behalf of the Communist Security Prisoners

January 20, 1944

Reply of the Chief Secretary to the DIG's letter of 1.2.1944. Dated 6.2.1944.

To The D.I.G., C.I.D.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter No. 2016 S.B., dated 1.2.44, forwarding a petition from security prisoner Anil Mitra, on behalf of the Communist security prisoners confined in the Hazari Bagh Central Jail, requesting that the Communist Journal entitled the 'People's War' may be allowed in the jail. The Prov. Govt. regret their inability to grant this request. The I.G. Prisons, is being requested to communicate this decision to the security prisoner.

I have etc.,

C.S.

Memo No. 423 C.

Copy, with copy of security prisoner Anil Mitra's petition referred to above, forwarded to the I.G. of prisons, Bihar, for information.

(for) B.O.

C.S.

## 109: News item in *The Hindu* dt 4.2.1944

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

### **Pre-censorship order on Delhi Papers**

Poona Feb. 1 – A resolution strongly protesting against the Pre-censorship order passed on

the *Hindustan Times* and the *National Call* Delhi, and demanding their immediate withdrawal 'in order to avoid possible estrangement of relations between the Indian Press and the Govt.' was passed at the annual meeting of the Poona Journalists Association.

By another resolution, the Association decided to raise a protection fund for the relief of the working journalists.

Mr J.S. Kandikar, Editor of the *Kesari*, was re-elected President of the Association-A.P.I.

## 110: CLA Debates – Reg. Notices served on *Hindustan Times* and *National Call* and the Notice served on Mrs Sarojini Naidu

CLA Debates (dt 7.2.1944) – Vol. I, 1944

[NMML]

Mr President (**The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim**): The next motion is in the name of Sardar Mangal Singh who wished to discuss 'the issue of a notice to the *Hindustan Times* and the *National Call* by the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, asking them not to publish any statement made by or attributed to Mahatma Gandhi or any other member of any Congress Committee which has been declared an unlawful association, unless such statements have been passed by the Special Press Adviser.'

I should like to know from Government whether this is in accordance with any law that has been passed.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell** (Home member): Yes, Sir; this order was passed under rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules.

Mr President (**The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim**): Then the order is covered by that rule?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell**: Yes, Sir; certainly.

Mr President (**The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim**): Then I do not see how this can be a matter for an adjournment motion. The motion is disallowed.

*Order served on Mrs Sarojini Naidu directing her not to participate in public meetings, etc.*

Mr President (**The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim**): The next motion stands in the name of Mr A.C. Datta who wishes to discuss 'the order served on Mrs Sarojini Naidu on behalf of the Government of India on 28th January, 1944, at Lahore directing her not to participate in public meetings and processions nor communicate with the press anywhere in India'.

Is that not rather a wide and general order?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell**: Sir, I submit that it is not a wide and general order. It applies only to one particular case which is a case of ordinary exercise of legal powers by the Government of India.

Mr President (**The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim**): Will the Honourable Member give me a reference to that law or rule which empowers such an order being made?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell**: The order was passed in exercise of the

powers conferred by clause (f) of sub-section (1) of section 3 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance. 1944. That corresponds to the old Defence Rule No. 26.

Mr President (**The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim**): May I know what that rule is?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell**: I have not got a copy of the rule itself here, but it empowers Government to restrict the conduct of any individual person.

Mr President (**The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim**): What is troubling me is this: 'Directing her not to participate in public meetings and processions'. Such a prohibition would apply even if the object is perfectly innocent; it may have nothing to do with the effort or any other matter affecting public tranquility or peace, similar difficulty arises with respect to the order, nor communicate with press anywhere in India'. Is there any objection to leave being granted?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell**: Yes, Sir. As I have explained this cannot be regarded as a matter of urgent public importance when it only refers to an order passed with regard to a particular individual.

Mr President (**The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim**): An objection has been raised to leave being granted. I hold that the motion is in order, those Members who are for leave being granted should rise in their places.

*(More than 25 Members rose in their places.)*

As more than 25 Members have risen in their places, leave is granted and the motion will be taken up at 4 O'clock or earlier, if the business of the House is finished before that time, unless the Member in charge has any objection.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell**. I have no objection.

# 111: News item in *The Hindu* dt 9.2.1944

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

## **Order on Delhi Press Protest by Journalists Association of India**

The Executive Committee of the Journalist Association of India strongly condemns the order of pre censorship served on the *Hindustan Times* and the *National* call by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi as a flagrant and deliberate breach of the agreement entered into between the All India News Papers Editors Conference & the Govt. says a resolution passed by the Committee. It adds that the restriction imposed on comment makes the order doubly odious and the committee calls upon the Central Govt. to intervene and see that it is immediately withdrawn.

# 112: News item in *The Hindu* dt 16.2.1944

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

## **Order on *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Questions in Bengal Assembly**

Calcutta Feb. 15 -- The order passed on the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on Oct. 8 last that 'any matter relating to economic conditions in Bengal, the food and supply situation, relief and distress and the civil defence services or organisations shall, before being published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* be submitted for scrutiny to the special press Adviser, Calcutta till further orders' was the subject of questions in the Bengal Legislative Assembly yesterday.

The parliamentary Secretary to the Home Minister, Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ali replied in the affirmative to a question whether such an order was passed and whether by another order the printing or publishing within the province of Bengal of any document containing reference by way of comment or otherwise to the above order was also prohibited.

In reply to further questions, Mr Mohammad Ali said that the order on *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was withdrawn on Dec. 1, 1943. He also replied in the affirmative to a question, whether after passing of the prohibition order the editorial column of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* were kept blank from Oct. 14 for about 50 days. The Govt. did not however stop the publication of editorials. They simply served an order asking that any editorial touching upon certain points should be submitted for censorship.

Mr Mohammed Ali said that the prohibition order on the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was issued because it published two editorial articles which in the opinion of the Govt. were subversive in nature and contained veiled incitements to violence. In two editorials, on Sept. 28 and 29, it asserted that the situation in Bengal was such that revolution like that of Petrograd was inevitable. This offended against the Defence of India rules. The reasons for not allowing publication of the fact that such an order had been served on the paper was so that there might not be comments or discussion over the points of the subject matter banned. It was to stop press agitation. The Govt. did not think it necessary to go to the extreme length of prosecuting the paper -- A.P.I.

# 113: Bengal Legislative Assembly Debates -- 18th Session

BLA Debates 1944

[NMML]

## **Action Taken by Govt. against Newspapers and Presses**

Mr Praful Chandra Ganguli (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Press) Department be pleased to state

- (i) The number and names of the newspapers, periodicals and presses against whom actions were taken by the Govt. since the beginning of the present war without previous notice to and consultation and discussion with the Provincial Press Advisory Committee;
- (ii) The number and names of the newspapers, periodicals and presses against whom actions were taken by the Govt. after giving previous notice and having consultations and discussions with the Provincial Press Advisory Committee.
- (iii) The number and names of the newspapers, periodicals and presses against whom actions were taken by the Govt. rejecting the unanimous recommendations of the Press Advisory Committee and
- (iv) (a) Whether Press Advisory Committee functions in the province of Bengal  
 (b) If the answer to (a) (iv) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons therefor?  
 (c) Will the Hon'ble minister be pleased to state the names and number of newspapers, periodicals, and presses that were suppressed temporarily or permanently by the order of the Govt. since the beginning of the present war.  
 (d) Will the Hon'ble Minister be also pleased to state the names of newspapers and periodicals, on which the order for pre-censorship of news and views before publication was served temporarily or permanently under Defence of India Rules or under any other laws?  
 (e) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state –
  - (i) In how many cases the Govt. prohibited the publication of formal news, and
  - (ii) Whether he is considering the desirability of removing all restrictions on the newspapers, periodicals and press except those necessitated for purely military considerations.

Minister in charge of the Home Department (the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin); a (i) to (iii). The Provincial Press Advisory Committee was formed on the 30th November 1940. A statement giving the information asked for from this date is laid on the table.

- (iv) (a) Yes.
- (b) Does not arise.
- (c) Yes, but in cases in which the proposed action is in accordance with a view already expressed by the Committee or where urgent action is essential. In the latter class of cases, the action taken is reported to the Committee afterwards.
- (d) Does not arise.
- (e) And (f) see the statement laid on the table.
- (g) (i) No orders have been issued prohibiting the publication of individual items of factual news, but on six occasions since April 1940 general orders have been issued for similar reasons prohibiting the publication of news about certain subjects.  
 (ii) No.





# 114: U.N. Sen of the Associated Press of India to Devadas Gandhi

Devadas Gandhi Papers  
[NMML]

The Associated Press of India.  
Eastern News Agency Limited  
Incorporated in England

4. Parliament Street.  
New Delhi, February 17, 1944.

Dear Mr Devadas Gandhi,

I think I should draw your attention to certain facts which seem to have been ignored in the editorial note on the Associated Press published in your issue of February 12.

As I read it, the general proposition it lays down is that the Associated Press suppresses what is distasteful to Government. In support of that proposition it quotes one specific instance relating to Pandit Kunzru's statement and proceeds to make a vague and general charge in relation to A.P. reports of the Central Assembly proceedings.

As regards the first instance, far from suppressing anything of Pandit Kunzru's statement, it was issued in full to newspapers in Calcutta. It was published in full in the *Hindustan Standard* from the A.P. Because of its length a summary was made in the ordinary course for newspapers outside Calcutta. In making that summary, our Calcutta Office did its best to keep the spirit of the original intact. It is true that Pandit Kunzru thinks that the summary failed in this respect; but I cannot see how this proves that allegation that omissions were made in order to suppress what is distasteful to Government.

You will have noted that one of Pandit Kunzru's complaints is that our summary omits reference to the fear both among officials and non-officials that another famine is impending. I can recall more than one statement conveying this fear, which the A.P. carried in its service before Pandit Kunzru mentioned it in his statement of February 3. That should be sufficient to repel any charge that it was our intention to suppress this distasteful declaration.

I wonder if the writer of the editorial note cared to compare the summary with the full text before making his comment. I see in the summary many things which must be distasteful to the Bengal Government.

As regards the Central Assembly proceedings, your note cites no instances in support of the charge of suppression: but I am confident that for every one case of omission that you can point to, I can quote at least half a dozen 'distasteful' questions and statements which the A.P. has reported in full.

I should have expected that in assessing the work of journalists who with the minimum of time at their disposal have to grapple daily with the task of condensing lengthy debates and statements, fellow journalists would not be in a hurry to attribute motives for any omission that necessarily has to be made.

I do not want to make any comment of my own on your editorial note, but I would remark that the charge against the A.P. of attempting to suppress what is distasteful to Government is as baseless and unjust as would be the allegation that in delaying for a day the publication

of Mrs Naidu's statement at a recent press conference, the *Hindustan Times* wanted to suppress it until its publication in other newspapers made suppression pointless.

I hope that you will reconsider your comments in the light of what I have said, and if you are convinced that an injustice has been done to the A.P. I am sure you will make what amends you can.

If, however, in the case of our Assembly reports, you are satisfied that they are biased in the way alleged in your editorial note, I would make the friendly suggestion that in fairness to the A.P. and to yourself, the *Hindustan Times* should no longer depend on the A.P. but make its own arrangements for covering the proceedings daily.

I should be glad to know what you decide in this connection.

Kind regards.

Yours Sincerely,

U.N. Sen

## 115: Government of India to all Provincial Governments about Sarojini Naidu

File No. 29/1/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India,  
Home Department

### Express Letter

From  
Home, New Delhi,

To  
All Provincial Governments.

No. 29/1/44 – Poll (I).

New Delhi, the 22nd February 1944.

Mrs Naidu's statement. Replies to our telegram No 3/5 – Political (I) dated 8th February 1944<sup>1</sup> show that in no province has action been taken against offending newspapers on the lines recommended in our telegram No. 936 dated January 26th.<sup>2</sup> In some Provinces no action was necessary as no paper had offended; in others action was still under consideration; while certain Provinces took the view that no action was necessary since they did not regard the statement as prejudicial. This last view seems to miss the point. We adhere to our opinion regarding the nature and purpose of the statement, but the immediate cause for action was deliberate defiance of press advice and the previous publication of a prejudicial report is not a legal prerequisite of a press censorship order.

2. This was obviously a case in which action should have been united and prompt if it was to be effective. To apply press censorship orders now after so much delay would be pointless and we do not press for it. The result, however, is that news agencies which accept

press advice are placed in a most invidious position if similar messages from press correspondents to individual papers are published with impunity. We do our best to control main press agencies here, but there are several correspondents in Delhi who serve more than one newspaper and thus act as minor unrecognised press agencies. It is true that on this occasion Associated Press of India failed to submit the message for press advice but they did warn their subscribers against publication immediately they were asked to do so. The newspapers to whom we particularly wished it to be brought home that press advice could not be ignored with impunity were those of importance who if they did not receive the warning issued about Mrs Naidu subscribe to Associated Press of India service and therefore must have known that the message had not been passed for publication.

3. Unless we can hope for cooperation from Provincial Governments in similar cases that they may arise in future, we shall have to adopt different methods. In a few cases we might be able to issue a general prohibitory order under Defence Rule 41 (1) (b) instead of giving press advice, but it would seldom be possible to serve such an order on all Editors and Publishers in time. An alternative would be to issue our requirements to Provincial Governments in the form of a direction under the Government of India Act. Neither of these courses appeals to us, but unless some agreement can be reached which will secure united action, it is clear that system of Press advice is useless and we may have to consider discontinuing it altogether so far as 'Political' messages are concerned, Please let us have your views.

(R. Tottenham)

Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

1 Not printed

2 Document 103

# 116: Asst. Secretary, Government of Bengal to the Under Secretary, Govt. of India – Soviet Union News to be supplied to jails

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M637A – 1944  
[Bengal State Archives]

Government of Bengal  
Home Department.

*Calcutta, the 25th February, 1944.*

From Gadadhar Singh Roy,  
Asstt. Secy. to the Government of Bengal.

To The Under Secretary to the Govt. of India.  
Department of information and Broad casting.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 257 – F.P./ 43 dated the 18th November, 1943,<sup>1</sup> I am directed to

say that the provincial Government have no objection to the jail Libraries of the Province being supplied with copies of the monthly magazine entitled 'Soviet Union News' for the use of security prisoners should the Government of India be agreeable to supply the same free of charge.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Yours most obedient servant.

C D Singh Roy  
Asstt. Secy. to the Government of Bengal.

1 Not printed.

# 117: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 -- Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

## Prosecution of the Editor of *Hind Samachar*

### (B) Statement of Action Taken

S.No	Name of News Paper	Action taken and date of action	Authority by whom action taken
1.	' <i>Hind Samachar</i> ' (Sindhi Weekly of Nawabshah)	Sanction to the Prosecution of the Editor Samachar of the ' <i>Hind Samachar</i> ' was granted under Section 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, on the 3rd March 1944, for publishing a Special 'Independence Number' on the 26th January 1944	Government
2.	' <i>Sansar Samachar</i> ' (Sindhi Weekly of Karachi)	The Security of Rs 1,000 taken from the ' <i>Sansar Samachar</i> ' was forfeited on the 14th March 1944, on account of its publishing an article in contravention of the provisions of Clause (b) of Section 4(1) of the Indian Press Emergency Powers) Act, 1931.	Government



# 118: Ban on Louis Fischers' book

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Press) Dept. 1944 - File G.O. No. 892  
[TNA]

Government of India  
Finance Department (Central Revenues)  
*Simla, the 4th March 1944.*

## Notification - Customs

No. 5 In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act 1878 (VIII of 1878) the Central Government are pleased to prohibit the bringing into British India of (a) any copy of the book entitled 'Empire' by Louis Fischer published by Dwell, Slogan and Pears, Inc, New York or (b) any translation, reprint or other document containing substantial reproduction of the matter contained in the book.

S. Ranganathan  
Deputy Secretary to Govt. of India.

# 119: Book entitled '*Manavarukku*'<sup>1</sup> (to students) forfeited

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 - File G.O. No. 763  
[TNA]

Miscellaneous  
Government of Madras  
Public (General) Department

G.O. No. 763.

*6th March 1944*

Books and Publication - Defence of India Rules - Rule 40 (1) - Book entitled '*Manavarukku*' - Declared forfeit.

Order - No. 763, Public (General), dated 6th March 1944.

Whereas in the opinion of the Government of Madras the book in Tamil entitled '*Manavarukku*' - Gandhi Malar I (Gandhi Malar - First Book), printed at the Navalur Power Press, Karaikudi, and published by Pudumai Padippakam, Karaikudi, contains prejudicial reports;

Report on the Tamil book entitled 'Gandhi Malar - Manavarukku'

This is a Tamil translation by V. Ramasvami and A.L. Natarajan from the English compilation of Sri Ananda T. Henkorance of the speeches and writings of Mr Gandhi published in the 'Young India' and 'Harijan'. It is printed at Navalar power Press, Karaikudi and published by Pudumai Padippakam, Karaikudi.

This book is mainly intended for students, and it contains articles of educational, social and political significance. The chief among them relate to the English system of Education and its evil effect: medium of English; the curse of foreign medium of instruction; Students and strike, Non-co-operation, Satyagraha and boycott.

An English translation of some specimen passages marked in red pencil in the book is furnished below:

*(1) From the Article Entitled 'Unmitigated Evil'*

English education has emasculated us, and constrained our intellect. This system of education has rendered us effeminate. We want to breathe the air of freedom, but the English system of education has resulted in enslaving us only. Our nation is losing its manliness. We were not slaves before the establishment of British rule. We had some sort of freedom even under the rule of the Moghuls. Was not a warrior like Prathapasimhan born during the reign of Akbar? Did not patriots like Sivaji flourish during the reign of Aurangazeb? But during these one hundred and fifty years of British rule did one Prathapasimhan or Sivaji spring among us?

There are many native rulers in our land. Every one of them kneels down before the British Political Agent and the rulers themselves accept that they are slaves . . . . I won't blame them if it is said that they oppress their subjects, but I would say that the British authorities alone are blameworthy. These rulers are victims to a system of Government which has as its sole aim the enslavement of others. I would beg of you to fly from the clutches of this monster of slavery. It does not matter even if you beg from door to door, rather beg or die than live in bondage. If the English should retire from this land of ours even at this moment, I will not shed a single tear. The statement that they are lording over us with our consent cannot be accepted. Let them use their Air force, navy and land force; but they cannot certainly obtain our consent. Do not be afraid even if India is infested with robbers. Maintain your honour. Do your duty. Nothing is nobler than dying as a freeman. The English system of Education is satanic. I have dedicated my life to destroy this (page 26 top 28)

*(2) From the Article Entitled 'The Curse of Foreign Medium'*

Many evils have originated because of the foreign Government. Among them is the blighting imposition of a foreign medium of instruction upon the youth of the Country. History will count this as one of the greatest evils of foreign rule. It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the pupils. It has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul. The sooner, therefore, educated India shakes itself from the hypnotic spell of the foreign medium, the better it would be for them and the people. (page 50)

*(3) From the Article Entitled 'On Their Trial'*

From the patriot's standpoint, the students did well and bravely in making Common Cause with the people. They would have laid themselves open to the charge of want of patriotism, if they had not responded to the Country's call.

The safest and the most honourable course of the student world is to leave Government schools and Colleges at any cost. There is no doubt about this. The students will be thrown out whenever a conflict occurs between the Government and the people. They should be ready even for this. This is next best course for them follow. In many places the students themselves were leaders in the revolt against the Government. If they cannot become so, they must at least become staunch and true followers of the leaders. Let their facing of the consequences be as brave as was their response to the nations call. Let them not humiliate themselves. Let them not surrender their self-respect in trying to re-enter colleges and schools from which they may have been dismissed. The bravery of their response will be counted as bravados, if it succumbs on the very first trial. (Pages 172 and 173)

(4) *From the Article Entitled 'Questions and Answers – Under Swaraj'*

So long as our gold reserves are located outside India, even the Savings Banks can hardly be regarded as trustworthy institutions. In the event of a war, the Government will not scruple to employ the funds held by these banks without the willing co-operation of the depositors themselves. Thus, these banks may become not only utterly useless, but even a curse to the people. We can never trust Governments which are not controlled by and run in the interest of the people. They cannot be depended upon to remain loyal to the interest of the people in an emergency

1 See also Doc 134

# 120: Proscription of the book *Amavasya*

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 -- File G.O. No. 988  
[TNA]

Government of the Central Provinces and Berar,  
Political and Military Department.

## Order

Nagpur

*the 15th March 1944.*

No. 310-201/CON. — Whereas in the opinion of the Provincial Government the book described below contains a prejudicial report;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (e) of Sub-rule (1) of rule 40 of the Defence of India Rules, the Provincial Government is pleased to declare the said book and every copy or translation thereof or extract therefrom to be forfeited to his Majesty.

### *Description of the Book.*

Title	<i>Amavasya.</i>
Author	Shankar Balaji Shastri.

Press where printed      Narayan Mudranalaya, Dhantoli, Nagpur.  
Name of Publisher      Nagpur Prakashan, Sitabuldi, Nagpur.

By order of the Governor,  
Central Provinces and Berar,

T.C.S. Jayaratnam,  
Secretary to Government,  
Central Provinces and Berar,  
Political and Military Department.

## 121: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

The other reaction to war propaganda relates to despatches from war correspondents. It is a fact that more people read the despatches of Mr Moraes, the Indian correspondent of the 'Times of India', than of Reuters or unspecified 'Indian Army observers. Also, although it is too early yet to judge, there are indications of war news are going through the despatches of Mr Karaka' which have just begun to appear. If the object is to get people to read the right material, the experiment of sending to the war fronts young Indians who are known not to be afraid to criticise Government in the political sphere is beginning already to achieve some success.

## 122: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### **Editors of 'Hitavada' and 'Nagpur Times' Warned**

Political: The fortnight was again uneventful. Pandit M.M. Malaviya's appeal for the observance of the 5th of March as 'Kasturba Gandhi Day' failed to evoke any response in Nagpur. Prof. Bhansali visited some villages in the neighbourhood of Ashti where he is reported to have made certain inquiries from the people regarding the conduct of the police during the investigation of the Ashti arson cases. He also visited Morstalug in the Amraoti district, but no meetings of importance were held. Govindlal Vyas, a teacher in a private High School at Akola, was arrested, as it was ascertained that he had received a programme of instructions from the All-India Satyagraha Council, Bombay, for the celebration of 'National Week'. The prosecution of the Editor of the 'Hitavada' and the 'Nagpur Times' for publishing summaries of the grounds of detention served on detenus has aroused considerable public



interest in Nagpur. The Provincial Government passed orders directing the forfeiture of the security deposited by the '*Nagpur Times*' and requiring this paper to submit for press censorship all matters to be published regarding detenus. The action of the Provincial Government was condemned at a meeting of the All India Newspaper Editor's Conference (Provincial Branch), on the ground that the Provincial Press Advisory Committee had not been consulted before the action was taken. The Conference apparently overlooked the fact that the provisions of section II of the Ordinance were explained to the Press Advisory Committee at its last meeting. A large number of representation have now been received from detenus with regard to the orders of detention served on them. These representations are under examination. Further representations are still being received, but it is noteworthy that the more important detenus have not availed themselves of the opportunity to protest against their continued detention. The cases of 240 of the 277 detenus in the province had previously been reviewed at least twice.

## 123 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### **A Book in Hindi — '*Parole Par*' Forfeited**

A book in Hindi entitled '*Parole Par*' (pages 160) written by Vrajendra Nath Gour, printed by Manna Lal Tewari at the Shukla Printing Press, Lucknow and published by Sewak Ram Nagar, Shivaji Book Depot. Lucknow was forfeited by the Governor under section 99-A of the Criminal Procedure Code on the ground that it contained matter the publication of which was punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

## 124 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

### **Press Control**

Several papers had to be warned during this fortnight.

- (a) *The Patna Times*, *the Searchlight*, *the Indian Nation*, *the Rashtravani*, *the Aryavarta* and *the Sada-e-Aam* had to be warned for publishing what purported to be the Government's charge against Mr Gandhi and Mr Gandhi's reply, under Ordinance III of 1944. The Provincial Government considered the question of prosecution, but decided not to prosecute as the Ordinance was a recent one and possibly some of the papers might

have erred inadvertently since the general warning to all newspapers had not reached them before the peccant items were published.

- (b) *The Patna Times* and the *Yogi* had to be warned for publishing what purported to be Viceroy's movements in Bihar and beyond, thus contravening the Press Instructions for War (Press Notice No. II).
- (c) *The Searchlight*, as already noted, had to be warned for its tendentious seven-column headline 'Japs Cross into Manipur State'.

## 125: News item in *The Hindu* dt 19.3.44

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

### **Book on August Incidents Banned**

Nagpur. March 17. The C.P. Govt. has proscribed the Marathi book called '*Amavasya*' which dealt with the history of the 1942 August disturbances. The houses of the author and publisher and on the proprietor of the Press which printed the book, were searched today.

## 126: Asst. Secretary, Bengal to I.G. of Police (*Vanguard* (RDP News Paper) to be permitted to security prisoners)<sup>1</sup>

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M637 A  
[Bengal State Archives]

Government of Bengal  
Home Department  
Jails.

From  
Babu Gadadhar Singh, Roy,  
Asstt. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal

To  
The Inspector General of Prisons, Bengal.

Memo. No. 2243 M.J.

*dated Calcutta, the 22nd March, 1944*

Subject: Approved list of newspapers and periodicals for security and state prisoners.

The undersigned is directed to say that Government approve of the addition of the daily

newspaper 'Vanguard' to the approved list of newspapers under Appendix 'B' to the Bengal security Prisoners Rules, 1940 and to the Bengal State Prisoners Rules, 1943.

G.D. Singh Roy  
Asstt. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal

No. 2243/ 1 (3) H.J.

Copy forwarded for information to the

1. Deputy Inspector-General of Police, I.B., C.I.D., Bengal
2. Deputy Commissioner of Police, S.B., Calcutta.
3. District Magistrate, Mymensingh, with reference to his memorandum No. 2295 Con., dated the 36th October, 1943

Calcutta

The 22nd March, 1944

Asstt. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal

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1 See also Doc 92

## 127: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of April 1944

File No 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

### **Prosecution of the Editors of 'Hitavada' and 'Nagpur Times'**

A deputation from the press Advisory Committee was received by His Excellency the Governor at Pachmarhi. The deputation, which raised points in connection with the prosecution of the Editors of the *Hitavada* and the *Nagpur Times* and the forfeiture of the security deposited by the latter newspaper, was granted a full hearing. His Excellency in his reply laid stress on the fact that the measures taken against the *Nagpur Times* had been justified by the lack of cooperation hitherto shown by that newspaper, and the fact that, during the last two or three years, warnings delivered by Government had sometimes been treated lightheartedly by the Press.

## 128: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

A conference of Journalists was held at Cuttack on the 4th April under the presidentship of Mr A.D. Mani, Editor of the '*Hitavada*' Nagpur. Reference has been made to this in the Press Adviser's Report. The resolutions were directed towards the better organisation of the press and criticism of the restrictions which Government had to impose both as a War-time measure and in connection with the food procurement plan.

# 129: News item in *The Hindu* dt 5.4.1944

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

## **Calcutta – Recent Press Restrictions Indian Journalists Protest**

A resolution protesting against the order passed by the Govt. of Bengal prohibiting the 'Navayug' news paper from publishing any matter including additional comments relating to the food situation, economic conditions, relief & distress in Bengal without being previously press advised has been adopted by the Council of the Indian Journalists Association.

# 130: Official Notings (reg. the pamphlet 'Economic Sabotage') 15.4.44 to 26.4.44. (extracts)

File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I)  
(NAI)

... 'This is I think rather a good little pamphlet.' Admittedly the Labour party of India has not been able to go quite the whole way in its criticism of Congress, but it is nevertheless very much more consistent than for instance the Communists have ever been and the chapters 'Why Deadlock Continued?' down to 'The Root of Inefficiency' are definitely interesting and plausible. I think an extract of this portion should be brought on to our 'Big Business' file. I also like the points made at 'A' on page 1, and 'B' on page 4, while 'C' on page 13 is also a telling phrase.

2. Before we consider what reply, if any, should be sent to Sisir Roy, we should I think consider whether any use can be made of the booklet. It points a line to which sufficient propaganda attention has not I think been devoted - Congress responsibility for India's economic troubles. In the 'Big Business' file, D.I.B.'s conclusion is that 'Big Business' has gone with the economic stream rather than directing it. Personally I have always doubted this; I do not think it gives India 'Big Business' credit for sufficient intelligence or foresight and I see them as very much more definitely the villains of the piece as they are displayed in this pamphlet. In any case, the activities of the Congress, particularly the underground Congress, in opposing and disrupting the various financial and economic measures undertaken by Government are well known. We have I think to regard this aspect of the anti-Congress publicity campaign as the business of F.D., I. & C.S. and other Department more directly concerned; but it is I think clear that if any propaganda on these lines is to be developed, we shall have to do the developing. Whether it would be worthwhile putting Mr Madho Prasad on to the preparation of a brief on this subject is a matter for consideration. An alternative and to my mind a more attractive one if it proves feasible, would be to assist this Labour Party pamphlet by means of

some indirect subsidy. I think it would be well worth our while arranging widespread distribution of this pamphlet, in much the same way as we are doing in the case of '*Answers to an Intelligent Man's Questions*' provided of course that Sisir Roy will play. Our subsidy could either take the shape of buying up a number of copies, or of providing him with paper for the production of extra copies on the understanding that they were to be distributed free; a combination of both these methods would doubtless be best. Before proceeding on these lines however, we should have to know that Sisir Roy would be willing to fall in with the suggestion and to keep the fact of his receiving assistance from Government secret (this would be to his advantage as well as ours). I do not know whether it would be possible for C.I.O., Calcutta, to approach him indirectly; I would suggest D.I.B. should see these papers and be asked whether this could be arranged.

15.4.44  
(S.J.L. Olver).

I do not agree with Mr Olver's view at A overleaf, but agree that it might be a good plan to arrange a wider distribution of this pamphlet, as we did for the Orissa production.

V. Sahay.  
7.4.44.  
Addl. Secy.

Though it contained some good points, I do not think, this pamphlet is so effective as his earlier ones and : is so definitely propaganda for a 'class war' that I doubt whether Govt. could go to this extent of subsidising its distribution. What I mean is that the points in it that are 'up our street' are incidental and not the main theme of the author. D.I.B. should however see and we might consider the suggestion at X—if a moment ever comes when we are on the look out for something to do since Sisir Roy's letter is dated 26.2.44 [*Not printed* – Ed] (though we received it few days ago) I don't think an answer is necessary.

Tottenham,  
17.4.44.

This is regarding the pamphlet 'Economic Sabotage' sent to us by Sisir Roy. I.B. have made no comments. In view of Additional Secretary's note above, no further action is necessary.

(B.L. Pandey)  
26.4.1944.

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1 Not printed. — It was published by the Labour party of India. Also see Doc. 65, Chapter V – Ed.



# 131: News item in *The Hindu* dt 23.4.1944 – Debate in the House of Commons

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

## **Censorship in India Mr Amery Making Enquiries Volley of Questions in Commons**

*London, April 20*

Mr Amery told the Commons today that inquiries were being made regarding the protest of certain British correspondents in India against suppression of their reports.

Mr Sorensen\* raised the matter by asking whether the Govt. proposed to modify the existing censorship on social and political news from India.

Mr George Strauss\* (Labour) also asked about censorship imposed by the Army authorities on news despatches about the Burma front.

Mr Amery replied 'I have seen a press report of the protest of certain British correspondents in India who are operating with the South-East Asia Command. Inquiries are being made.'

Mr Strauss: Can the Secretary of state make it clear to the authorities in India that people here do want to know facts about Burma campaign, whether they are favourable or not, and that only on security grounds should be allowed to intervene with their messages? Mr Amery was understood to have replied, 'I imagine it is on security grounds.'

Mr W.W. Astor\* (Conservative): Is Mr Amery aware that this is no new problem and that unfortunately relations between the press and military authorities in India have for a long time past been less satisfactory than in other operational areas? Will he consider sending out an experienced officer from England to try and remedy this longstanding difficulty.

Mr Amery: The whole question is being considered. Mr Sorensen: Grave resentment does exist. Can we have an assurance this act of non-co-operation will not mean that those reporters will be interned along with Mr Gandhi.

Earl Winterton\* (Conservative): Is Mr Amery aware that apprehension is increased by the fact that the communiques which we get out of the Govt. of India appear to be of a conflicting character and that this House is not being kept properly informed of the operations? Mr Amery: These are operational matters and with regards to the particular one raised I cannot say that the matter comes within the scope of the Govt. of India at all.

Commander Sir Archibald Southey (Conservative): Has his attention been drawn to the somewhat outspoken comments appearing in the United States Press. Mr George Strauss: Is he aware that these responsible journalists complain that their matter has been censored on grounds which can have no possible relation to security?

Mr Amery: As I say the matter is being looked into.



# 132: News item in *The Hindu* dt 23.4.44

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

## **Pre-censorship of the Press Order on Delhi Papers withdrawn**

*April 23, 1944*

New Delhi, April 21 — The United Press learns that the Pre-censorship orders served on the *Hindustan Times* and the *National call* on January 27 last after the publications of the statement of Mrs Sarojini Naidu, has been withdrawn. Ban on *Bombay Sentinel* lifted — Govt. Press note.

Bombay, April 21, the ban on the *Bombay Sentinel* has been withdrawn.

A Press note says: 'The Govt. of Bombay passed an order on April 16 prohibiting the publication of the *Bombay Sentinel* because of the manner in which the paper had treated the news relating to last weeks accidents. As a satisfactory understanding has now been reached with the editor regarding future treatment of such news, the Govt. has withdrawn its ban' — A.P.I.

# 133: *War Against the People* — Proscribed

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M603/44 II  
[Bengal State Archives]

The Calcutta Gazette

Extraordinary

Published by Authority

Thursday, April 27, 1944

Part I Orders and Notifications by the Governor of Bengal, the High Court, Government Treasury, etc.

Government Of Bengal  
Home Department  
Press

## **Notification**

No. 498 Pr. 26 April 1944 — whereas in the opinion of the Government the book in English entitled *War Against the People* written by Kalyani Bhattacharjee, printed by F.C. Sarkar, at Diana Printing works, Ltd., Calcutta and published by J.N. Bhatnagar from People's Book

Club, 7/2k, Zhagir lane, Ballygunj, Calcutta contains prejudicial reports of the nature described in sub rule (7) of Rule 34 of the Defence of India Rules read with clauses (a) and (g) of subrule (b) of that rule.

Now therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by clauses (a) and (e) of sub-rule (1) of Rule 40 of the said rules, the Governor hereby prohibits the further publication, sale or distribution of the said document and declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies wherever found of the said book and all other documents containing copies reprints and translation of or extracts from the book.

By order of Governor,  
H. Tufnell Burrett.  
Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal

## 134: Ban on the books *Manavarakku* and *Bharat Jiwan*

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M603/44 II  
[Bengal State Archives]

(Extract from the Supplement to the Bombay police Gazette, dated 1.6.1944)

The following, or its copies, or translations, or extracts therefrom, wherever found have been forfeited to His Majesty under sub-rule (1) of rule 40 of the Defence of India Rules:

The 'Independence Number January 1944, in Sindhi of the monthly periodical entitled 'Bharat Jiwan', Published and edited by Jethanand Bhawandas Lalwani and printed by J.S. Mansuk of the Mansuk (Electric) printing Press, Dayaram Gidimal Road, Hyderabad (Sind).

The Dy. I.G., Intelligence Branch, should be informed of any seizure made.

(Extract from the Madras Police Gazette, dated 6-5-1944).

Sinha  
24/6 1179.

Tamil book entitled '*Manavarukku*'<sup>1</sup> declared forfeit.

(G.O.Ms. No. 763, Public (General), 6th March 1944)

Whereas in the opinion of the Government of Madras the book in Tamil entitled '*Manavarukku*' – Ganthi Malar 1 (Gandhi Malar-First Book) printed at the Navalur power Press, Karaikudi, and published by Pudumai Padippakam, Karaikudi contains prejudicial reports;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (d) and (e) of sub-rule (1) of rule 40 of the Defence of India Rules, His Excellency the Governor of Madras is hereby pleased to prohibit the further publication, sale or distribution of the said book or of any extract therefrom or of any translation thereof and to declare the said book, and every copy or translation thereof or extract therefrom wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

The Dy. I.G., Intelligence Branch, should be informed of any seizure made.)

1. 'To Students' – See Doc 119.



# 135: Assam bans one reel of the film — *Mission to Moscow*

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M603/44 II  
[Bengal State Archives]

Supplement

To  
Assam Criminal Intelligence Gazette  
(To be detached and filed with other Supplements)  
For Permanent Record.

Published by Authority  
(To be Circulated only to Officers in charge of police  
Stations and Officers of higher rank).

Shillong, June 15, 1944

Proscribed Publications

15.

(From the Assam Gazette, dated 31-3-1944, Part II).

No H.M.I. 52/44/. -In exercise of the powers conferred by subsection (7) of section 7 of the Cinematograph Act, 1918 (II of 1918), the Governor of Assam is pleased to direct that the following portion of the film entitled '*Mission to Moscow*' produced by Warner Brothers as certified by the Bombay board of Film Censors under certification No. 28459, dated 23rd November 1943, shall be deemed to be uncertified in the whole of the province of Assam:

The portion in reel 5-b beginning with the words. 'The outlook for European peace is bad' . . . and ending with the words 'but then it may be too late'.

H.G. Bartly,  
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,  
C.I.D., etc., Assam.



# 136: Bihar bans film *Dhiraj*

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M603/44 II  
[Bengal State Archives]

Extract from the Bihar O.I. Gazette dated June 16, 1944

## *Proscribed Publications*

<i>S.No. Name of Publication</i>	<i>No. and date of Govt. order</i>	<i>No. and date of Bihar Gazette</i>
22. Film entitled ' <i>Dhiraj</i> ' produced by Shri Ranjit Movitone Company and Certified by the Bombay Board of Censors under its certificate No. 27036 dt 17th Feb. 1943, shall be deemed to have been uncertified film in the whole of the Province of Bihars	Bihar No. 965-P dated 13th May 1944	

Note All Officers please note  
By order

B.M. Mishra,  
Office Assistant to the  
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,  
Criminal Investigation Department,  
Bihar, Patna.

# 137: *Revolution in India* found objectionable

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M603/44 II  
[Bengal State Archives]

Extract from the Bengal police abstract.

*Calcutta, Saturday, the 17th June 1944.*

No. 54.

Reference Departmental Notice No. 47 published in Bengal Police Abstract, dated the 20th May 1944.

The book entitled '*Revolution in India*' by Mrs Frances Gunther has been examined and

is considered objectionable under F.D. (C.R.) Notification No. 3, dated the 21st January 1943. Copies coming to notice should therefore be withheld.

# 138: Editorial in *The Hindu* dt 17.6.1944 — Censorship methods exposed

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

## **The Indian Smoke Screen**

Five British war correspondents in India representing some of this country's principal daily newspapers, have announced that it is useless for them to file any more despatches under the conditions imposed by the Indian censorship (writes the editor of the *Reynolds News*, London) I am not surprised by their decision.

More than a year ago, *Reynolds News* sent Mr D.V. Tahmankar to India as special correspondent. Mr Tahmankar is a journalist of many years experience, familiar with British Newspaper methods and the London censorship regulations. While he is an Indian Nationalist (chosen as such by the B.B.C. to speak for Congress in the radio round table on India sometimes ago) he knew that *Reynolds News* although supporting the cause of Indian Independence, did not subscribe to all the articles of Congress policy and did not want Congress propaganda. His assignment was to report frankly and objectively on conditions in his homeland as he found them after an absence of several years.

He has just arrived back in London. He was recalled because it became clear that the Indian censorship as it now operates in a political smoke-screen through which it is impossible to filter first hand reports of what the people in that country are thinking and saying.

Admiral Mountbatten had stated that the stories of the five correspondents had to be stopped because they gave information of operations then in progress. 'Tahmankar's cable, did not relate to military operations. His instructions were to write on social, political and economic conditions.

## **No Security Reason**

I have gone over the censored copies of all his cables and selected only a few of the scores of cuts which were made. For nine out of ten of the cuts it is impossible to find the faintest shadow of security reason, it is easy to see a determination that no political comment unpopular with the Indian authorities shall be allowed to reach Britain. One of the worst features of this conspiracy of silence was the way it prevented British people from learning in time of the food crisis in Bengal.

On July 1, Tahmankar sent a despatch on the growing alarm with which Indian opinion viewed the food situation. He wrote that experienced district officers would be able to tell the Viceroy-designate (Lord Wavell) that the food front in India was bad and that it is crumbling fast. They will tell him that Carlyle's dictum 'Hunger is the root cause of all revolutions' has been operating in India for some time past. The quoted words were cut. The message went on that after travelling thousands of miles Tahmankar had no hesitation in saying that the situation was growing worse' day by day: it is alarming. The peasants patience has reached

bursting point; docile as he is, even he cannot bear any longer the pangs of hunger. Again, the quoted words were cut. After reporting how grain rations had been reduced, the following words were cut from the message. 'No wonder than the only topic of conversation is food wherever you go'. A statement that 'the situation will get beyond control if not faced immediately with courage and vision' was cut.

On September 11, Tahmanakar attempted to describe the agony of millions of peasants face to face with starvation, the transport chaos which hindered the dispatch of relief, the increasing daily death roll from starvation in Calcutta and the political storm which was blowing up over food supplies. I say 'attempted'—for the entire message was killed.

### **Facts about Famine**

The censorship sieve on food was so fine meshed that not even an adjective could step through. A message about the hungry and dumb millions of India had 'hungry' cut from it. An attempt to describe how malaria (which in normal times kills 1. millions a year in India) was bound to spread because the price of quinine had gone up from 50s to £ 30 per pound was made meaningless by knocking out the vital comparative figure of 50s. The censorship would not allow Tahmanakar to say that because so many peasants were selling their land to buy food, prices had slumped 'from 360 rupees per acre'. The quoted words were cut and 'sell it for a song' substituted. When a hospital doctor told Tahmanakar that '50 per cent of those dying could be saved if the Govt. could supply him with quinine and strychnine injections of which he had neither', the censorship knew much more about it than the doctor — so it altered 50 per cent to 'many more'. A description of tour through the famine area contained a reference to seeing 'nothing but skeletons of thousands of children' 'Thousands' was carefully deleted by a censorship safely instilled well away from such unpleasant sights.

Tahmankar described some of the scenes inseparable from famine. Some of the descriptions were horrible to read. But they told of the torment of men, women and children whose destinies we rule from this country, fellow citizens of the British Crown. The British people have a right to know what is happening under their custodianship — but not if the British censorship can stop them, for every one of these descriptions were cut.

### **Detained Without Trial**

One of the few things in the present Indian political scene in which we in Britain can take pride is the way in which our Courts have insisted on enforcing the rule of law against the Executive.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the original Defence of India Rule, 26, which 'legalized' a wide range of arbitrary actions by the Govt. was declared invalid by Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India. The Viceroy issued an ordinance to validate it. The Calcutta High Court declared this *ultravires* on a Habeas Corpus application by eight Indians detained under the Rule. They were released — and rearrested at the Court door under a Regulation of 1818 which gives the Govt. power to arrest and detain indefinitely without trial. Tahmankar reported this, and quoted an Indian legal authority as saying 'if a 1942 ordinance proves ineffective they (the Govt.) will take out from the 1818 armory, any dammed rusty thing and carry on their war against democracy in India. He warned the Govt. that their action will only help the masses to lose faith in the principle of law and order'. All the quoted words were censored.

On Feb. 20, 1943, Tahmankar cabled a dispatch describing a public meeting of leading Indians and Anglo-Indians held to demand the release of Gandhi, then fasting and reported to be sinking in health. Forget for the moment whether you think Gandhi reasonable or

unreasonable, saint or charlatan. Consider only those cuts which the censor deemed vital to the safety of our Indian Empire. Tahmankar reported that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Privy Councillor, well known Indian Liberal opened the meeting 'with a slashing denouncement of the Indian administration'. The quoted words were cut from the message.

No journalist quarrels with the necessity for censorship of military information in war times. But the censorship of Tahmankar's cables was not military; it was political. It concealed nothing from the Japanese. It concealed from British people news and interpretation which they were entitled to have. If Tahmankar's experience is typical the Indian censorship is widening the gulf which divides the two peoples. It makes it impossible for experienced journalists on the spot to tell Britain what India is thinking and saying. Among Indians it spreads the belief that the British are indifferent to their welfare.

There could be no greater disaster at the present time, when we are in the last minute of the last hour of any prospect of a permanent and friendly settlement of the differences between the two peoples (H.T.).

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1 See Ch III for the Court Cases.

## 139: Editorial in *Hindustan Times* dt 23.6.1944 — *Harijan* Files<sup>1</sup>

File No. 4/5/44 – Home Poll (I)  
(NAI)

1. Name of Paper – *Hindustan Times*.
2. Published at New Delhi.
3. Dated

*The Hindustan Times*  
Friday June 23. 1944.  
*Harijan* Files

The letters exchanged between Mahatma Gandhi and the Secretary of the Bombay Government regarding the burning of bound volumes of the back numbers of *Harijan* have a significance which might be easily missed in the mass of other more interesting correspondence. On October 26, 1942, Gandhiji wrote to the Bombay Government enclosing a cutting from the Bombay Chronicle. It contained a letter from Mr Karimbhai Vohra of the Navjivan Mudranalaya describing how the Navjivan Press was raided and confiscated soon after the August arrests. In September the confiscated articles were ordered to be returned to the Manager. But the letter stated that 'printing paper worth Rs 50,000, the types, some important manuscripts and kerosene tins, a type-writer, a cyclostyle, an electric fan, and all the files of *Harijan* from start to finish' were not returned. The letter added that all the files were reported to have been destroyed. Gandhiji inquired if the report was correct. In reply, Mr J.M. Sladen, Secretary to the Bombay Government, sent a brief letter which will go on record as a monument of bureaucratic irresponsibility. According to him 'the Government instructed the District

Magistrate, Ahmedabad, to destroy all objectionable literature seized from the Navjivan Mudranalays such as old copies of Harijan newspaper, books, leaflets and other miscellaneous papers and to return other articles that were not objectionable to the owners' After this admission, one would have expected the Secretary to take full responsibility for the burning of the files, but he has tried vaguely to transfer responsibility to the District Magistrate in the following words: 'I have ascertained from the District Magistrate that he interpreted the orders as covering all the old files of *Harijan* since 1933 and these old files have actually been destroyed'. If the District Magistrate had any sense of values, he would certainly have protested against this vandalism and tried to get the orders modified, but the suggestion that his action was due to a mistaken interpretation is altogether untenable. It is the Bombay Government which must bear full responsibility for issuing so thoughtless an order, unworthy of any civilized authority. It knew that the old files of *Harijan* constituted, in the eyes of millions of readers of the journal in India and abroad, a precious heritage to be preserved and handed down to unborn generations. Here is a reputedly civilized Government ordering in cold blood the destruction of the writings of one considered the greatest of living men even by those who differ from his politics. It is difficult to imagine why the Bombay Government should have thus misbehaved. The only explanation we can think of is that the authorities lost their balance of mind. They were so mad with rage that it was more important to give vent to it than subject their actions to any test of reason or prudence.

It would have been something if in his reply to Gandhiji, Mr Sladen had expressed regret at the senseless burning of the files. A confession of error would have been graceful and honourable but it would not have been in keeping with the tradition of a totalitarian bureaucracy. This little incident will appear to all reasonable men as conclusive proof that in August, 1942, the Government had got into a state of mind reminiscent of the days of the Mutiny and did things of which it ought to feel thoroughly ashamed. The United States office of War Information recently circulated a note on the work of the American Commission for Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments. The occasion for the note was the discovery made by the Allied invasion army in France that the famous Eleventh Century Tapestry at Bayeux in France had been removed from its place by the Germans. The Tapestry was described as one of the most important historic remains and invaluable to historians as first-hand evidence of social history, of costumes, weapons and instruments. The American Commission has been set up for the investigation of crimes of vandalism by the Axis countries in occupied territories. It has already amassed a careful record of the 'gigantic Nazi looting of Art'. The note also reminds us that in Italy General Eisenhower instructed all commanding officers to treat culturally important things with the utmost regard. In India people naturally tend to remind themselves of such happening as the burning under British official auspices of old files of *Harijan* when they are invited to admire the solicitude of the United Nations for the art and cultural treasures of Europe.

1 See also Doc. 141.



# 140: Pyarelal to Devadas Gandhi

Devadas Gandhi Papers  
[NMML]

*Nature Cure Clinic  
Toddywala Road  
Poona 27.6.44*

My dear Davadas,

I am sorry I could not write to you before now. I thought of it several times but each time I was deterred by the reflection that the greatest common multiple between what I wanted to write, what you were anxious to know and what I would care to expose to the prying eye of the censor was so small as to be hardly worth the postage charge:

'The accompanying' from Babu to Miraben will give you the news of the day. In a way it is good this double refusal. What is the good of shuttle cocking between New Delhi and Ahmednagar, if the door at White Hall is shut, barred and bolted? Bapu was saying the other day that the publication of the correspondence by the New Delhi authorities was due to their appreciation of the meticulous care he had taken in asking for formal permission from the Viceroy, and in the meantime strictly confining the circulation to private use: It now appears that even this private circulation has been resented since it was done without previous reference to them. I wonder when next, it will be regarded as a matter for offence to breathe or sneeze without previous reference to the New Delhi gods. I was amazed the other day when someone told Bapu that he 'would not be surprised' if New Delhi looked upon private circulation of the copies of the correspondence with 'disfavour'. I tell you in my mind, I immediately referred him Pt. Jawaharlal's Jail superintendent'. Some strong tonic will be required to purge us of this kind of mentality before we are fit for any transfer of power. . . .

By the way I understand, that the Navjivan people will be unable to bring out the correspondence between the Govt. and Bapu in book form. Why will you not take it up? If you are ready for it, I promise to get you an introduction from Bapu for it. Please let me know your decision.

*Free Press* has done extremely well in publishing the whole of the correspondence in three instalments. Even those who had not the imagination or the guts to do likewise have paid unstinted homage to the enterprise of Sadanand. How grand it would have been if all papers had simultaneously done the same: It would have been fitting reply to the Govt's policy of suppression all these twenty months and to the tendentious 'summary' that has now been issued to herald its publication which, to say the least, is an insult to the understanding of the readers and the nation . . . .

-----  
1 Not printed



## 141: Government of India to Government of Bombay – *Harijan* Files

File No. 4/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

To  
H.V.R. Iengar, Esq., CIE, ICS,  
Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay,  
Home Dept.,  
Poona.

7 7.44

My dear Iyengar,

We have noticed that the publication of the Gandhi- Viceroy correspondence in the press has amongst other things tended to draw attention to the incident of the destruction of the *Harijan* files by the D.M., Ahmedabad. We think it not unlikely that the renewed interest in this incident may lead to questions in the legislature or in parliament, in which case we shall be called on to furnish at a very short notice a full report on the incident.

2. It would we think be as well to be prepared for this before hand and we should be grateful you could let us have a brief note on it.

Yours Sincerely,

J S

## 142: *New Leader* to be detained

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M603/44 II

[Bengal State Archives]

Extract from the Poona, Gazette, Saturday, 15th July 1944.

601. Vide para 522. — The Government of Bombay has ordered that all copies of issues Nos 9 and 10 of the *New Leader*, dated the 6th and 13th day 1944, respectively, noticed 'New Leader' in London in the course of transmission by post, should be detained, with the exception of copies addressed to the Government of India in Home Department which should be allowed to pass.

V.D. Kawthalkar,  
Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police.  
C.I.D., Intelligence Branch (I),  
Province of Bombay.  
N.J.



## 143: Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India (extracts)

The Transfer of Power, Vol. IV - Doc. 617

*1st August 1944*

6. I have been looking into our arrangements for inward censorship, as I thought from reports passing between the Information and Broadcasting Department and the India Office, that we were being unnecessarily severe. There is not much point in stopping messages which are bound to be received in India when the papers and magazines in which they originally appeared arrive by mail, and which are on the same lines as articles published freely in the Indian Press. I found it impossible to lay down any rigid rules, but I have issued instructions that the censorship must be intelligently applied. A Drew Pearson' message was referred to me a few days ago, which dealt with the alleged dispute between the President and the Prime Minister about Indian affairs, quoted from a report from Phillips, and cast doubt on the reliability of the Indian Army. The tone of the message was so bad that I agreed to its being stopped. I understand that Bajpai asked by the External Affairs Department to make enquiries, and that Campbell has seen Cordell Hull, who said he disapproved of the message and that there might have been some leakage from the State Department. Merrell has just spoken to Caroe and has confirmed that there was an unauthorised leak from the State Department. And that the comments attributed to Phillips were genuine. He said he hoped we had stopped the message, which I had already done. It seems to me that inward censorship must, in a sense, be political, for it is necessary to stop the grosser kinds of American comment, which are intended mainly for election purposes in the United States but may have a very bad effect on feeling and morale here.

## 144: Home Member (Francis Mudie) to Akbar Hydari, New Delhi, 16th August 1944

File No. 7/5/45 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

*dt 16.8.1944*

My dear Hydari,

Will you please see the enclosed papers<sup>1</sup> (return requested) which were sent to me by M.N. Roy as the result of a talk that he had with me two or three days ago? I consider that M.N. Roy's propaganda is definitely important. He is the only person who stands up to the Congress. He certainly helped us a great deal with industrial labour in Cawnpore and he was of some use also in the coalfields in Bihar. Anything that you can do, therefore, to help him to get more paper or to obtain his present supply we would much appreciate.

*Reply to the Above letter*

New Delhi,  
the 19th August, 1944.

My dear Mudie,

Please refer to your letter dated the 16th August. We have allowed to M.N. Roys's newspapers and periodicals substantial concessions, which in many cases amount to as much as 60 per cent or more of the number of pages printed previously, and in no case is the concession less than 50 per cent. We have also allowed him to use newsprint for all those newspapers and periodicals for which he was willing to accept this kind of paper. The issue of newsprint permits will help him in securing supplies without difficulty.

2. With regard to books published by him, we have agreed to let him use 50 per cent of the quantity of paper used by him in 1943. Normally publishers have been cut down to 30 per cent. In this case however we decided to let him use a considerably larger quantity of paper than would be allowed to an ordinary publisher and have virtually put him in the same category as educational and text books publishers.

3. Under the Paper Control (Economy) Order, the printing and publication of pamphlets, bulletins, etc. for free distribution is prohibited, because free distribution involves waste of paper as the pamphlets are quite often sent to persons who are not interested in the subject matter. We have not agreed to allow M.N. Roy to print and distribute pamphlets, bulletin, etc. here and in view of the complete prohibition of leaflet publication, it would be invidious to give permission in an isolated case. If however he charges a small price, he would be entitled to use paper for this purpose on the basis of the quantity consumed in 1943. Each centre of the Radical Democratic Party can use 50 lbs. of paper per month for circulars relating to their meetings or other activities.

4. Mr Roy wants to start four new journals. We do not as a rule allow new newspapers or periodicals to be started to avoid adding to the demand for paper. If however you feel that any of the proposed journals will serve a particularly useful purpose, we shall be prepared to allow it to be started and to allot it newsprint.

5. I am returning herewith the papers received with your letter.

Yours sincerely,

A. Hydari.

The Hon'ble Sir Francis Mudie, KCIE, CSI, OBE, ICS,  
Home Member of Council,  
New Delhi.



# 145: Government of India to Secretary of State — (Reg. Drew Pearson's article)

The Transfer of Power, Vol. IV – Doc. 661

*16th August 1944.*

Government of India, External Affairs Department to Secretary of State

Telegram. LPES/12/4629:/ 229

IMPORTANT NEW DELHI, 16 August 1944, 10.40 p.m.

SECRET Received 17 August, 2 a.m.

10729. Addressed Secretary of State for India repeated Washington for Agent General.

Your telegram 17493' of August 10th.<sup>1</sup> Drew Pearson article.

2 We have not yet seen His Majesty's Government's replies to Washington telegrams on this subject, but we feel strongly that British Embassy should be supported in carrying this matter further with the State Department. We must point out that although we have stopped this particular wild involved Press message and are doing our best to prevent entry of newspapers or letters carrying text of Drew Pearson's article it is possible copies will slip through and obtain publicity in India. Publication of Phillips' views which seems to be authentic would have deplorable effect and we wish to draw particular attention to unworthy sneers at the Indian Army. It is difficult with press set-up in India to counter the effect of such an article and it is particularly regrettable at a time when we have been asked to relax the rigour of censorship to be compelled to use such powers in defence against attacks by personal representative of our greatest Ally.

3. A further point arise that understand designation of Phillips is still President's personal representative in India. Whether or not he was in any way concerned in the leakage, views he has stated would make it impossible for us to do other than regard him as persona non grata and we could not again receive him. His views are not what we are entitled to expect from a professedly friendly envoy.

4. Draft has been prepared in consultation with Home Department and Viceroy has seen.

<sup>1</sup> Not puncted

## 146: Ban on the book *Shahri Azadi*

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M603/44 II  
[Bengal State Archives]

### Departmental Notice (Proscription) No. 81

(Dated Simla – E., the 19th August, 1944).

Under his notification No. F. 8 (101)/43 – General of July the 24th, 1944, the Chief Commissioner, Delhi has proscribed, under clause (d) of sub-rule (1) of rule 40 of the Defence of India Rules, the booklet in Urdu entitled ‘Shahri Azadi’ written by Dr Ram Manohar Lohia and published by the Maktabe-i-Jamia, Delhi. Copies or translations of or extracts from the booklet coming to notice in the post or otherwise should, therefore, be withheld.

Note: Will all Superintendents of Police in the Punjab please note?

V H.A. Rich,  
Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,  
Criminal Investigation Department,  
Punjab.

## 147: Unobjectionable Publications

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M603/44 II  
[Bengal State Archives]

Extract from the United Provinces Criminal Investigation Department, Special Branch Lucknow  
Wednesday, August 23, 1944.

The under-mentioned publications are considered to be unobjectionable under F.D. (C.R.) Notification No. 3, dated January 21, 1943, Published as Departmental Notice No. 36, dated the 17th March, 1943.

It is therefore suggested that any copies coming to notice may be passed:

<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Publisher</i>
1. Twentieth Century India	Kate Mitchell and Kumar Goshal	Wester Publishing Co, St. Luis Dallas & Los Angeles
2. A Short History of the Russian Revolution from 1905 to the present day, volume I.	Page Arnot	Victor Gollancz Ltd London
3. India Since Cripps	Horace Alexander	Penguin Books

2. The Following publication is considered objectionable under the same Notification:

<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Publisher</i>
1. The People of India	Kumar Ghosal	Sheridan House Publishers, New York

## 148: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)  
[NAI]

During the fortnight, an illegal and highly objectionable publication entitled 'Don't Betray India' believed to have been printed in Madras was noticed by the Bombay City police. The publication inter alia calls for the extirpation of Britain and America reiterates the 'Quit India' resolution, alleges that rationing means that Indians are starved in order that foodstuffs may be hoarded for the use of Allied forces and quotes instance of sabotage that have occurred in India during the year.

## 149: Home Secretary, A.A. Macdonald, Govt. of Punjab to all Deputy Commissioners

Govt. of Punjab (Home Dept.) File No. H-13  
[Punjab State Archives]

A.A. MacDonald, Esquire, O.B.E., I.C.S.,  
Home Secretary to Government, Punjab.  
All Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

No. 5728-57-ADSB

*Dated Lahore, the 12th October, 1944.*

Sir,

I am directed to say that it has come to notice that the Punjab Communist Party and its subordinate organisations, such as the Punjab Kisan Sabha, have recently been indulging in objectionable propaganda directed against the Police and other Government officials by staging dramas, depicting acts of torture, high handedness and other mal-practices alleged to have been committed by them. Such propaganda inevitably undermines public confidence in Government and encourages defiance of law and order. Moreover, its meaning is readily understood by illiterate members of the public who attend such performances in large numbers.

I am therefore to suggest that in those districts where dramas of this nature have been or

are likely to be staged an order similar to that recently passed by the District Magistrate, Jullundur (copy enclosed) should be enforced.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

Home Secretary to Government  
Punjab

Copy forwarded to all Commissioners of Divisions in the Punjab.

Copy forwarded to all Superintendents of Police and Deputy Inspectors-General of Police in the Punjab. For Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D. Punjab.

*Enclosure*

It has been brought to my notice that dramas depicting alleged acts of torture, high-handedness and other mal-practices by the police or other Government officials have been, and are going to be performed in various places in the Jullundur district. As the performance of such dramas before the public is intended, or is likely to bring into hatred or contempt or excite disaffection towards His Majesty's Police Force or Government established by law in British India, and as such: it amounts to a prejudicial act as defined in Rule 34 of the Defence of India Rules, I Ahsan-ud-Din, Esquire, I.C.S., District Magistrate, Jullundur, by virtue of the powers conferred upon me under Rule 43 of the Defence of India Rules, hereby order that whosoever, after the notification of the order:

- (a) Takes part in any such performance, or
- (b) In any manner assist in conducting any such performance, or
- (c) Is, in Willful disobedience to this order, present as a spectator during the whole or any part of any such performance, or
- (d) Being the owner or occupier or having the use of any house, room or place, opens, keeps or uses the same for any such performance or permits the same to be opened, occupied or used for any such performance,

Shall be deemed to have contravened the provisions of Rule 43 D.O.I.Rs and shall be liable to the penalty thereunder.

Given under my hand and the seal of the court.

District Magistrate,  
Jullundur.  
Dated: 30.7.44.



# 150

## Objectionable and unobjectionable publications

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M603/44 II  
[Bengal State Archives]

Secret  
Department Notice  
No 56

*Dated Camp Ajmer,  
Saturday, October 28, 1944*

The undermentioned publications are considered to be unobjectionable under F.D. (C.R.) Notification No. 3, dated the 21st January, 1943. It is, therefore suggested that any copies coming to notice may be passed:

<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Publisher</i>
1. Strangers in India	Penderal Moon	Faber & Faber London
2. Selected Works Vol. V (Imperialism and Imperialist War 1914-1917)	V.I. Lenin	Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., London
3. Makers of New World Lenin	R. Palme Dutt	Hamish Hamilton, London
4. The Origin of Russian Communism	Nicolas Berdyaev	The Contenary Press, London
5. Communism-Story of the Communist Party	Guy A. Aldred	The Strickland Press, Glasgow.
6. The Wisdom of Gandhi	Roy Walker	* Andrew Dakers Ltd., London

2. The following publications are considered objectionable under the same Notification:

<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Publisher</i>
1. The Barbers Trade Union and other Stores	Mulk Raj Anand	Jonathan Cape, London
2. The Forgotten Ally	Pierra Van Pasaseri	Dial Press
3. War Commentary. Published fortnightly by freedom press, 27, Belsize Road, London.		

3. A lookout may be maintained on the 'Hindustan Ghadr' published in Gurmukhi in California, which is banned under the sea Customs Act, F.D., Notification No. 95 dated October, 1927. The American Censors have recently ceased to condemn it.

4. Will all Political and Police Officers in Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara, please note.

H.A. Carless,  
Inspector-General of Police,  
Ajmer-Merwara and Police Adviser to the Resident for Rajputana.

## 151: News item in *The Hindu* dt 8.11.1944 – Government of India's attitude towards Drew Pearson

*The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

A press note says' Govt's attention has been called to a message to the *Hindustan Times* from a correspondent in London dated Nov. 27, regarding the Govt. of India's attitude towards an American columnist, Mr Drew Pearson. The message refers to an alleged conference to decide what line the Govt. should adopt against Mr Pearson's attack on British policy in India – It also states that the Govt. of India having failed to influence the American administration, were considering an order, requiring pre censorship of all Mr Pearsons articles before publication in the Indian Press. No such conference was held. No approach was made to the American Administration of the pre-censorship of Mr Pearson's articles is under consideration as suggested. Messages from Mr Pearson's or quoting his articles, are dealt with in exactly the same way as any other messages for outside sources – A.P.I.

## 152: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Towards the end of October, the Government of Sind issued an Order under Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, prohibiting the printing or publishing the 'Satyarath Prakash' unless Chapter XIV was excluded therefrom. Chapter Fourteen is of course well known as containing a rather scurrilous attack on Islam, and during the last three years there has been a great deal of agitation amongst Muslims in Sind, the Punjab, and elsewhere to have the publication of the 'Satyarath Prakash' prohibited altogether. The Government of Sind had previously taken action in the interests of communal unity; but on receipt of information that Arya Samajists had collected a sum of money and arranged for the publication of some thousands of copies in Sind with the obvious intent of popularizing the book and thus offending Muslims, Government decided to take the action referred to above.





# 153: Proscription of the book *Satyartha Parkash and Quran*

Govt. of Bengal Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. M603/44 II  
[Bengal State Archives]

Extract from the North-West Frontier Province, Criminal Intelligence Gazette (For Departmental use only), Peshawar, Thursday, the 23rd November 1944.

## **Departmental Notices**

453. Proscribed publications — Notification No. S-17/14/4-H/ (S) 44, dated the 5th September 1944, issued by the Sind Government is published below for General information.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 19 of the Indian Press (Emergency powers) Act, 1931, the Government of Sind is pleased to declare all copies, wherever found, of the book in Sindhi entitled *Satiarath Parkash and Quran*, written by Chetandey Verma and published by Bhagwan G. Tolani, at the Kohinoor Printing Press, Hyderabad (Sind), and all other documents containing copies, reprints, translation of, or extracts from, the said text to be forfeited to His Majesty, on the ground that it appears to the Government of Sind that the said book contains words of the nature described in clause (b) of section (1) of the said Act.











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